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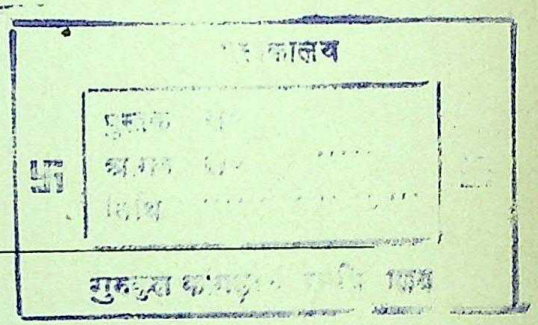

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The untimely death of Dr. Ludwik Sternbach who passed away suddenly in Paris on 25th March 1981, has compelled us to change the title of the second part of the papers collected in His honour: they are now gathered, alas, in a « Commemoration Volume ».

What we had devised to testify our sincere and deep admiration for this eminent Scholar has now become a homage to His memory.

This sad demise has bitterly deprived us not only of such a great Indologist but also of an incomparable friend.

The editorial Board of Indologica Taurinensia and all the Contributors to this mañjarî *are united in renewing their profound regret.*

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La pubblicazione del presente volume di **Indologica Taurinensia** è stata realizzata grazie ai contributi finanziari erogati dall'**Assessorato all'Istruzione della Regione Piemonte**, dal **Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche**, dall'**Unione Industriale della Provincia di Torino**, dall'**Istituto Bancario San Paolo di Torino**, dalla **Cassa di Risparmio di Torino** e dall'**Ente Nazionale per la Cellulosa e per la Carta.**

A tali Enti la Direzione di « Indologica Taurinensia » esprime il più vivo ringraziamento.

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On 19th December 1980, in the « Aula Magna » of the University of Turin, during an official ceremony, Dr. Ludwik Sternbach, General Secretary of the International Association of Sanskrit Studies, was presented with the first volume of papers gathered in his honour.

The ceremony was attended by Professor Giorgio Cavallo, Chancellor of the University of Turin, Dr. Giovanni Ferrero, Assessore all'Istruzione della Regione Piemonte, Dr. Giorgio Balmas, Assessore alla Cultura del Comune di Torino, Professor Gherardo Gnoli, President of the Is.M.E.O., and quite a number of Colleagues and Friends from different Universities: Paris, Genoa, Milan, Naples, Pisa, Rome and Turin.

Speaking to a large and interested audience, Prof. Oscar Botto, on behalf of all who attended the ceremony and of all the Contributors to the volume, paid a devout and heartfelt tribute to the eminent Scholar, pointing out the outstanding aspects of his prestigious scientific activity in so many fields of Indological Studies and then presented Dr. Sternbach with the first copy of the Felicitation Volume.

After thanking Prof. Botto, Dr. Ludwik Sternbach delivered the following address:

Magnifice Rector, Civitatis Honestates, Sodales, Amici, excellentissimi mulieres virique,

Taurinensibus doctis antiquorum Indorum rerum peritis, qui huc me arcessiverunt, ut, tam multis amicis saeptus, hoc volumine donarer, quod unum est ex iis commentariis quae Indologica Taurinensia inscribuntur, quo tot scripta in me exarata continentur, commotus animo perturbatusque gratias quam maximas agere aveo.

In vestram urbem adventus, quae et pulchritudine et illustribus rebus gestis et doctrina humanitateque exstat atque eminet, mihi periucundus fuit: in primis autem hodie, cum mihi perspicere detur quanto honore caritateque benevola me prosequantur tot et ii praestantissimi collegae,

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qui me colere voluerunt quod studiis Indologicis, quae dicuntur, tam diu tamque constanter operam tribuerim. Quae studia Indologica Augustae Taurinorum summa gloria collustrata sunt a Gaspare Gorresio, qui abhinc centum et triginta annos affabre et sollerter Rāmāyaṇa *illud edidit, quod, hoc ipso anno, apud Indos splendide iterum typis excuditur.*

Hac de re, quae mihi videtur satis claro testimonio esse quam eximie in Vestra Universitate Studia Indologica semper exculta sint, gratior honor mihi venit quem hodie a Vestris manibus accipio. Itaque doctis Taurinensibus, quibus maxime faveo ut etiam atque etiam in hanc industriam alacritatemque incumbant, penitus animo motus meritam memoremque gratiam rursus persolvo.

Then Prof. Botto called upon Prof. Mario Bussagli of the University of Rome to deliver the official lecture on « L'Esperienza estetica nell'India antica ».

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MARIO BUSSAGLI

L'ESPERIENZA ESTETICA NELL'INDIA ANTICA

(lecture)

E' per me un grande onore tornare davanti al pubbico torinese in occasione delle onoranze al prof. Ludwik Sternbach, illustre e grandissimo Maestro di studi indologici, a parlare dei problemi che interessano la mia specializzazione. Debbo questo onore, che è anche un piacere, alla cara amicizia del prof. Oscar Botto — indologo di altissima fama internazionale — convinto, a quanto pare, delle mie capacità di conferenziere.

Personalmente non ho la stessa convinzione, ma spero di poter esporre in maniera chiara e quanto più semplice è possibile, alcune riflessioni sull'arte figurativa indiana.

La critica d'arte si evolve con velocità crescente, specie negli ultimi decenni: con una rapidità e con una molteplicità di intenti e di correnti che appare davvero eccezionale.

Emerge chiara — fra l'altro — un'inversione di tendenza che riporta in primo piano le esperienze del passato, come patrimonio insopprimibile ed insostituibile per l'uomo di oggi e di domani che, senza di esse, rimarrebbe impoverito e incerto anche se si trova a dover affrontare un futuro sicuramente diverso ed anzi, per molti aspetti, inimmaginabile. Proprio per questo « ritorno » si moltiplicano tendenze critiche contrastanti fra loro, mentre coesistono diversissimi punti di vista da cui dipendono tentativi di coordinamento e di interpretazione che danno origine a polemiche animose e, a mio parere, piuttosto sterili. La massima attenzione — soprattutto qui, in Italia — è concentrata sia sulla linea evolutiva che muove dalla tradizione classico-mediterranea, sia sull'esperienza figurativa europea, sia, infine, sulle polemiche inerenti all'arte contemporanea con i suoi innumerevoli esperimenti, i suoi riflesssi critici, i complicatissimi rapporti che la ricollegano all'evolversi delle culture e delle istanze sociali.

In realtà la freccia evolutiva lungo la quale l'umanità intera può raggiungere nuovamente un equilibrio, quanto mai necessario al singolo

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e alle comunità, dovrebbe mirare ad una sintesi dell'intera esperienza culturale umana: perché da essa possano apparire più chiari e più evidenti valori e rischi che non sono affatto dell'una o dell'altra cultura, di un popolo piuttosto che di un altro, ma sono propri dell'umanità nel suo complesso, senza aggettivi e senza frazionamenti. L'espressione figurativa — che scavalca le barriere linguistiche e che si manifesta in forme visive di immediata apprezzabilità — può offrire una base — quasi direi una piattaforma — perché l'uomo dell'est o dell'ovest riconosca, nell'altro, un essere pienamente degno di rispetto, né diverso, né lontano, anche per la capacità di apprezzare e comprender la lucente scintilla creativa di cui si anima ogni artista.

Può darsi che una fredda riflessione sui valori che oggi dominano il mondo e nel mondo dissolva la speranza di questo umanesimo universale che, in molti, sognamo e che, forse, riuscirebbe ad attenuare le angosce mostruose della nostra epoca, equivoca, incerta, sicuramente di transizione. Mi sembra, però, che non manchino segni di buon augurio e di speranza, anche a voler limitare l'osservazione al particolare punto di vista settoriale entro il quale mi muovo come studioso e come ricercatore. In ogni modo è ormai certo che la conoscenza del mondo, sul piano delle scienze storiche, non può più essere limitata ad un unico continente e che l'unità euro-asiatica è, da questo punto di vista, unità essenziale e fondamentale. E', anzi, l'asse portante di tutta la futura storiografia.

Non ostante questo progresso, l'autentica esperienza figurativa dell'intero sub-continente indiano — espressione artistica di una multiforme Indianità — resta tuttora al margine delle ricerche e degli interessi culturali in campo storico-artistico. Il che, come è ovvio, non riguarda né gli studi specializzati, né le ricerche iconografiche ed iconologiche, né le opere divulgative. Anzi nuovi problemi affiorano di continuo e l'indirizzo critico degli studiosi dell'arte indiana si evolve lentamente, ma con sicurezza crescente, verso una comprensione più completa e profonda che vorrebbe essere quanto più è possibile « indocentrica », senza però rinunciare all'uso di mezzi e concetti critici ed esegetici tratti dalla critica d'arte universale.

Non si può dire, tuttavia, che l'arte dell'India abbia veramente conquistato — in senso generico — l'apprezzamento ed il gusto del mondo che si interessa, direttamente o indirettamente, ai fenomeni figurativi. E' rarissimo, infatti, trovare nelle opere « d'insieme », nelle ricerche critiche di grande apertura, magari nell'esemplificazione di un qualche particolare fenomeno generale, che sia presente anche nell'area indiana, dei riferimenti all'arte dell'India davvero corrispondenti alla misura ed al valore della sua produzione.

Altre espressioni artistiche, sia dell'Asia sia di altri continenti, hanno avuto maggior fortuna.

In parte questa relativa misconoscenza dell'arte indiana dipende dalla sua stessa natura che presenta forti differenze di intezioni, di mezzi

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From right to left: Prof. L. Sternbach delivering his address; Prof. M. Bussagli, O. Botto.

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Prof. L. Sternbach presented by O. Botto with the Felicitation Volume.

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Prof. L. Sternbach with the Members of the Istituto di Indologia of the University of Turin: V. Agostini, V. Talamo, S. Piano, A. Comba, I. Piovano, P. Caracchi, M. D'Onza-Chiodo, E. Panattoni, M. Piantelli, O. Botto.

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espressivi, di valori, rispetto a quelli dominanti nelle altre civiltà, soprattutto se la confrontiamo con le tradizioni occidentali.

In termini più precisi sia la volontà d'arte degli artisti indiani — vale a dire l'aspetto razionalizzante e più facilmente storicizzabile del loro impegno creativo — sia il loro gusto, che è l'aspetto psicologico che sottende tanto il loro impegno quanto le loro scelte, risultano sostanzialmente lontani e non facilmente afferrabili ed apprezzabili da parte di coloro che si interessano d'arte ad un livello non propriamente specialistico del campo specifico.

Il che non esclude né l'apprezzamento immediato di alcuni aspetti formali, specie per talune composizioni plastiche e pittoriche, né il fatto che molte delle opere indiane siano notissime e che, fra queste, alcune siano annoverate fra i grandi tesori d'arte dell'umanità. Il riconoscimento sporadico di un valore indiscutibile non equivale, però, all'apprezzamento preciso di un'attività multiforme, durata cinquemila anni. Non c'è dubbio infatti che la fisionomia reale di questa o di quella corrente figurativa dell'India venga ad essere delineata e precisata con molta maggior sicurezza dalla produzione più corrente (magari « di serie », per usare una espressione di Maurizio Taddei) anziché dalle punte emergenti di una serie di capolavori che, in fondo, sono tali non tanto perché rispondono meglio degli altri alle complesse esigenze della cultura che li ha prodotti, ma perché portano, sovraimpresso, il marchio di un apprezzamento critico, recente e di origine occidentale, che potrebbe non coincidere affatto con quello, più genuino e sicuro, dei destinatari e dei creatori. Spinta agli estremi questa incertezza può divenire così grave da farci dubitare — forse a ragione — delle possibilità reali di misurare una qualsiasi opera d'arte dell'India indù con un metro valido che sia quanto più vicino possibile a quello con il quale essa fu immaginata e concretizzata.

Il critico occidentale, appartenente ad un mondo che solo da qualche anno ha ripreso a considerare con interesse il valore dei simboli appartenenti alla sua cultura e che ne tenta il recupero solo sul piano intellettualistico, non può non restare profondamente sconcertato di fronte all'esasperato simbolismo che ricorre di continuo in tutte le espressioni figurative delle innumerevoli culture, correnti, scuole e tendenze che si sono susseguite ed affiancate nel sub-continente indiano.

Retaggi e stratificazioni di queste espressioni simboliche, che sembrano uscire dal suolo stesso dell'India, si inanellano e si concatenano fra loro fino a formare un « insieme » di forme inconfondibile e ben delimitato. L'« insieme » stesso costituisce un particolare linguaggio nel quale è indubbiamente difficile non solo orientarsi sul piano esegetico (lettura dei significati) e su quello storico (iconologia, variazioni, innesti), ma anche e soprattutto su quello critico-valutativo (per ritornare alle forme). Rimane aperto, inoltre, il grave problema del rapporto fra le opere d'arte e la società che le ha prodotte: una società composita, fino dalle più lontane origini, quale è quella indiana, indubbiamente oppressa, al pari di ogni altra, dall'angoscia della storia — individuale e collet-

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tiva — e che risente delle situazioni e delle crisi economiche in maniera spesso tacita, ma non per questo meno schiacciante e tragica. E questa società proteiforme, contraddittoria, mutabile, talora addirittura indefinibile nella sua essenza, è talmente permeata da un pensiero religioso complesso e raffinatissimo da non saper distinguere con chiarezza i limiti che separano il sacro dal profano, ridotto a termini talmente ristretti da poter essere considerato quasi inesistente.

La cultura scaturita da questa società — anzi da questo insieme di società, di stati e di strutture che forma, insieme, sia la storia dell'India (ossia del sub-continente indiano) sia l'Indianità — presenta « costanti » particolari di enorme rilievo. E', innanzitutto, una cultura profondamente logica: sicché sviluppa la ricerca linguistica fino a limiti incredibili, raggiunti dalla più avanzata ricerca occidentale solo in epoca recente. L'India, fra l'altro, dà vita ad un ragionamento logico che si differenzia dal nostro perfino nell'impostazione del sillogismo, ma che non è meno rigoroso, acuto ed efficace, mentre nel campo delle matematiche non solo intuisce il concetto di zero e introduce i numeri decimali, ma conquista molte verità ed elementi di calcolo che successivamente saranno diffusi dagli arabi. Caratterizzata da una volontà nettissima di sistematizzazione, produce una lunga serie di trattati tecnici che vanno dagli *śilpa*, per le arti figurative (e, in particolare, per l'architettura), ai lapidari (tipo Ratnaparikṣā), dai trattati sul potere e la politica alla catalogazione delle divinità. Non ostante questo razionalismo la cultura indiana è incentrata sul sacro e dà vita alla più ricca esperienza religiosa, multiforme e acutissima, dell'umanità.

In un mondo di questo genere è perfettamente plausibile che il critico d'arte sia costretto ad ammettere che l'unico modo per apprezzare le opere d'arte dell'India è rilevarne la loro corrispondenza con una dimensione extra-umana, ossia metafisica, misurando — se possibile — la loro capacità di esprimere l'inesprimibile o per simboli o per forme (o anche per una somma degli uni e delle altre), ma tenendo presente che l'immagine usata è derivata — molto spesso — da visioni ottenute con le tecniche meditative e che, a sua volta, può essere « supporto » di ulteriori meditazioni. Del resto dhyana, stato meditativo, è sinonimo di immagine figurata, dato che questo stesso termine, tratto dalla terminologia yoga, indica anche l'immagine sacra.

Ora, se si pensa alle regole minute e precise imposte agli artisti dai testi tecnici perché possano rappresentare correttamente e intelligibilmente questa o quella divinità, si avrà chiara l'idea che la produzione figurativa dell'India è sostanzialmente legata alla comunicazione di un messaggio religioso molto articolato che, su una base culturale ben definita, è riflesso — mediato, a volte, attraverso una visione ottenuta con la tecnica yoga — di un'intuizione che, in realtà, è ineffabile. I testi tecnici sanciscono la codificazione convenuta (su una base che è in parte culturale, in parte alimentata da esperienze paranormali) favorendo l'artista nella sua opera, ma limitando la sua capacità inventiva (U. Eco

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direbbe: « i suoi codici personali ») a vantaggio di una maggiore chiarezza e comprensibilità.

L'immagine, infatti, è un iconigramma perfettamente « leggibile », nel quale la somma dei simboli, degli attributi, dei gesti e delle posizioni costituisce un particolarissimo diagramma capace di precisare, con estrema minuzia, la natura, il valore, perfino lo stato psichico (per esprimersi in termini umani, del resto inappropriati) della divinità rappresentata. In realtà, tanto nei testi quanto nelle immagini si definiscono, creando un *continuum* espressivo fortemente sistematico, i complessi valori di qualcosa che, appartenendo al sacro, rimane forzatamente al di là delle possibilità conoscitive umane, anche se ispira di sé l'intera cultura alla quale appartiene l'artista. Il quale — a sua volta — usa, nel modo migliore e in concordanza con i testi, elementi ben noti dell'esperienza sensoriale sommandoli fra loro in nuove combinazioni: in modo che, dall'addizione, risulti chiara la natura ignota (ma intuita) di ciò che egli deve indicare. Dalla somma delle informazioni che egli *deve* trasmettere nascono figure inequivocabili, come quella del Buddha, che sfrutta per la propria caratterizzazione elementi stranieri (nell'arte del Gandhāra e sue derivazioni), oppure immagini policefale, a molte braccia e, più raramente, a molte gambe, theriomorfe, theriocefale, composite, ingigantite, danzanti, immerse nelle acque cosmiche, calme, irate, combattenti, sincretiche. Tutte fissano il loro valore sia attraverso i simboli e gli attributi, sia con le posizioni del corpo, sia con quelle delle mani, vale a dire le mudrā, derivate dalla danza, che esprimono particolari stati psichici o meditativi. Perché l'iconigramma (l'immagine) riveste quasi sempre forma umana o umanoide. Una forma, però, che è fortemente idealizzata, soprattutto quando è integra, perché nella sua flessuosità, nella sua armonia, nei gesti e nei movimenti che le sono attribuiti essa prescinde da ogni tensione muscolare, da ogni ricerca anatomica che non sia generica e qualificante (salvo per le immagni di derivazione greca), proprio perché desidera sottolineare solo la propria corrispondenza con l'essere umano pensante e senziente. In realtà l'immagine è, come si è detto più volte, solo un « segno » riferentesi artificiosamente ad un'intuizione insondabile.

D'altra parte l'arte figurativa dell'India tende di continuo a « generalizzare », a rappresentare più che quel determinato personaggio l'essenza stessa del ruolo che il personaggio stesso riveste. Se è un re, quello che conta è la sua regalità, se è una donna contano la sua bellezza e la sua femminilità, se è un asceta la sua santità e se è un uomo comune la sua più semplice umanità.

Ma, non ostante l'indiscutibile prevalere dell'immagine umana, usata anche come elemento ornamentale oltreché come mezzo di approccio al Sacro, l'artista indiano riesce a « sentire », con un interesse che implica una partecipazione affettiva, le varie immagini degli animali che si trova a rappresentare. Per questo l'arte dell'India produce stupende creazioni animalistiche, giustamente apprezzate e verosimilmente suggerite, oltre

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che da situazioni ambientali, dal sentimento di fratellanza fra esseri viventi che è implicitamente contenuto nella dottrina del saṃsāra.

Nel complesso, però, l'arte dell'India è, per gran parte, intrinsecamente semiotica. Ce lo provano, innanzitutto, gli stessi testi tecnici non dissimili, nelle intenzioni, da quelli usati dai pittori di icone (vale a dire i *podlinniki*) che, in definitiva, si rifanno alle concezioni di S. Giovanni Damasceno (VIII sec.) il quale vede le icone come un sostituto dei libri per coloro che non sanno leggere, in quanto esse sono l'equivalente « per la vista a ciò che la parola è per l'udito ».

La stessa idea è ripetuta più tardi dal « Constituto » dei pittori senesi (1355) che inizia precisando: « Noi siamo manifestatori alli uomeni grossi che non sanno lectera, delle cose miracolose operate per virtù et in virtù della santa Fede ecc. ». La particolare natura dell'arte indiana si riflette anche nell'anonimato degli artisti, perché solo conta il « messaggio » e colui che lo trasmette non può interferire con esso inserendo notazioni e particolari ideologici personali. L'artefice (lo śilpin), per l'India, è immaginato come « lo strumento » di Viśvakarman che è, a sua volta, l'artefice dei Deva ossia degli Dei. Proprio per questo il nome — la firma — non conta e non ha valore la personalità dell'artista umano, « inerte » come un pennello o uno scalpello può esserlo nella mano dell'uomo che lo usa, poiché quello che conta è l'ispirazione divina personificata da Viśvakarman. Un'idea, questa, che esalta l'atto creativo, attribuendogli un'origine sovrumana, ma deprime l'esecutore, valutato come mezzo, o meglio quale semplice strumento di un valore esterno ed estraneo proiettato verso l'Assoluto.

Infine è quanto mai rivelatore il fatto che ogni immagine richieda un'analisi semantica che analizzi e « legga » la lunga serie di valori che essa intende esprimere e che, sommati fra loro, alludono ad un contenuto che non solo è extrasemiotico (ossia inesprimibile), ma anche superumano: vale a dire solo intuibile (con o senza l'aiuto di tecniche estatiche) con chiarezza variabile a seconda delle capacità di colui che intuisce. L'« oggetto » rappresentato appartiene in realtà ad un piano super-umano accessibile soltanto con la concatenazione dei simboli « letti » ed interpretati con impegno. Ma — per quanto costretta — la capacità creativa degli artisti riprende sempre la propria libertà e « ricama », sul piano estetico, attorno ai sememi suggeriti dalla speculazione religiosa che è, in realtà, una vera e propria speculazione esoterica, poiché insegue valori mistici che vanno al di là della forma corporea. La quale — se è considerata solo sul piano intellettivo — rimane convenzionale. Dunque esiste un settore inventivo profondamente umano che riporta la creazione figurativa su quel terreno estetico, a noi più familiare, dal quale nessun fare artistico può essere distaccato. L'India stessa ci offre la chiave per misurare ed apprezzare questa volontà d'arte al di fuori e al di sopra di ogni diversità di cultura e di ogni distanza temporale, che il pensiero indiano intuisce quali possibili ed anzi probabili situazioni (o combinazioni) oggettive, e che accetta e considera come

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dati estranei al valore intrinseco dell'opera d'arte. Quella indiana, infatti, è l'unica civiltà dell'Asia che abbia sviluppato un'ampia riflessione sul problema estetico tale, a mio parere, da poter essere considerata sistematica, anche se — disgraziatamente — si incentra soprattutto sull'espressione poetica e teatrale pur non essendo priva di riferimenti alle arti figurative.

La teoria del *rasa* — parola di non facile traducibilità che ha valore di gusto, fragranza, essenza (in tedesco potremmo avvicinarla a Stimmung) — ossia di un particolare stato di coscienza che insorge nel fruitore dell'opera d'arte, è già elaborata nel IV-V sec. d.C. come ci dimostra il *Nāṭya Śāstra*, un manuale di arte drammatica e di danza attribuito a un certo Bharata che è, probabilmente, un personaggio mitico [1]. Senza seguire l'evoluzione del concetto nelle varie fasi — eccellentemente studiate da Raniero Gnoli — soffermiamoci sul pensiero di Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka (X sec. d.C.) accettato, in gran parte, ed elaborato dal più famoso e di poco posteriore Abhinavagupta.

Per l'uno e per l'altro il *rasa* è uno stato di coscienza che non è in relazione con alcun *ego* particolare. Emanato dall'opera d'arte il *rasa* è, praticamente, visto, sentito, goduto e vissuto dal fruitore in una totale indipendenza da ogni relazione con la vita ordinaria, fuori del tempo e indipendentemente dal luogo, in maniera estranea alla vita reale di colui che crea (e che, creando, vive l'immagine creata) e di colui che ne fruisce, se vogliamo trasferire nel campo delle immagini figurative ciò che è stato pensato soprattutto per la creazione drammatica e poetica e per la loro interpretazione, recitata o letta. Se esiste il *rasa*, ossia se

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1. La prima formulazione della teoria sul *rasa* segue, grosso modo, i seguenti passaggi.

A) Una situazione emotiva (reale) — ovviamente vissuta e sentita in maniera diversa da individuo a individuo —

B) trova i mezzi di configurarsi e tradursi in immagini mentali (affioranti alla mente di colui che l'ha vissuta o la vive),

C) capaci di concretarsi in forme visibili a tutti — con l'esecuzione dell'opera [ad essa ispirata]. Queste forme riescono a definire anche gli elementi minori e transitori

D) legati anch'essi alla situazione emotiva iniziale.

E) Sicchè dalla risultante (ossia dall'immagine creata) emana il *rasa* che è in rapporto (di analogia, ma non di imitazione) con la suddetta situazione emotiva iniziale.

Tutto si svolge nella mente dell'artista che vive A, elabora mentalmente B, concreta C ed aggiunge D. Il risultato non è identico ad A, ma è analogo ed è comunicabile (con la possibilità di conoscere A) al fruitore. A è visto: sub specie artis aut fingendo aut pingendo. Sicché l'opera si sforza di assumere valore eterno. Si ricordi il verso celebre Exegi monumentum aere perennius. Il che implica una variabilità inevitabile nel tipo di fruizione e di fruitore.

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l'opera è tale da suscitarlo, esso rientra in una sfera generalizzata ove l'*hic et nunc* non ha più senso, tanto che la fruizione del *rasa* strappa, per tutta la sua durata, il fruitore al flusso del saṃsāra (al succedersi delle nascite e delle morti, vale a dire allo scorrere del tempo biologico). Con questo stato di coscienza, questo gusto o piacere, diviene una riposante beatitudine che scioglie ogni legame col mondo. Perché — e riporto qui le parole di Raniero Gnoli [2] — il pensiero indiano concepisce la realtà in una forma idealistica, ma — seguendo vie diverse, se non opposte, da quelle dell'idealismo occidentale — immagina la realtà stessa come coscienza o pensiero sicché tutto quello che ci circonda rimane, in ultima analisi, confinato e conchiuso nell'io.

Una speculazione del genere, come si vede, ammette senza riserve la possibilità, anche per l'uomo che a distanza di molti secoli si avvicina all'opera di un qualche anonimo artista indiano, di porsi correttamente in sintonia con essa.

Se l'opera parla, in una qualsiasi maniera, se suscita un godimento estetico, quale che sia, essa era e rimane sorgente del *rasa*. Ed essa è valida nella misura in cui riesce a comunicare questo gusto, questo « piacere » (inteso in un senso molto più vasto di quanto non sia la contemplazione del bello [3], concetto che il mondo indiano non definisce poiché usa, al suo posto, la parola *rupam*, vale a dire « forma »), indipendentemente dalle contingenze storiche e culturali nelle quali si trova il fruitore dell'opera.

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2. R. Gnoli, *The aesthetic experience according to Abhinavagupta*, Roma, ISMEO, 1956, p. XXIII dell'introduzione.

3. Esiste una polemica fra i seguaci di Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka ed Abhinavagupta, posta in evidenza da R. Gnoli (*op. cit.*, pp. XXII e 59 note), in quanto per i primi la percezione del *rasa* è ciò che essi chiamano « godimento » (bhogīkaraṇa). Abhinavagupta risponde dicendo che vi sono vari generi di *rasa*, così come esistono varie forme di percezione e che in ogni caso sarebbe assurdo limitare il *rasa* a poche categorie. Tuttavia, come spiega Gnoli nella sua dottissima nota, se l'espressione « godimento » può essere interpretata nel senso di « percezione » allora anche Abhinavagupta è d'accordo. In questo caso il potere di generare un godimento diviene, in realtà, il potere di produrre una sensazione estetica. Gnoli aggiunge che, in questo stesso senso, il potere di generare il godimento (ripeto: bhogīkaraṇa) coincide con quello che i seguaci della scuola *dhvani* chiamano potere di « evocazione ». Per i seguaci di questa scuola il *rasa* è una specie di « risonanza », un suono suggerito, evocato e non espresso. E' chiaro che la dottrina del *dhvani*, formulata per la prima volta da Ānandavardhana (seconda metà del IX sec.), si riferisce alla poesia ed infatti le parole, in poesia, acquistano un potere, aggiunto, inteso a manifestare (*vyañj*) la particolare esperienza estetica cui tendono, vale a dire il *rasa*. Questo potere è chiamato dai seguaci di questa corrente, alla quale appartenne anche Abhinavagupta, tanto *dhvananavyāpāra* quanto *vyañjanavyāpāra*, ossia potere di evocazione o di manifestazione. Ma questo potere è ben distinto da altri tre. Questi sono: abhidhāvyāpāra, potere di denotazione (e Gnoli, da cui traggo i dati, fa riferimento al fatto che ogni parola ha un suo senso e significato corrispondente e definito), lakṣaṇavyāpāra, potere di connotazione e, infine, il cosiddetto potere di intenzione (tātparya). Implicitamente i seguaci del *dhvani* escludono che l'aspetto semiotico e simbolico di un'opera figurativa (essi parlano di poesia, ma i termini da loro usati si possono perfettamente riferire ad opere figurative) sia, da solo, in grado di suscitare il *rasa*.

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In conclusione lo stato di coscienza quasi estatico, prodotto dalla contemplazione di un'opera figurativa, vale a dire il *rasa*, è estraneo alle barriere imposte dal sistema di riferimento spazio-temporale e può interrompere — per la sua durata — il flusso della vita concreta. « Esso sboccia come un fiore nato per magia, senza relazioni di tempo o di spazio con la vita pratica che lo precede e che, quando il *rasa* è interrotto, ritorna al suo corso normale », se vogliamo citare nuovamente R. Gnoli. E, come abbiamo veduto nella nota, questo *rasa* non è prodotto dallo sforzo di *esprimere* ciò che è inesprimibile, né è in qualche modo legato all'espressione codificata di valori metafisici. I tre poteri che i seguaci della scuola dhvani separano dal potere di evocazione del *rasa* (detto anche *rasadhvani*) sono, appunto, gradi di codificazione corrispondenti, come risulta anche dalla traduzione di Gnoli, allo spettro o ventaglio delle fasi di elaborazione di un messaggio preciso, in un linguaggio che — per quanto ci riguarda — è simbolico-iconografico.

Ne consegue che l'arte dell'India deve essere compresa attraverso una lettura profonda del suo contenuto (ossia del suo messaggio), ma il suo apprezzamento sul piano estetico non dipende dal contenuto se non nella misura nella quale la veste (la forma) assunta dal messaggio chiarifica le « intenzioni » dell'artefice. Vale a dire, prima di tutto, l'intensità con cui egli « sente » la natura del messaggio che è chiamato a trasmettere, ossia la capacità stessa dell'artista di sentire, in sé, l'intuizione dalla quale deriva l'immagine. Naturalmente il modo di elaborare i mezzi espressivi (simbolici, illusivi e suggestivi) per vivificare e rendere universale questo stesso messaggio è fondamentale per la valutazione critica. La parte che non è legata alle prescrizioni dei testi e alle limitazioni tradizionalizzate, quella che riesce a conservare e a trasmettere la carica emotiva contenuta nell'ispirazione iniziale (comunque ottenuta) è la parte « rivelatrice »: dalla quale dipende la continuità del pregio e dell'apprezzamento dell'opera.

La questione diviene estremamente complessa. Supponiamo di esaminare uno Sciva danzante realizzato in bronzo. Avremo, innanzitutto, come base, l'intuizione della forza creatrice — ordinatrice e distruttrice — che sottende gli universi. La forma umana, danzante, è prodotta da un'evocazione primigenia, ottenuta verosimilmente in stato di meditazione, sulla quale reagiscono un antropomorfismo di base e, insieme, fattori culturali e di comprensibilità. Questa forma si precisa « in movimento » nella mente dell'artefice, che studia gli artifici per concretizzarla esaminandoli e scegliendoli sul piano tecnico, compositivo e simbolico. Nello stesso tempo — ammesso che l'immagine sia già tradizionalizzata — l'artefice è costretto a usare elementi fissi ed accertati, dai quali dipende la riconoscibiltà e il valore religioso della figura. Ma, per dar loro forma, l'artefice deve tener conto di quel gusto che è proprio del momento e del luogo (quindi di un fattore storicizzabile con chiarezza). Da questo gusto dipende lo studio delle forme che, molto spesso, ricercano effetti suggestivi (nei riguardi del fruitore) sfruttando particolari reazioni della

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percezione ottica. E, siccome l'arte indiana ha limitato interesse per le espressioni del volto, che non sono mai studiate in funzione delle sfumature di pensiero e di sentimento e che, del resto, sarebbero di poco aiuto nell'espressione del sovrumano, noi avremo una diversa ricerca di visualizzazione persuasiva (ossia finalizzata alla suggestione del fruitore). Questa, infatti, si concretizza in un diagramma antropomorfo nel quale — simbolicamente — sono introdotti, attraverso l'atteggiamento di danza, perfino il fattore tempo e l'intuizione dell'eternità, l'oscillazione ritmica fra l'essere e il non essere, l'unità del luogo che è l'intero spazio, somma di tutti gli universi.

I gesti e gli atteggiamenti e la forma stessa delle varie parti che costituiscono il diagramma antropoide dipendono, con qualche limitazione, solo dall'arbitrio dell'artefice. Il quale potrà usare proporzioni, angolature, volumi secondo una scelta personale nella quale intervengono vari fattori e, fra questi, importantissimo è l'uso di una conoscenza profonda (anche se verosimilmente istintiva) degli effetti ottenibili attraverso l'uso sapiente delle « obliquità ». Vale a dire lo sfruttamento delle posizioni oblique delle membra e del corpo per ottenere indicazioni che si traducono in effetti dinamici, di movimento e di energia adatti ad esprimere una parte del contenuto inerente al soggetto. Con questi mezzi, la raffigurazione anatomica, priva di riferimenti precisi alla struttura muscolare del corpo umano, si carica di una tensione onnipervadente, apprezzabile e chiara, ma sostanzialmente idealizzata e quasi irreale. Nel complesso la figura dello Sciva danzante, che appare carica di tensioni sovrumane, che dovrebbe essere squilibrata e irreale per la posizione che assume (e che allude alla rotazione del corpo su un piede solo) risulta invece perfettamente equilibrata, armonica, tutt'altro che statica. Essa sintetizza un istante di stasi in un movimento ritmicamente uniforme. L'artista coglie questa stasi e la concretizza in maniera che, pur essendo di scelta arbitraria (è una delle infinite possibili), ne risulti l'*inevitabile* presenza. Essa è una pausa (ripeto una fra le infinite) inerente al moto rappresentato. Si pensi ad esempio alle infinitesime fermate che ritmano il movimento rotatorio del piede su cui appoggia il Dio.

L'immagine è divenuta un sistema conchiuso in sé, capace di deduzioni « allargate » e amplificate fino a parametri cosmici, ma sostanzialmente unitario e circoscritto. Potremmo aggiungere che la ricerca dell'artista per trovare un equilibrio formale segue, traendone facilitazioni, il principio di L. L. Whyte che è valido per qualsiasi attività naturale e che afferma: « l'asimmetria diminuisce nei sistemi isolabili ». Non vi è dubbio che l'immagine di uno Sciva danzante sia un sistema di valori, di simboli, di membra e di angolazioni geometrizzanti assolutamente isolabile e tendente a realizzare, visivamente, uno stato intermedio fra lo squilibrio, necessario per alludere e rappresentare il moto, e la « concessione », inevitabile e chiarissima, nei riguardi del fruitore, di realizzare un'immagine equilibrata che sia — insieme — pervasa da un'ap-

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prezzabile stabilità. Perché l'immagine non deve disturbare la tendenza, innata ed insopprimibile in qualsiasi fruitore, ad adagiarsi in uno stato contemplativo. L'unico capace di « organizzare » i valori contrastanti (fra cui alcuni negativi, come morte e distruzione, dissolvimento ed ekpyrosis) che sottendono sia l'immagine, sia — soprattutto — l'intuizione da cui deriva, in una sintesi quanto più equilibrata e « riposante » è possibile. Proprio perché risulti più facilmente godibile.

Si reintroduce così — tramite lo sforzo dell'artista nel dar forma ad un'immagine che è, indiscutibilmente, un iconigramma — il valore interpretativo e l'apprezzamento del destinatario del messaggio: questa volta sul piano della godibilità e dell'apprezzamento formale. In termini tecnici potremmo dire sul piano del *rasa.*

Possiamo dunque concludere che la conoscenza del fare artistico, l'apprezzamento del fenomeno figurativo ed in esso della singola opera d'arte (anche — e mi permetterei di aggiungere soprattutto — indiana) non può essere sviluppata senza che venga tenuto nel debito conto il soggetto che osserva. Stabilite certe basi, che si ricollegano alla percezione visiva e alla molteplicità degli effetti ottenibili tramite l'uso sapiente di linee e volumi, di piani e di torsioni, oltreché di ogni altro mezzo illusorio e suggestivo, appare lecito affermare che il soggetto osservante *cambia* l'oggetto della sua osservazione. Tanto più lo cambia quanto più è « diverso », lontano ed estraneo al contesto culturale nel quale l'opera è stata prodotta. Perché il suo apprezzamento si impernia su elementi che sono inerenti alla natura umana ed indiscutibilmente legati alla percezione ed ai suoi risvolti psicologici. A questo punto nasce l'ipotesi suggestiva di una valutazione delle opere indiane indipendente dal loro significato. Una valutazione « ribaltata », nella quale il soggettivo, l'accidentale, l'emotivo devono avere il loro spazio e, a loro volta, debbono contribuire alla conquista di nuove conoscenze. Direi, con Edgar Morin, un maitre-à-penser che suscita scandalo, ma che è, in definitiva, un luminoso punto di riferimento per quanto riguarda la critica e la filosofia della scienza, che — dopo aver constatato che ci troviamo di fronte ad un sistema di valori assai più complesso di quanto credevamo — dobbiamo introdurre coscientemente nella critica d'arte, come nota qualificante e differenziativa, il punto di vista innato nello spettatore (e nel critico). Il quale è, a sua volta, una particella di un fluire (ovviamente storico-culturale) che muta di continuo, così come mutano — attraverso una dura, rischiosa conquista — i paesaggi che uno scalatore scopre di continuo nella sua ascesa.

Quello che conta è considerare la creazione artistica indiana come un « fare » capacissimo di dar vita a grandi e grandissime opere d'arte. E, pur restando ancorati alla nostra cultura e alla nostra sensibilità, compiere ogni sforzo per superare le barriere che ci separano da lei sforzandoci di avvicinarci, al meglio, alle fonti del pensiero che l'ha prodotta.

Un ritorno alla critica ingenua ed eurocentrica degli inizi? No davvero! Non per nulla le ricerche sull'arte dell'India hanno, nell'ultimo

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secolo (che è il secolo della ricerca organica e sistematica), percorso fasi diverse e sviluppato differenti parametri critici, che impedirebbero comunque un ritorno agli schemi iniziali, ormai definitivamente morti in una Europa che non è più né classicheggiante, né — per sua scelta — arroccata in una visione di esclusiva superiorità culturale. Piuttosto uno sforzo di confronto imperniato anche sull'emozione che ogni opera produce in noi, certi ormai che il diverso linguaggio figurativo, per astruso che sia, è, al pari delle nostre esperienze, capace di flettersi in sogno, in emozione, in intuitività potente, concretandosi nella pietra o nel bronzo, in forme e in strutture che debbano essere viste — come dicevano gli antichi studiosi del pensiero esoterico — di dentro (vale a dire in ogni più intimo risvolto, in ogni particolare possibile, ma con amore) e di fuori. Vale a dire misurate su quell'*hic et nunc* che, prolungato da una generazione all'altra, perde definitivamente ogni contorno limitativo per divenire soltanto « storia » della fruizione del *rasa*.

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K. M. AGRAWAL *

PROSTITUTES[1] IN THE MṚCCHAKAṬIKA[2] OF ŚŪDRAKA

As in other parts of the world the prostitutes are found in India also from a very early period[3]. They are mentioned in the *Ṛgveda.* At one place the bright *maruts* are said to have become associated with the young lightning just as men become associated with a young cour-

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1. Prostitute is a woman who offers herself indiscriminately to sexual intercourse for hire. *Websters New International Dictionary of the English Language*, vol. III, p. 1988. Prostitute is a woman who offers herself to many men for money. *Chambers New English Dictionary*, ed. by A. M. MacDonald, Singapore, 1971. Generally the words *gaṇikā* and *veśyā* have been used in the same sense. Almost all the lexicons of Sanskrit and Prakrit make no difference between their meaning. But in Pali-English Dictionary these words carry different meanings. Here the word *gaṇikā* means a high-caste public woman who could be enjoyed only by the bureaucrats and members of the royal family and the word *veśyā* on the other hand stands for a low-caste public-woman who could be carnally approached by any common man. From this it can be concluded that during the period of Buddhism there was a clear distinction between *gaṇikā* and *veśyā*, but later on the difference started becoming vague and in the end these words became synonyms. K. C. Jain, *Bauddha aur Jaina Āgamon men Nārī Jīwan*, Amritsar, India, 1967, p. 146 ff.

2. In the long and varied history of Sanskrit drama the *Mṛcchakaṭika* of Śūdraka occupies a unique place. It has been variously assigned to periods ranging from the 2nd Century B.C. to the 6th Century A.D. It is one of the few Sanskrit dramas in which the dramatist departs from the beaten track and attemps to envisage directly a wider, fuller and deeper life. In this drama, for the first time we turn from the stories of Kings and queens to a more playbian atmosphere and from the dramatisation of timeworn legends to a more refreshing plot of everyday life. It holds the mirror up to nature and gives us a good picture of the social, religious and political conditions of its day. The title *Mṛcchakaṭika* (the little clay-cart) is derived from an episode which leads to the leaving of the heroine's jewels in the toy clay-cart of the hero's little son and gives rise to complications of the plot which are finally resolved in the denouncement and has a psychological significance in the form of the heroine's life.

3. *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. X, p. 406.

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tesan [4]. Gautama also refers to prostitutes [5]. In the *Mahābhārata* and the *Arthaśāstra* courtesans are described as an established institution. In the *Mahābhārata* it is narrated how a prostitute waited upon Dhṛtarāṣṭra when his wife Gāndhārī was pregnant [6]. Yudhiṣṭhira sends greetings to the prostitutes of the Kauravas [7]. Courtesans are described as going out to welcome Kṛṣṇa when he came on a mission of peace to the Kaurava court [8]. When the Pāṇḍava army is described as about to start for battle it is said that courtesans also accompanied it [9]. Kauṭilya recommends the appointment of the superintendent of prostitutes who watched their activities and looked after their welfare. The prostitutes also paid regular tax to the king and attended his court and rendered him personal service [10]. Kālidāsa also refers to the institution of prostitutes [11]. In the *Jātakas* also there are numerous references to prostitutes which indicate that they were tolerated and even esteemed to a certain degree. The fees paid to them were exceedingly high. The roguery and rapacity of prostitutes are often mentioned and it was regarded as a misfortune to be born of a harlot's womb. The stories of Ambapālī and Śālavatī show the important role, the prostitutes played in the social life. Under the Muslim rulers also unmistakable existence of prostitutes is referred to. There is mention of elaborate organisations of the brothels at Vijayanagar in the 15th Century. Under Akbar the prostitutes of the realm had a separate quarter in the town assigned to them. Even in the modern India prostitution existed as an established institution. They were often recruited from widows or women expelled from caste for immorality or other misconduct [12].

Sufficient materials regarding the existence of the prostitutes are found in the *Mṛcchakaṭika* also. Prostitutes were normally looked down upon in the society [13] and were vehemently condemned. Birth in a family of prostitutes was taken to be a result of one's evil doings of the previous birth. It is, therefore, that Viṭa [14] wishes that virtuous Vasantasenā [15]

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4. *Ṛgveda*, I.167.4.
5. *Gautama Dharmasūtra*, XXII.27.
6. *Mahābhārata*, I.115.39.
7. *Ibid.*, V.30.38.
8. *Ibid.*, V.86.15.
9. *Ibid.*, V.151.58; IV.239.37; VIII.94.26.
10. *Arthaśāstra*, II.27.124-25.
11. *Pūrvamegha*, 39.
12. *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. X, pp. 404-9.
13. *Tasmānnareṇa kulaśīlasamanvitena,*
Veśyāḥ smaśānasumanā iva varjanīyāḥ, 4/14.
Mṛcchakaṭika, ed. by R. S. Tripathi, Varanasi, 1969.
... na veśajātāḥ śucayastathāṅganāḥ (ibid., 4/17).
14. Viṭa is the servant of Śakāra, but presents a good contrast to his master. He is well accomplished and cultured in his manners. He has great regard for Vasantasenā and helps her when he knows that she is in love with Cārudatta.
15. Vasantasenā, the heroine of the play *Mṛcch.* is a courtesan by birth but a *kulastrī* by her demeanour. Unlike her fellow-prostitutes, she is more devoted to virtues than to wealth.

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not be reborn in the family of prostitutes but in that of good men [16]. It was below dignity for a respectful person to go to such places where they resided [17]. Their social status was far inferior, so much so that neither they nor anything belonging to them had any access to the interior of the house of a gentleman [18]. Even Vasantasenā does not find herself fit to enter the inner apartment of her lover Cārudatta's [19] house. Even visiting his house, she regards as a crime and with bended head apologises for it [20]. In the morning finding herself in the house of Cārudatta she feels very much guilty [21], thinking that her presence in Cārudatta's house might have very much pained the inmates of the house [22]. Even ornaments put on by the prostitutes were also the objects of contempt. Cārudatta seems reluctant to allow the entry of Vasantasenā's ornaments in the inner apartment of his house [23].

Persons, in any way related to the prostitutes also were considered to be untouchables. In the opinion of Vidūṣaka [24] the brother of Vasantasenā is untouchable like the Campaka-tree growing on the way to the cremation-ground [25]. For a respectable person keeping company with a prostitute was a shameful act. In the court when the judge asks Cārudatta whether the prostitute Vasantasenā is his friend, he keeps mum [26]. When pressed further, in a very low tone, he, throwing all blame on unbriddled youth, accepts his relations with Vasantasenā [27]. Even Vasantasenā's mother feels reluctant to disclose that Cārudatta had friendship with Vasantasenā. She knows full well that a respectful person does not like to disclose his relations with a prostitute, however noble she might be [28].

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16. *Anyasyāmapi jātau mā veśyā bhūstvaṁ hi sundari!*
Cāritryaguṇasampanne jāyethā vimale kule (*ibid.*, 8/43).
17. *Gaṇikā, hastī kāyastho, bhikṣuh, cāṭo, rājabhaśca yatraite nivasanti tatra*
[*duṣṭā api na jāyante* (*ibid.*, 5/7/1).
18. Vasantasenā says to herself, *Mandabhāginī khalvahaṁ tavābhyantarasya* (*ibid.*, 1/52/7).
19. Cārudatta, the hero of the play *Mṛcch.* is a large-hearted brahmin by birth and a wealthy merchant by profession, whose princely liberality wins the admiration of the whole city but reduces him to lonely poverty.
20. *Etenānucitabhūmikārohaṇenāparāddhā'ryaṁ śirṣeṇa praṇamya prasādayāmi* (*ibid.*, 1/56/2).
21. *Kiṁ praviṣṭāhamihābhyantacaratuḥśālakaṁ?* (*ibid.*, 6/0/11).
22. *Api santapyate Cārudattasya parijanaḥ* (*ibid.*, 6/0/13).
23. *Alaṁ catuḥśālamimaṁ praveśya prakāśanārīdhṛta eṣa yasmāt* (*ibid.*, 3/7).
24. Vidūṣaka, named Maitreya, a comedian is a staunch friend and confidante of the hero Cārudatta.
25. *... tathāpi smaśānavīthyāṁ jāta iva campakavṛkṣo'nabhigamanīyo lokasya* (*ibid.*, 4/29).
26. *Ārya! gaṇikā tava mitram?*
Cārudatta lajjāṁ nāṭayati (*ibid.*, 9/16/11-12).
27. *Cāru — (Salajjam) bho adhikṛtāḥ! mayā kathamīdṛśaṁ vaktavyam — yathā*
[*gaṇikā mama mitramiti? Athawa yauvanamatrāparādhyati, na cāritryam*
[(*ibid.*, 9/17/2).
28. *Adhi — kimnāmadheyam tasyā mitram?*
Vṛddhā — hā dhik, hā dhik, atilajjanīyam khalvidam (*ibid.*, 9/7/29-30).

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Prostitutes gave top preference to wealth. That is why they preferred kings and feudal lords and their favourites most [29]. Wealth was the only means by which they could be procured [30]. When Śakāra [31] wants to call Vasantasenā to his place, he sends ornaments worth ten-thousand gold-coins in advance to her as her fee [32]. This led to the accumulation of huge wealth in the house of prostitutes [33]. Vasantasenā's residence has been compared with the palace of Indra and the residents of the former with those of the latter [34]. The prostitutes gave second preference to a learned brahmin youth [35]. Such business-class persons, in their eyes, occupied third position as had acquired much wealth by doing business in different cities and towns [36].

Vātsyāyana lays down that prostitutes, while choosing a person considered three points — his wealth, his capacity to protect them from all possible dangers and misfortunes and his love and aflection [37].

Prostitutes were by nature greedy. A greedless prostitute was hard to find [38]. They often amassed vast wealth and owned palatial mansions with varied riches [39]. They as a general rule loved the riches of a man more than the man himself whom they deserted as soon as they had screwed out all his wealth from him [40]. They accompanied anyone who offered them great wealth in any form and even went out to public gardens to sport with such men. They were looked upon as the common property or a commodity that could be purchased by anyone at will [41]. This aspect of their character is further brought into bold relief by the statements of Viṭa where he compares a prostitute with a public pond,

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29. *Kim rājā rājavallabho vā sevyate?* (*ibid.*, 2/0/14).

30. *... vahasi hi dhanohāryaṁ paṇyabhūtaṁ śarīram* (*ibid.*, 1/31).
Cf. *yasyārthastasya sā kāntā dhanahāryo hyasau janaḥ* (*ibid.*, 5/9/1).

31. Śakāra or Saṁsthānaka is an important character having unique personality in the whole field of Sanskrit dramatic literature. He is Cārudatta's co-suitor seeking Vasantasenā's hand per force.

32. Cetī — *Yena pravahaṇena saha suvarṇadaśasāhasriko'laṅkāro'nupreṣitaḥ.*
Vasant — *Kaḥ punaḥ saḥ?*
Cetī — *Eṣa eva rājaśyālaḥ saṁsthānakaḥ* (*ibid.*, 4/8/14-16).

33. *Ibid.*, 4/27/6, onwards.

34. *Yatsatyaṁ nandanavanameva me gaṇikāgṛhaṁ pratibhāsate* (*ibid.*, 4/29/5).
Cf. *Kiṁ tāvatgaṇikāgṛhaṁ? Athawā kuberabhawanaparicchedaḥ* (*ibid.*, 4/29/3).
Cf. *Iha gandharvāpsarogaṇairiva vividhālaṅkāraśobhitairgaṇikājanairbandhulaiśca [yatsatyaṁ svargāyate idaṁ geham* (*ibid.*, 4/27/17).

35. *... vidyāviśesālaṅkṛtaḥ kiṁ ko'pi brāhmaṇayuvā kāmyate?* (*ibid.*, 2/0/16).

36. *Kimanekanagarābhigamanajanitavibhavavistaro vaṇijayuvā vā kāmyate* (*ibid.*, 2/0/18).

37. *... arthānarthapratīghātaḥ prītiśceti Vātsyāyanaḥ* (*Kāmasūtra*, 6.1.18).

38. *... alubdhā gaṇikā...iti duṣkaramete saṁbhāvyante* (*Mṛcch.*, 5/6/1).

39. Read the detailed description of the Vasantasenā's palace given by Maitreya in the fourth act of the drama *Mṛcchakaṭika.*

40. *Striyo hṛtārthaṁ puruṣaṁ nirartham,*
Niṣpiḍitālaktakavattyajanti (*Mṛcch.*, 4/15).

41. *Ibid.*, 1/31.

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with a wild creeper, and with a hired boat [42], which are open to all irrespective of caste, creed or any other consideration.

Some prostitutes were, however too good for the profession and refused to be attracted by wealth. They cared more for qualities [43] than for money and boldly stuck to their resolve in spite of an opposing mother [44]. It is because of this that Vasantasenā, who loves wealthless Cārudatta feels that she is above condemnation [45].

Prostitutes were well-versed in dance and music — both vocal and instrumental, and in the art of drawing and painting. From their very childhood they were properly trained in these arts. They were also experts in arts conducive to sexual pleasures [46]. Even while moving on roads they displayed such amorous activities as produced passion in the hearts of persons given to sensual pleasures. The result was that a band of notorious and undesirable persons followed them on roads [47], passing vulgar remarks and using abusive words for them and followed them to long distances [48].

Various derogatory and contemptuous names and titles given to prostitutes throw ample light on the dark aspect of their character in general. They have been called *nāṇakamoṣikāmakaśikā* (they whip up the sexual passion of thieves, who steal costly gems and metals); *matsyāśikā* (they always take fish, a very passion-provoking food); *lāsikā* (they always indulge in fine-arts like dancing etc. to attract men towards them); *nirnasā* (they, after their death go to hell on account of their evil-doings); *kulanāśikā* (they spoil the families of noble persons by their contaminating contact); *avaśikā* (they cannot be made one's own by giving them even vast wealth); *kāmamañjūṣikā* (they are the store-house of amorous activities); *veśavadhū* (they are the wives of such persons as are dependents on the earnings of their wives); *suveśanilayā* (they always keep themselves decorated with beautiful, costly and attractive clothes and ornaments); *veśāṅganā* (they reside in the red-light area);

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42. *Vāpyāṁ snāti vicakṣaṇo dvijavaro mūrkho'pi varṇādhamaḥ,*
Phullāṁ nāmyati vāyaso'pi hi latāṁ yā nāmitā barhiṇā;
Brahmakṣatraviśastaranti ca yayā nāvā tayaivetare,
Tvam vāpīva lateva, nauriva janaṁ veśyāsi sarvaṁ bhaja (*ibid.*, 1/32).
Cf. *ibid.*, 5/9.

43. ... *guṇāḥ khalu anurāgasya kāraṇaṁ na balātkāraḥ* (*ibid.*, 1/31/1).

44. ... *yadi māṁ jīvantīmicchasi, tadaivaṁ na punarahaṁ mātrā jñāpayitavyā* (*ibid.*, 4/0/20).

45. Vasant — *daridrapuruṣasankrāntamanaḥ khalu gāṇikā loke avacanīyā* [*bhavati* (*ibid.*, 2/0/31).

46. See Vasantasenā's palace — description in the fourth act of the drama, *Mṛcchakaṭika*.

47. ... *salīlaṁ gacchantī ratisamayalajjāpraṇayinī,*
Ratikṣetre raṅge priyapathikasārthairanugatā (*ibid.*, 5/12).

48. For detail see how Viṭa and Śakāra follow Vasantasenā for quite a long distance, *ibid.*, 1/17, onwards.

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and *veśikā* (they enter into the hearts of other men in order to procure wealth from them) [49].

The following various activities of the prostitutes as described by the dramatist further refer to some more evil-aspects of their nature and thus render their dark character still darker. They like birds eat-up the fruit, like wealth of tree-like noble persons [50]; they are the tender weapons of Cupid [51]; they are cause of sorrow to the ladies of noble families [52]; they are the charming flowers of the tree of Cupid [53]; they are the fire-house of the fire of passion where men's youth and wealth are offered as oblations [54]; they try to procure wealth by laughing and weeping as the occasion demands [55]; they first create confidence in men and then cheat them [56]; they are fickle-minded [57] and their affection is unstable [58]; they first squeeze out wealth of men and then kick them out [59]; they are expert in using sweet words [60] and telling lies [61]; they are clever in creating rift between true-lovers [62]; they are the birth-place of illusion, deceit and untruth [63]; they always take recourse to fraudulent behaviour [64]; they always keep themselves engaged in amorous activities and sensual pleasures [65]; they sell their youth [66] and they exert such a pull on a young man that once entraped he could hardly get rid of

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49. *Eṣā nāṇakamoṣikāmakāśikā matsyāśikā lāsikā,*
Nirnāsā kulanāśikā avaśikā kāmasya mañjūṣikā;
Eṣā vesavadhūḥ suveśanilayā veśāṅganā veśikā;
Etānyasya daśa nāmakāni mayā kṛtānyadyāpi māṁ necchati (*ibid.*, 1/23).
Cf. *ibid.*, 1/31.
Manu (4/84) also condemns such men as earn their livelihood by allowing their wives to earn money by immoral ways.
50. *Iha sarvasvaphalinaḥ kulaputramahādrumaḥ.*
Niṣphalatvamalaṁ yānti veśyāvihagabhakṣitāḥ (*ibid.*, 4/10).
51. *Praharaṇamanangasya lalitaṁ* (*ibid.*, 5/12).
52. *Kulastrīṇāṁ śoko* (*ibid.*).
53. *Madanavaravṛkṣasya kusumaṁ* (*ibid.*).
54. *Ayaṁ ca suratajwālaḥ kāmāgniḥ praṇayendhanaḥ,*
Narāṇāṁ yatra hūyante yauvanāni dhanāni ca (*Mṛcch.*, 4/11).
55. *Etā hasanti ca rudanti ca vittahetoḥ* (*ibid.*, 4/14).
56. *Viśwāsayanti puruṣaṁ na tu viśvasanti* (*ibid.*).
Cf. *Anyāṁ manuṣyaṁ hṛdayena kṛtvā,*
Anyaṁ tato dṛṣṭibhirāhwayanti,
Anyatra muñcanti madaprasekamanyaṁ śarīreṇa ca kāmayante (*ibid.*, 4/16).
57. *Samudravīchīva calasvabhāvaḥ* (*ibid.*, 4/15).
58. *Sandhyābhralekheva muhūrtarāgaḥ* (*ibid.*).
59. *Striyo hṛtārthaṁ puruṣaṁ nirarthaṁ niṣpiḍitālaktakavattyajanti* (*ibid.*, 4/15).
60. When Vasantasenā abuses Śakāra, he says — « Vasantasenā!
veśavāsaviruddhamabhihitaṁ bhavatyā » (*ibid.*, 1/30/10).
61. *Nānāpuruṣasaṅgena veśyājanaḥ alīkadakṣino bhavati* (*ibid.*, 4/0/8).
62. *Madanasandhivigrahacaturaḥ itastataḥ paribhramanti gaṇikā* (*ibid.*, 4/27/13).
63. *Sāṭopakūtakapaṭānṛtajanmabhūmeḥ* (*ibid.*, 5/36).
64. *Śāṭhyātmakasya* (*ibid.*).
65. *Raṭikelikṛtālayasya* (*ibid.*).
66. *Veśyāpaṇasya suratotsavasaṅgrahasya;*
Dakṣiṇyapaṇyasukhaniṣkrayasiddhirastu (*ibid.*).

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them and they always keep him under perpetual torture like a pebble in shoe [67].

Retired old mother of the prostitute was her sole guardian [68]. She was harsh and money-minded. Her sole aim was to see that her daughter, by any means, earned maximum wealth. Knowing that Śakāra has sent huge wealth in the form of gold ornaments she orders Vasantasenā to rush up to Śakāra's house [69]. She does not respect at all the feelings and emotions of her daughter [70].

Prostitute's mother was the mistress of the house. Dressed in printed clothes, she amorously occupied a high and cushioned seat [71]. She put on shoes in her highly greased legs [72]. She had a huge and bulging belly [73]. She drank different kinds of intoxicants [74].

Prostitute's brother was also dependent on the earnings of his sister. He put on silken garments and ornaments in odd ways. His life was swayed by material prosperities. Under the heady influence of wealth he walked like a drunkard, in a staggering manner [75]. Though he profusely used costly and scented cosmetics, yet he was considered inauspicious and untouchable like a campaka tree grown on a cremation ground [76].

The houses of prostitutes were dens of libidinous persons [77]. Youths of well-to-do families neglecting their faithful and devoted wives went to the prostitutes and spent their money extravagently over them [78]. There, in their company, they indulged in luxurious carnal pleasures. They chewed camphored betels offered by them and cut jokes with them preceeded by throwing side-glances. They very gladly and most

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67. *Gaṇikā nāma pādukāntarapraviṣṭā iva deṣṭukā duḥkhena punaḥ nirākriyate* (*ibid.*, 5/7/1).
68. *Mātrā vinā kiñcinna ceṣṭeta* (*Kāmasūtra*, 6/2).
69. See — the dialogue between Cetī and Vasantasenā, *Mṛcch.*, 4/0/10-20.
70. *Ibid.*
71. Vidūṣaka — *Bhavati! eṣa punaḥ kā puṣpaprāvārakaprāvṛto... uccāsane upaviṣṭā tiṣṭhati?* (*ibid.*, 4/29/1).
72. *... pānādyugalanikṣiptatailacikkaṇābhyāṁ pādābhyāmuccāsane upaviṣṭā [tiṣṭhati?*
Cetī — *Ārya! eṣa khalvasmākamāryāyāḥ mātā* (*ibid.*, 4/29/2).
73. *Aho asyāḥ kapardakaḍākinyāḥ udaravistaraḥ* (*ibid.*, 4/29/3).
74. *Sīdhusurāsavamattā etāvadavasthāṁ gatā hi mātā* (*ibid.*, 4/30).
75. Vidūṣaka — *bhavati! ka eṣa paṭṭaprāvārakaprāvṛtodhikataramatyādbhutapu- [naruktālaṅkārālaṅkṛto'ṅgabhaṅgaiḥ pariskhalannitastataḥ paribhrāmati?*
Cetī — *Ārya! eṣa āryāyāḥ bhrātā bhavati* (*ibid.*, 4/28/7).
76. *Mā tāvadyadyapyeṣa ujjwalaḥ,*
Snigdhaśca sugandhaśca.
Tathāpi śmaśānavīthyāṁ jāta iva,
Campakavṛkṣo'nabhigamanīyo lokasya (*ibid.*, 4/29).
77. *Taruṇajanasahāyaścintyatāṁ veśavāso* (*ibid.*, 1/31).
78. *... ime apare'vadhīritaputradāravittā manuṣyāḥ* (*ibid.*, 4/28/8).

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willingly drank the ice-mixed wine, which was left over by the prostitutes after partially tasting it [79].

Prostitutes maintained a hallow of religious life around them. They regularly performed their daily duties and observed religious ceremonies and worshipped gods [80]. Cupid was their most favouirte diety. Prosperous prostitutes had idols or temples of Cupid located in the courtyard of their houses [81]. If, they due to any unavoidable circumstances could not themselves worship their dieties, brahmins deputed by them did the job [82]. Besides this, there were also public temples of Cupid where they went on certain festive occasions [83].

There existed a provision under which a prostitute could get emancipation from the hellish condition of her ignominous life. She could attain the status of a *Kulavadhū* (woman of a respectable family) by getting married [84] and such a *kulavadhū* was considered to be superior in status even to her former mistress [85]. Sometimes the king bestowed the title of a *kulavadhū* on a prostitute in appreciation of her good qualities [86]. Consequently, she could become a lawful wife of the man of her choice.

Thus we see that *Mṛcchakaṭika* presents a very living, true and vivid picture of prostitutes prevailing during its time.

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79. *Dīyate gaṇikāmukayoḥ sakarpūraṁ tāmbūlaṁ. Avalokyate sakaṭākṣaṁ.*
[Pravartate hāsaḥ. Pīyate cānavarataṁ sasītkāraṁ madirā. Ime cetāḥ,
[imaśceṭikāḥ, ime apare'vadhīritaputradāravittā manuṣyāḥ
[āsavakarakāpītamadiraiḥ gaṇikājanairye muktāste pibanti (*ibid.*, 4/28/8).

80. Ceṭī — *Ārye! mātā'diśati — snātā bhūtvā devatānāṁ pūjāṁ nirvartaya* (*ibid.*, 20/0/7).

81. When Śarvilaka comes to meet Vasantasenā, Madanikā asks him to wait in the temple of Cupid, located in the courtyard of the house of Vasantasenā, *ibid.*, 4/21/1.

82. Vasant — *Adya na snāyāmi. Tat brāhmaṇa eva pūjāṁ nirvartayatu* (*ibid.*, 2/0/8).

83. *Ibid.*, 1/32/2.

84. *Sudṛṣṭaḥ kriyatāmeṣa śirasā vandyatāṁ janaḥ.*
Yatra te durlabhaṁ prāptaṁ vadhūśabdāvaguṇṭhanam (*ibid.*, 4/24).

85. *Sāmprataṁ tvameva vandanīyā saṁvṛttā* (*ibid.*, 4/23/5).

86. *Ārye Vasantasene! parituṣṭo rājā bhavatīṁ vadhūśabdena anugṛhṇāti* (*ibid.*, 10/58/10).

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NICHOLAS ALTUCHOW *

HERASIM LEBEDEFF (1746-1817)

There were few Rusians who visited India before Indology appeared as a branch of science who have left written testimonies of their stay in that country in spite of the fact that India was known in Russia practically since the beginnings of its existence and during the three periods of its history: Kiew, Moscow, St. Petersbourg.

One of the few travellers was Lebedeff, not very well known even in his own country, and of course, much less in the Occident, altough he has to his credit two publications [1-2]. But he was the first person to start in India en European theatre for Indians in the Bengali language and may be considered as the forerunner of the modern Indian theatre; he tried to encourage a closer contact betwen the two cultures, Russian and Indian. Therefore I think that it's worth while writing a few lines about this « Russian adventurer » who was so different from those of other nationalities, having spent years in India in the XVIII century.

His name is rather seldom mentioned, sometimes strongly criticized, sometimes praised very much.

As I mentioned before, India was not unknown in Russia. Direct translations from Greek or through the meridional Slavonic remain in written literature. The most ancient one is the *Report on wealthy India*, followed by the *The enchanted Indian reign*, a Christian version from a Buddhist motive, *Stefani and Ikhnilat*, a narrative based upon *Pañcha-*

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1. HERASIM LEBEDEFF, *A Grammar of the Pure and Mixed East Indian Dialects*, II ed., Edited with a biography and bibliography by Dr. Mahadev Prasad Saha and a Foreword by Dr. S. K. Chatterji, Mukhopadyay, Calcutta, 1963.

2. LEBEDEV, HERASIM STEPANOVICH, *Bezpristrastnoe sozertsanie sistem vostochnoy Indii Bramgenov svyashchenuikh obryadow ikh i narodnuikh obichayew*, St. Petersbourg, 1805. (The « Impartial Review...).

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tantra. In oral literature, one of the principal characters of the « Byliny » (ancient epic songs) is the Diuk Stepanowich, an Indian prince.

Probably knowledge about Indian got to Russia through Russian tradesmen who were meeting Indian merchants in the cities of Itil and Bulgar on the river Volga. The trade between Russia and India was quite considerable. India imported horses and armaments, Russia silk and articles of luxury. There was also another direct contact, but of those Russian « travellers » most probably none returned, at least there is no account of it till now. I mean the Russian slaves. Many of them went to India via Bulgar, already mentioned above, and in later times through Caffa in Crimea. They sometimes took active parts in wars as soldiers in proper India, as it happened in the operations of Ghias-ud Din Tugluq against Khusrau Khan.

The first Russian who spent six years in India (1466-72) and left a written account about his stay there was Afanasi Nikitin, a merchantman from Twer[3]. He started a journey to Shirvan (actually in Aserbeidjan), then a flourishing city and one of the centers of Eats-west commerce, but, having been robbed and lost almost all of his marchandise, he went on and having crossed the three seas (therefore the title of his work): Caspian, Black and the Indian Ocean, landed in India and lived there, having sold a foal which he brought from Persia. The importation of horses was one of the most important items of Indian commerce and Nikitin gained enaugh to be able to live, very modestly, for some time. He lived among the Hindu people, and not being a Muslim, he had no difficulties to establish relations with them and even took part in a pilgrimage to some temple, describing it and the statues of the Hindu gods. His narration gives interesting glimpses not only into the life of the ordinary people but also about Mahmoud Gavan and his wars between the Kingdom of Bahmani, where Nikitin lived and Vijayanagar.

Following Nikitins account Russia had to wait for three centuries for some description of a part of India written by an eyewitness, in spite of the fact that the commercial intercourse between the two countries was never interrupted and that efforts were even made to establish permanent and direct diplomatic relations. As to the former, there existed in Astrakhan an Indian colony between the XVII and XVIII centuries and another near Baku and Indian merchants travelled as far as Moscow and even later to St. Petersbourg. As far as the latter is concerned, there was an embassy from Babur to Vasiliy III in 1532 and a Russian one went in 1675 but had not been received by Aurangzeb; two Russian merchants sent by Peter the Great not only had an audience with the same Mogol but travelled in India, wisiting Delhi, Agra and Surat. Those merchants had no diplomatic commissions, they only went to establish trade relations. And we have two more travellers in the XVIII century: the Georgian prince Danibegow, a Russian subject, who

3. Nikitin, Afanasi, *Khozhdenie za Tri Morya*, II ed., ANSSSR, Moskov, 1958.

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wrote about his journey and Yefremow who lived in India from 1774 to 1782. He was a non-commissioned officer of the Russian Army, taken prisoner by tribesmen in Siberia, sold in Bukhara, from where he escaped after a journey through Tibet and Kashmir, went to Delhi and then journeyed overland to Calcutta, being helped by the population and saved by an Indian physician when he fell ill. His book is in some ways reminiscent of Nikitin, both speak with love and sympathy about the common people and also remark the enormous difference between the poor and the rich.

All those a.m. works are personal impressions of eye-witnesses of Indian life, but Lebedeff was the first in Russia or even in Eastern Europe to inform his countrymen not only about India as seen by him but also about Indias culture-and here lies his merit.

We only know about Lebedeffs life what he wrote himself in the introductions to his two books; he wasn't a well known person and finished his life as a civil servant in a not too high position. He was born in 1746, son of an orthodox priest and he did not have much education; at the age of fifteen he could only read and write Russian and had some knowledge of music. We don't know any more about his life until 1775 when he left Russia as a member of the embassy of count Rasumowski, who was well known as a man of great culture, designated as ambassador to Naples. But the war between Prussian and Austria held up the journey and Lebedeff decided to continue his journey alone. He got letters of recomendation from the Russian ambassador in Vienne, prince Golitsyn and from count Rasumowsky, which helped him a lot. In 1782 he arrived at Paris where he was introduced to the future Czar Paul I who probably helped him in some form, too. He came to England in the same year, earning his living as musician (violinist) and acquired knowledge of the English language. We do not know why he decided to go to India nor how he made the journey-as musician or passenger. He landed-1785 in Madras, was well received by the Mayor of the town and stayed there for two years teaching music. He acquired some knowledge of, as he says, the Malabar vernacular (Tamil?). But having heard that Calcutta could give him more possibilities to exercise his arts and also had greater facilities for learning Indian Culture (« Madras did not enable me to learn the wisdom of the Brahmins, for their rudiments are written in spiritual language which no Indian was capable of explaining to me in English », he went to Calcutta where he spent ten years. He was well received by some high officials of the East India Company and spent his time teaching music, giving musical performances and studying with a Bengali pundit, Golack Nath Das and others. He studied, it seems, Sanskrit, Bengali and Hindi, the « Brahmin alphabet, dictionary, grammar, arithmetic, calender and other subjects », translated from English to Bengali two comedies and from Bengali to Russian some poetry of the great Bengal poet Bharat Chandra Ray Gunakar. And then, encouraged by his friend and teacher, he decided to put on stage one of the

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translated English plays. This was the cause why Lebedeff is mentioned by some European and Indian authors. But that was also the cause of his downfall and of his leaving his beloved Calcutta and India.

He had got permission from the Governor to perform his plays on the stage. He got no help from the English theater and decided to launch his enterprise at his own risk. He rented a house and being his own architect and supervisor of the construction, director, regisseur (he found three women and ten men, Bengalis) and November 1795 one of his translated comedies, the « Disguise » was performed. It seems that it was a success and in July 1796 he repeated the performance. But this success was also the cause of Lebedeffs ruin. There began a campaign against him, sponsored by the managers of the European theatres and some members of the British comunity. Lebedeff was rather ingenous and idealist as he was, fell victim of his ennemies. To cut a long story short, he was ruined, had to sell his theater, fell ill and finally left Calcutta no richer as when he came to India. Therefore to call him « adventurer » is at least a mistake, remembering the « nabobs », his contemporaries. He left India as a pauper. His only luggage consisted of a few articles of clothes. But he carried with him the direct knowledge of the Indian people and its culture and some notebooks. We do not know when he reached London [4] where he published his « Grammar ». It is not known when he returned to Russia, where he published his « Impartial Review... » in 1805, worked as interpreter at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, but did not reach a distinguished rank. He diead in 1817 and was buried in St. Petersbourg. His epitaph says:

Lebedeff, Gerasim Stepanovich
Translator of Indian Languages at the Foreign College
Court Councillor and Knight;
Died 15th July, 1817, aged 71 years.
He was the first son of Russia
Who travelled in Eastern India
Noted the customs of the people and brought
The Indian language back to his native land.

This is a slight exaggeration; Lebedeff, as we know, was not the fist Russian who travelled in India. But, true, he brought a knowledge of Indian languages and was the first to cast Indian types fo printing, but it is not clear if they were Bengali or Devanāgarī.

As already said, Lebedeffs name doesn' appear too often in works about Indology. Even in his own country after the revolution he isn't even mentioned in the Great Soviet Encyclopedia [4]. Barthold [5] writes « ... le musicien Guérasim Lébédev... partit aux Indes ou il resta douze

4. E. Radzinski, *Le premier indianiste russe-fondateur du theatre Bengali*, Informations Unesco No. 315, Paris, 1958.
5. V. V. Barthold, *La découverte de l'Asie*, Payot, Paris, 1947.

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ans... étudiant le sanscrit et surtout les langues indiennes modernes, principalment le bengali... publia en 1801 en anglais une grammaire des idiomes de l'inde, y compris le sanscrit... a St. Petersbourg il fonda une typographie avec des caracteres sanscrites et en 1805 publia la Contemplation... ». In this statement there is a mistake: Lebedeffs grammar contains no sanskrit. The studies of this language began only much later [6]. Beskrownyi [7] mentions Lebedeffs work as the beginning of the study of modern Indian languages. Schwab [8] devotes some lines to Lebedeff, Alayew & Vapha [9] call our athor « the founder of Russian Indology; v. Glasenapp [10] writes: « Englische Stücke in bengalischen Übersetzung wurden bereits in dem Theater des Russen Lebedeff in Kalkutta aufgeführt ».

The most information about Lebedeff we can find in his Grammar [1] and in Bharat-Rus [11].

The Grammar (II edition) reproduces the title-page of the original, a rather long one as it was the custom in those times, contains a foreword written by Suniti Kumar Chatterji who criticizes the Grammar, mentions Lebedeffs importance what the theatre is concerned and praises him very much for his humanistic ideas and sympathy, love and appreciation of the Indian culture. The same author mentions Lebedeff in his « Languages... » [12] as a « Russian fortune seeker who was also something of a scholar and a man of culture » but doesn't mention the Grammar only Lebedeffs starting the first Bengali theater in the European style. Mahadeva Prasad Saha gives some information of Russian-Indian relations, a short biography of Lebedeff and the appreciation of his work. Then are notes on some persons mentioned by Lebedeff, a chronological list of grammars of modern Indian languages upto 1800, Lebedeffs own introduction, a preface where he criticizes W. Jones, giving as exemple 3 shlokas of Bhaja Govindam, convinced that the Calcutta pronunciation of, as he calls, the Shamscrit Language is better than the Varanasi one, and finally the Grammar with a small dictionary and dialogues. According to all authors who mention the grammar, it has now only historical value and maybe contains some information about the Bazar Hindi of Calcutta in those days. Of course, there should be a comparaison with other grammars written at the same time...

Unfortunately I do not have the « Impartial Review » [2], having lost my copy during the war; some years ago I tried to find the book in

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6. W. I. Kalianow, *Izuchienie sanskrita w Rossii*, Uchionyie zapiski Lieningradskowo gos. un. Nr. 304, Leningrad, 1962.
7. W. M. Bieskrownyi, *Iz istorii izuchienia shywykh indijskikh iazykow w Rossii w XIX wiekie*, Wiestnik Len. Un. Nr. 8, Leningrad, 1957.
8. R. Schwab, *La renaissance orientale*, Payot, Paris, 1950.
9. L. B. Alayev, A. K. Vapha, *Indology*, USSR Ac. of Sc., Moskow, 1968.
10. H. v. Glasenapp, *Die Literaturen Indiens*, Kröner, Stuttgart, 1961.
11. P. M. Kemp, *Bharat-Rus*, ISCUS, Delhi, 1958.
12. S. K. Chatterjii, *Languages and Literatures of Modern India*, Prakash Bhavan, Calcutta, 1963.

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Polish libraries, but unsuccessfully, so I can only suggest reading the « Grammar » and « Bharata-Rus » which contain excerpts from the work.

Lebedeff tried to give his countrymen an idea about Indias culture, religion, customs. He put down what he saw and what he learned from his teachers, without the many prejudices we can find in other books written by Europeans. He doesn't condemn the customs, the way of life, traditions, ideas and beliefs of the Indian people. He saw rather the similarities in comparing East and West and not the differences. He believed in the Unity of human thinking, searching for the eternal and universal truth.

He tried also to establish Indological studies in Russia. It was not his fault that Russian indology came to life many years after Lebedeff. But, born late, this branch of learning has, no doubt about it, an important place among the results of other peoples. Has and had, to mention only the two Sanscrit dictionaries (the St. Petersbourg dictionaries) or the names of Wassiliew, Minaew or Stchierbatskoi.

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H. W. BAILEY

INDO-IRANICA

In August 1979 my Dictionary of Khotan Saka was published by the Cambridge University Press (cited below as Dict.). But as usual new materials tend to accumulate. Here are some in anticipation of a Supplement.

1. Saka III 90.180 *rrūva*, III 86.100 *rūva* is the name of a medicinal plant. The *rr-*, variant with *r-*, indicates an Iranian word. The form can be traced to **ruvā-*, **rūvā-* and **rauvā-*. The meaning could be « rhubarb » which has not otherwise been noted in the long lists of medicinal plants, but was known in Central Asia. That would point to a connexion with Zoroastrian Pahlavī (Zor. Pahl.) *lyp's *rēβās*, NPers. *rēvās* (with suffix *-ās* as in NPers. *rōnās* « maddèr » (beside *rōdan*, Saka *rrūnai*), found also with other suffixes: *-ā, -āǰ, -ēǰ, -ēz, -ad, -and, -anǰ*. The Saka *rrūva* may have passed through **ra(i)uā-*. B. Laufer, Sino-Iranica 547 listed the many names known to him and the places where it is reported.

2. *pase* « stones » has been misunderstood (as in the Dict. 225 s.v. *pa-sai*). Jātaka-stava 13v2 *pase te rriscye gūhaiñä hvastāṃdä beda* means « they struck sharp cutting stones upon thee ». The corresponding Pali text has *silā* « stone » and the Chinese similarly. The translation « 500 » was hardly likely. Cognates are then to be sought in an older Iranian Saka **pals-*, whence **p̆asa-* and *pasa-* (like the similar **pals-* in *p̆asa-*, *pasa-* « messenger » in the Dict. 224). That is Indo-European (IE) *pel-k̂-* beside *pel-s-* in Pašto *parşa*, Nūristānī Kati *parši*, Old Ind. *pāṣyá-, pāṣāṇá-*, OHG *felis*, ONorse *fjall*.

3. *alāśva* « wild life » II 1. 61 has *al-, alaa-* to be taken to a base *al-* « be wild » (see Dict. 7 s.v. *arā-*) with *al-d(h)-* like the other base *al-* « grow » with *al-dh-*. The *-śvā-* is palatalised *-šutā*, as in *praśvava* « nature » (Dict. 254) from **pari-šutā*. Saka keeps older *š-* distinct from

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čy- (base *ṣau-* and *tsau-*). The context excludes the Buddhist Sanskrit (BS) *ālasya-* « languour ».

4. *aują* (*aujaṃ*) « thick juice » is only in I 191,113rl. It can be traced to the base *vaiš-*, see here *bista-*, *biśtaka-* « thick juice » (I, 159,72v5; I 171, 90v3) and Dict. 291 *biṣka-*, 205 *patäbätāñä* and 282 *ẖäta-*, IE *ueis-* « flow, dissolve ». Hence *auja-* may be **ā-v(i)ž-ǰya-*.

5. *carą* (or *carāṃ*) « troop » I 177,93v5 *pūrda carāṃ māñaṃdūṃ śakrra-aysūrāṃ jsa* « like the defeated troop (in the fight) of Śakra with the Asura demons ». This is from the base *kar-* « to fight » cited in the Dict. 98 s.v. *candarno*. The basic BS text has an unclear *śakṛsūthā* (the *-ūthā* may disguise *yathā*).

6. *garśi* « heavy, important » occurs once in II 85.10 *rrvīyi garśi āvaṣ̌ä māñaṃdä muśḍä* « royal revered favour (vast) as the sky » with II 118.138 *rrvīyi garkhä āvaṣ̌i māñaṃda muśḍä*. Hence *garsa- gars-ya-* to *garśa-* with suffix *-s-* (IE *-k̂-*) beside *-kh-* (IE *-kh-*) in *garkha-* like Yidgha *γarx*, with *-ān* in Zor. Pahl. NPers. *garān* to Old Ind. *gurú-*, Greek βαρύς.

7. *aśūma* is in the passage II 34.5.2 *aśūma pastādä gärye* « they ardered to buy *aśūma-* » in reference to animals who are to be given sesame as fodder. The first component is *aśa-* « horse » and the second component can be *kuma-* « young » as in O. Ind. *kumārá-* « young », from the base *kau-* in Zor. Pahl. *kavāt* « young animal », Pāzand *kaβādah*, Waxī *kuāt* « young ass », Zor. Pahl. *kavāh* « small cattle », Av. *kutaka-* « small », NPers. *kōtāh*; and more remotely Lit. *kumẽlė* « mare », *kumelỹs* « stallion » (TPS 1954,146; BSOS 8,1936-7, 599).

8. *sūlīya* « merchants » in the story of the earlier feat of the Buddha in saving the merchants from *rākṣasa* demons. N 169.10 has *nvāstai sūlīya rakṣaysyo jsa* « you delivered the merchants from the demons ». This same story is in the Jātaka-stava 7rl *rakṣaśāṃ... myāña jabvīyā pa-sse sāṭīka anāha* « among the demonesses the 500 merchants of Jambudvīpa (India), helpless ». This *sāṭīka-* is from BS *sārtha-* « caravan », beside *sārthavāha-* 'caravan-leader ». From it came later the ethnic *Sart* in Central Asia, in Mongol *Sartaγul* « land of the Sarts ». The Sogdians were the silk-merchants in colonies along the Silk Route, so that the ethnic name became a noun for « merchants ». In the same way Sogdian used *frōmčīq* « Roman » for « soldier ». The many forms of the name Sogdian are listed BSOS 6,1930-2,948, and BSOS 7,1933-6,765. The Greater Bundahišn 205.11 has Zor. Pahl. *sūlīk*.

In Saka there exist the words *sūlī*, ablative *sūlīna*, plural *sūlya*, *sūlyau* (see KT IV 59). The passage II 46.78 *dūṃva u cahä: spata u sūlya*, three ethnic names, requires « Sogdian ». The Chinese word *ṣu-li* offered from two Sinologists meaning « secretary » must after all go (the translation « Sogdian » had been proposed earlier).

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9. In the Dict. the two words 322 *mattūna-* and 335 *muttūṃ* were taken as two forms of one word from a base *maud-*: *mud-*. It is better to accept two bases with similar meanings. Then *mattūna-* goes with the base *mak-* with *-tt-* from *-xt-* as *sutta-* « vinegar from base *sauk-*. The *mak-* « to be moist » is then used in a bad sense of « decayed » as an epithet of *bauśa* « smell », rendering BS *pūta-* « rotted ».

This is the *mak-* « moist, dip, wash » (but in a bad sense), attested in the Sasanian inscription of Kartēr *mktky* **makata-ka-* corresponding to the Greek βαπτισταί of the Manikhaios Codex (see L. Koenen and R. Merkelbach, Ein griechischer Mani-Codex, Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik 5, 1970, 133-40). From Iranian **makṛta-* (with suffixes *-ṛ-ta-*) came the Armenian *mkrta-* (*mkrtaran* « font ») and *mkrtem* « wash (hands), baptise ». The IE base *mak-* is familiar in Baltic Lit. *makénti* « to wade », *makõnė* « swamp », and Slavonic Old Slav. *mok-rŭ* « wet », *močiti* « moisten », Cekh. *mákati* « moisten », but has not yet been certainly identified in Old Indian. The *mak-* of Iranian Waxī *mukt*, Yazgulāmī *magūd*, Sanglēčī *moγdōk*, Tājīkī *muqdoq* « frog » may be either « *mak-* » move fast, « jump » or *mak-* « wet », that is « the animal in moisture » (see *mak-* in India Major, dedicated to Jan Gonda, 1972, 41-5).

10. To set beside *śidī* « food » (Dict. 400) there is Sanglēčī *sədik* « porridge, NPers. *āš* soup ».

11. Yazgulāmī *xᵒam* (=*xu̯am*) « small straws, chaff thrown off in winnowing », Sarīkolī *xem* « straw » and Šuγnī, Rōšānī *xemc* (*c*=*ts*) « straw » are from older **huama-*, **huāma-* and **huāmačī-*.

The fuller definition of Yazgulāmī excludes the « stiff » and « hard » stalk of straw. Hence the *huam-* will mean « soft ». Of these Pamir words the older Iranian base is *hau-*: *hu-* with increment *-am-*. Two bases *hau-* occur in Iranian (1) « to dry » and (2) « soft » (see Dict. 494 and 491). The word *huma-* « soft » is spelt also in the medical text III 85.81 *hāṃma-* in the same context.

For « dry » the IE has *sau-(s-)*; for « soft » the base is not yet certain: *sau-* or *seu-* or *sou-*. With the increment *-em-* it is in Germanic *swams* « sponge », *swamp* and *sump*.

Here one may draw in Ossetic Digoron *γämpä*, Iron *qämp* « straw » by assuming the changes *γ-* from *γu-* from *hu-* and with the increment *-p-* (here preserved). In the Lāzī *γvampo* « soft bark of the walnut » the stage *γu-* is attested. For the voiced *γ-* from *x-*, one may note the two forms in Digoron *conuγ*, *dzonuγ*, Iron *dzoniγ* « sleigh ».

12. The *laf-* « to seize, raven » of the phrase III 72.157 *birgāṃ ttralaphāṃ* « of ravening wolves » in the Rāma Epic can be traced in the Georgian loan-word *alap'-i* « booty », verbal *alap'oba* « to plunder » attested in the Old Testament and in Rust'aveli's Man in the Panther's skin (Numbers 31.12; and Rust. 455 and verb 55). This is then **ā-lāfa-* or **ālafa-*.

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13. *gūha* in the passage I 103,11v3-4 *gūha ysarnīja* may be rather from Iranian **gaufa-* or **gufa-* of a « covered place » cognate with Zor. Pahl. *gwp*, *gwp'n*, Sanglēčī *γōv* « storehouse » (with words in Waxī, Sarīkolī and Yidgha); and Avestan *gufra-* « covered », instead of the BS *guhā* « cave ».

14. *ysauhä* « pleasure » in II 75.58 *tcịṃiśkyāṃ ysauhä* « pleasure of the eyes » had been thought of as an error for the common *suha-*, *sauha-* from BS *sukha-*. But it should be retained from the base *zauš-* « approve, like » with the replacement of *-ž-* by *-h-* as in *jūh-* « be excited »

15. *padaśdą* « it splits », in I 30,19v3 *kaṃga padaśdą* « it splits the skin », is from *dar-g-* with increment to *dar-* « tear, split », as in Slavonic Russ. *dërgatĭ* « tear up », Old Engl. *tiergan* « tear away », IE *der-* and *der-gh-*. This word is then different from *padaśdä* « it burns » from base *dag-*. It renders BS *vidāraṇa-*.

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ANUKUL CHANDRA BANERJEE

BUDDHISM - ITS RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND

There is no gainsaying the fact that every great person is a child of his own age and must be appraised with particular reference to the historical and religious conditions in which he lived. However, great a personage he may be, he can not be independent of his age and circumstances. It is said that Gautama Buddha was born at a time, place and country, when conditions were favourable for the errand he was to carry out. For a proper understanding and appreciation of Buddhism which became one of the international religions, it is, therefore, necessary to have a review of the religious environment prior to and during the time of Gautama Buddha.

It is a rare occasion in human history that the world produced in the six century B.C. mighty religious personages in several countries. H.G. Well writes that « the sixth century B.C. was indeed one of the most remarkable in all history. Everywhere... men's minds were displaying a new boldness everywhere they were working up out of traditions and kingships and priests and blood-sacrifices and asking the most penetrating questions. It is as if the race had reached a stage of adolescence — after a childhood of 20,000 years »[1]. In Greece appeared Parmendes and Empedocles, in Iran, Zarathustra, in China, Lao-tse and Confucius and in India, Mahāvīra and Gautama Buddha. Apart from them, there were mighty thinkers who pursued the views of their predecessors and worked out new trends of thought. Thus, this period is of great importance from the point of view of the history of religion. India was, no doubt, in the maze of interacting philosophy and religious views when Buddhism arose. The Vedic India advocated the cult of sacrifice for happy life in this world and as also in the next. It could not fully secure for the performer the objects for which the sacrifices were performed. Merits achieved through them were efficacious only for a

1. *A short history of the World*, p. 128.

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short time. They could not give eternal peace, but bring only temporary happiness. But the object of mankind is to attain permanent happiness and the mind of the people was naturally directed to things eternal. The trend of the views, therefore, turned against the rigidity of the Vedic sacrificial system. People were inquisitive of true knowledge which could bring eternal peace. Thus a new mode of life was found out. It was the life of renunciation as against the life addicted to the pleasure of senses. As a consequence, the system of four *Āśramas* i.e. four stages of life evolved. The four *Āśramas* were: *Brahmacarya* (celebrate life), *Gāharastya* (household life), *Vānaprastha* (forest life), and *Sanyāsa* (life of renunciation). Practically « these stages were prescribed for the highest caste only, the Brahmanas, who monopolised intellectual culture and religious ceremony i.e. the homas, *yajnās*, etc. »[2]. The first is concerned with education, the second with family-life, the third with retirement of household life and the fourth with meditational practices in order to realise the highest truth. The last two were considered favourable for contemplation and obtaining true knowledge and peace of mind. Man's mind, therefore, turned away from the old course and began to think in a better way than the performance of Vedic rites and rituals. In the *Upaniṣadas* we find the great quest for truths for the attainment of salvation and peace. In most of them are discussed the nature of *Brahman*, the soul and transmigration, and the doctrine of *Karma*. *Brahman* is real, the universe is false (*māyā*) and there is no difference between a living being (*jīva*) and *Brahman* — these are, in short, the fundamentals of the *Upaniṣadas*. Through the comprehension of the true knowledge the realisation of *Brahman* could be obtained. The emphasis was thus laid on deliverance through knowledge acquired by meditation and the practice of yoga rather on rituals (*Karmamārga*). This could be done by one-self without the assistance of the priests. In the *Bṛhadrāṇyaka Upaniṣad* (I.3.38) we also find a prayer which reads:

From the unreal lead me to the Real
From darkness lead me to light
From death lead me to immortality[3].

This vital deviation from the Brahmanic teaching indeed paved the way for more lively and autonomous thinking The cultured classes of the period were thus in favour of deeper aspect of learning as opposed to the elaborate and extensive Vedic sacrifies. The common people were still steeped in superstitious beliefs and rituals. They used to belive that soul dwells within the bodies of men, animals, plants etc, all alike. In other words, they belived in animism. The worship of trees, serpants,

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2. N. Dutta, *A comprative study of Brahmanic āśrama and Buddhist monasticim, Yagajjyoti*, A Buddha Jayanti Annual, 1972, p. 11.

3. *Asato mā sat gamaya // tamaso mā jyotirgamaya // mrtyoḥ mā amṛtaṁ gamaya //.*

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yakṣas, gandharvas and the like were also invoked in this age. We are told that the worship of sacred trees was connected with the *yakṣa* cult. A few trees were, in fact, considered to be sacred because they were believed to be the abode of *yakṣas.* They were generally regarded as superhuman beings worthy of respect, but of some lower status than the *devas* (gods). From the Pāli *Mahāvaṃsa* we learn that the *yakṣa* cult was very popular in the pre-Buddhist time. It is seen that such popular beliefs and practices at this period had also a considerable influence in India.

In the Buddhist texts there are frequent references to the six non-Buddhist teachers [4] who were respected by the wise, nobles and kings alike. The were well-known throughout the country as founders of schools of thought. A few of them were senior contemporaries of Gautama Buddha, and were also followed by a large body of disciples. It is intersting to study their view-points. Below are given the names of those teachers and the doctrinal views they held:

(1) Pūraṇakassapa — was the oldest of these six outstanding philosophers. He upheld the doctrine of non-action (*akiriyavāda*), which, according to Dr. B. M. Barua, is a doctrine of passivity of soul. He was rather a fatalist or natural determinist. He maintained that everything was determined by natural forces. « He was what we say today an Amoralist ». According to this doctrine, a person does not earn merit by good deeds such as, gifts, sacrifies and the like. Similarly he does not incur sins by bad deeds such as, killing, telling a lie, and so forth. It is the body which acts, the soul remians unaffected thereof. The body only enjoys the consequences of *Karma.* Śīlaṅka, the Jaina commentator, calls it *akāravāda* and identifies it with the Śāṅkhya view. Buddhism, however, admits neither identity nor difference of the soul and body.

(2) Makkhali Gosāla — He founded an independent school of thought known as Ājīvika school. The *Majjhimanikāya* [5], however, records his two other predecessors Nandavacca and Kisa-saṅkicca. He may thus be regarded as the third or last Tīrthaṅkara of the Ājīvika school. He held the doctrine of fatalism (*niyati saṅgatibhāva*). He explains that all beings are without power and force; they are regulated by the destiny. There is no other cause whatsoever for happiness and misery of a being. He denies also the consequences of action and exertions. He further advocated the theory of purification through transmigration (*saṃsāra-suddhi*). According to it, all beings would pass through several existences in order to attain emancipation. Like a ball of thread the consecutive

4. B. M. Barua, *A History of pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy*, pp. 227 ff.; B. C. Law, *Buddhistic studies*, pp. 73 ff.; A. L. Basham, *History and Doctrines of the Ājīvikas*, pp. 10 ff.; I. B. Horner, *Gautama and the other sects*, in IAOS, vol. 64, n. 4, pp. 28 ff.; *Dīghanikāya*, vol. 1, pp. 47 ff.; *Milindapañha*, p. 4.

5. *A History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian philosophy*, p. 279.

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existences are unalterably fixed. Nothing is to be done to change the course of natural purification. Neither good nor bad deeds have any effect in effecting one's destiny. There are, of course, infinitive gradations of existence and each existence is eternal[6]. By his doctrine of fate or non-causation he denied both action and its consequence. In the *Aṅguttaranikāya*[7] Buddha while referring Mokkhali Gosāla observes: « Just as the hair blanket is reckoned the meanest of all woven garments, even so, of all the teaching of recluses that of Mokkhali is meanest »[8].

We know very little about the name and the life of Mokkhali. The *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*[9] and the *Papañcasūdanī*[10] record that Mokkhali Gosāla was once employed as a servant in a house. While carrying an oilpot along a muddy road one day he slipped and fell down, although his master warned him saying « *Makkhali* » (stumble not). Hence was his name. On finding that the oilpot broken he fled away. His master followed him and caught hold of him by his garment. But he left it and ran away naked. He was also known as Gosāla as he was born in the cow-shed. It is said that his father was a Maṅka (dealer in pictures). Gosāla also took to this profession until he became a monk.

(3) Ajita Kesakambalī — He was a materialist, advocating the doctrine of annihilation (*Ucchedavāda*). He denies the effects of *karma*. According to him a *karma* (action), good or bad, does not produce any effect. There is no further life after death. In his *A History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy* Dr. B. M. Barua[11] describes him as the historical founder of Indian materialism. A human being is composed of four elements — water (*āpa*), fire (*teja*), wind (*vāya*) and earth (*paṭhavī*). After death each of them returns to the corresponding element and the sensefaculties (*indriyas*) into the space (*ākāśa*). Everything ends in death. It is mere idle to talk of the next world. It may be said that his doctrine is similar to that of the Lokāyata or Bārhaṣpatya school, better known as the Cārvaka school. The Pāli is silent about Ajita's view regarding a soul. In the Jaina *Sutrakṛtāṅga* we find Ajita's theory of the soul which is akin to the view of the Cārvaka that the soul is not different from the body, « Upwards from the soles of the feet, downwards form the tips of the hair on the head, within the skin's surface is (what is called) soul (*jīva*) or what is the same, the atman. The whole soul lives; when this (body) is dead, it does not live. It lasts as long as the body lasts, it does not outlast the destruction (of the body)... ». « As a man draws a sword from the scabbard and shows it

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6. Barua, *Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy*, p. 306.
7. Vol. I, P.T.S., p. 286.
8. *Seyyathāpi bhikkhave yāni kiñci tantavutānaṁ vatthānaṁ kesakambalo tesaṁ paṭikittho ākkhāyati. Kesakambalo bhikkhave site sito uṇhe uṇho dubbaṇṇo duggandho dukkhasaṁphasso, evaṁ eva kho bhikkhave yāni kiñci puthu samaṇappavādanaṁ Makkhalivādo tesaṁ paṭikittho ākkhāyati.*
9. Vol. I, p. 143.
10. Vol. I, p. 422.
11. P. 288.

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(you, saying); " Friend, this is the sword, and that is the scabbard, so nobody can draw (the soul from the body) and show it (you, saying); Friend, this is the soul and that is the body "... »[12]. It is thus evident that Ajita Kesakambalī upheld that the body and the soul are identical (*taṁ-jīva-taṁ-śarīraṁ*) as against the view that the soul is distinct from the body (*aññaṁ-jīva-aññaṁ-śarīraṁ*). Śantarakṣita's *Tattvasaṁgraha* identifies Ajitakambalī with Kambalasvatara.

It is said that Ajita was his personal name. He was called Kesakambalī from his garb. He used to wear blanket of human hair described as « the meanest of all garments ».

(4) Pakudha Kaccāyana — According to him, a being is composed of seven elements — earth (*paṭhavī*), water (*āpa*), fire (*teja*), air (*vāya*), pleasure (*sukha*), pain (*dukkha*) and soul (*jīva*). These elements are everlasting and immutable by their very nature. They are uncreated and proudce nothing new. They do not move or change or trench one upon another, or contribute to pleasure or pain or both. There is, therefore, no killer or teacher or hearer. Killing a being means nothing but separating the elements constituting the body. « When one with sharp sword cleaves a head in twain, no one thereby deprives anyone of life, a sword has only penetrated into the interval between seven elementary substances »[13]. In Buddhism it is called Sassatavāda (eternalism) which maintains that the soul and the world are eternal. It is said that Pakudha Kaccāyana « was like Empedocles or Aristotle a Categorialist, who tried to explain and comprehend man and the universe by classifying reality into discrete categories ». The *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*[14] and the *Sāratthapakāsinī*[15] record that Pakudha was his personal name and Kaccāyana was his lineage (*gotta*). Elsewhere[16] we find that he did not use cold water but hot water. When is was not available he did not wash. According to him, to cross a stream was a sin and expiation could be made by constructing an earthen mound. This amply proves how he was austere on matters of external conduct.

(5) Sañjaya Belaṭṭhiputta — He was the founder of a school which advocates *ajñānavāda* (agnosticism). When a question was put to him, he resorted to equivocation. He did not give any positive opinion. His teaching consisted in evasion of answers and the substance of judgement. He denied to give any definite answer to the problems of metaphysical speculation and those problems were also put to Buddha who refused to answer them thinking that they were not conducive to the well-being of mankind. The views advocated by Sañjaya were identical with those of Amarāvikkhepikās (eel-wrigglers) who did not give any

12. SBE, XLV, p. 340.
13. *Dialogues of the Buddha*, part I, p. 76, fn. 1.
14. Vol. I, p. 144.
15. Vol. I, p. 102.
16. *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, vol. I, p. 144.

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definite views as to the ultimate problems. It is said that Sañjaya who was an eminent religious mendicant and founder of a religious Order, was the teacher of Sāriputta and Moggallāna.

Very little is known about Sañjaya. We are only told that he was the son of Belaṭṭha. In the *Mahāvastu* [17] and the *Divyāvadāna* [18] Sañjaya is known as Sañjaya Vairatiputra and Sañjayi Vairattiputra. In the *Aṅguttaranikāya* [19] the Aviruddhaka who was so called for the moral conduct is mentioned as the follower of Sañjaya.

(6) Niganṭha Nāṭaputta — He was no other than the great sage, better known as Mahāvīra, the historical founder of Jainism. He at first joined the religious order founded by Pārśvanātha who is said to have lived 250 years before him. His code was almost similar to that of Pārśvanātha. Pārśvanātha and his followers were naked, while Mahāvīra and his disciples wore white garments. Mahāvīra upheld the doctrine of *kiriyā* (action). According to him misery is due to one's own deeds. It is not caused by others. Liberation can be obtained by true knowledge and good conduct. A soul tranamigrates according to good or bad deeds.

From the Sāmaññaphalasutta [20] we learn that the Niganṭha (fetterless) is restrained with four-fold restraint (*cātuyāmasaṁvara*). He is restrained in regard to all water, as also in regard to sinful activities. He is free from all sins and lives at ease as he has purified himself from them. The Niganṭhas laid most emphasis on *ahiṁsā* (non-injury to living beings) and were very cautious against the accidental killing even of insects as they believed that every living being had a soul. Jainism lays more emphasis than Buddhism on rigorous ascetic practices. Jainism is further a philosophy based on the doctrine of Anekāntavāda (many possibilities). Every object is to be looked at from different aspects in order to have a true knowledge of it. « For the sake of practical application, the Anekantavāda has been condensed into seven members (*saptabhaṅgi*) thus: from seven different standpoints a being is (i) permanent (ii) impermanent (iii) both permanent and impermanent (iv) indescribable, (v) permanent and indescribable (vi) impermanent and indescribable, (vii) both permanent and impermanent as also indescribable » [21]. It is to be seen that Niganṭa Nāṭaputta « was a Relativist in his theory of knowledge holding that there was some truth in every point of view and an Eclectic in his metaphysics, which tries to combine the truth of all these different even contradictory standpoints ».

It may be said in a nutshell that « of these six teachers *Pūraṇa* denies the evil karma in a bad act and vice versa; Ajita in preaching

17. Vol. 3 (Senart ed.), p. 59 f.
18. Cowell and Neill edition, pp. 143, 145.
19. Vol. 3, p. 276.
20. *Dīghanikāya* (P.T.S.), vol. I, pp. 47-85.
21. I.H.Q., vol. 33, n. 223, p. 227.

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annihilation at death, shuts out the possibility of any effect to be worked by *karma*; and Mokkhali rejects both *karma* and its effect. The theory of Pakudha seems to exclude responsibility; the Niganṭha simply begs the question, by asserting that a Niganṭha has attained the end and Sañjaya gives no answer at all »[22]. These types of beliefs upheld by all those teachers were indeed held in great esteem and veneration by the then people of India but the religion and philosophy of Buddhism is distinguished from every one of them.

Those six illustrious teachers apart, there were a large number of eminent Brahmanical teachers and Parivrājakas. The Brahmanical teachers were strictly following the Vedic tradition. They recited the Vedic hymns and earned their livelihood by officiating as priests in the sacrifices. Kings as well as a section of people partonized them. Kūṭadanta[23], Tevijja[24] and other Pāli suttas refer to the Vedic rituals and sacrifices which were in vogue in those days. Brahmins, wellversed in the Vedic rituals, were only requisitioned for the performance of the sacrifices. They also enjoyed grants of land and property under the patronage of the king. They were, indeed, very wealthy and sometimes performed sacrifices at heavy expenses. The *parivrājakas* were, on the otherhand, a class of wandering teachers who had no permanent residence. They used to wander from place to place almost throughout the year. Their main objectives were to enter into discussion with other religious teachers « on matters of ethics, philosophy, nature-lore and mysticism ». The Pāli texts mention that halls were erected for the accommodation of the *parivrājakas*. Elsewhere we also find special places set apart for them in the groves near the settlement. It was in such places that *parivrājakas* could lodge and hold discussion. People living near the places where the *parivrājakas* stopped visited them with a view to showing their respect and derive benefit by their teachings. The life of a *parivrājaka* was open alike to brahmins and non-brahmins. Even a woman could embark on the career of such a *parivrājaka*. The *parivrājakas* « formed an important part of the reliigous and philosophical movement of Ancient India ».

The *Brahmajāla Sutta*[25] enumrates a list of sixtytwo foms of philosophical speculations about the self or soul and the world existing at the time of the advent of Buddhism. They are traditionally known as sixtytwo heresies (*dvāsaṭṭhiyo diṭṭhiyo*). They fall under two divisions: (i) the speculation about the past (*pubbantakappika*) and (ii) those about the future (*aparantakappika*). Thus it is evident that all these wrong views of philosophical speculations originated owing to the ignorance of time — *pubbanta* (priority) and *aparanta* (posteriority). This sutta also tells us that « as a fisherman were to catch all the fishes and

22. *Dialogues of the Buddha*, part I, p. 76 fn. 1.
23. *Dīghanikāya*, vol. 1, pp. 127-39.
24. *Ibid.*, pp. 235-53.
25. *Dīghanikāya*, vol. I, pp. 1-46.

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other creatures of the pond with his net, just so, all the wrong philosophical views have been caught in this enumeration ». These views may broadly be divided under the following heads:

(1) Four kinds of Sassatavādā i.e., those who hold that the self or soul and the universe are eternal.

(2) Four kinds of Ekaccasassatavādā i.e., those who hold that the self and universe are eternal in some respect and in some not.

(3) Four kinds of Antānantikā i.e., those who hold that the universe is finite aswell as infinite.

(4) Four kinds of Amarāvikkhepikā i.e., those who equivocate about good and evil.

(5) Two kinds of Adhiccasamuppannikā i.e., those who hold that the soul and the world originate without a cause.

(6) Sixteen kinds of Uddhamāghatanikasaññivādā i.e., those who hold that the soul is unconscious after death.

(7) Eight kinds of Uddhamāghatanika-asaññivādā i.e., those who hold that the soul is unconscious after death.

(8) Eight kinds of Uddhamāghatanikanevasaññināsaññivādā i.e., those who hold that the soul is neither conscious nor unconscious after death.

(9) Seven kinds of Ucchedavādā i.e., those who hold that the soul is extinct after death.

(10) Five kinds of Diṭṭhadhammanibbānavādā i.e., those who hold that nibbāna can be attained in this life.

Of the aforesaid sixtytwo views the first eighteen refer to the speculation about the past (*Pubbantakappika*), while the remaining fortyfour to those about the future (*Aparantakappika*). It is thus evident that all these wrong views of philosophical speculations originated owing to the ignorance of time — *Pubbanta* (priority) and *Aparanta* (posteriority).

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BISWANATH BANERJEE

MODERN SANSKRIT DRAMAS OF BENGAL

Though a classical language, a language of ancient religion and philosophy and acclaimed as the sacred language of gods (*devabhāṣā*), Sanskrit has never lived in isolation but has always kept in touch with contemporary ideas and problems. It has exhibited a remarkable vitality of continuing to produce even today literary and other works of high qualities.

We have quite a large number of Sanskrit dramas based on modern topics written by modern dramatists in all parts of India. Whether it is the question of national integration, or of social problems like womens liberation and family planning, or labour and refugee problems, Sanskrit dramas have not lagged behind the march of time. It is, however, not possible to give an account of all the modern Sanskrit dramas in the limited space of an article like this and it will be our endeavour here to present a sketch of important modern Sanskrit dramas, modern in spirit and in style, written in Bengal and indicate their trends and characteristics.

We can not deny that there is some truth in the criticism that Sanskrit dramatists of the classical age have not exhibited much originality in invention commonly borrowing their plots from history or epic legends, and because of their inclination to strictly conform to the rlues laid down by the theorists their plays lack the variety of life and action. But it is true that inspite of their self imposed obligations to theorists Sanskrit dramatists could not ignore the influence or impact of time in which they grew up. An individual is a part of the society he belongs to and a poet or a dramatist as an individual is a member of his society. In this way literary compositions have become mirrors of contemporary societies and we may well imagine that change of values in a society will reflect itself in contemporary writings particularly in the dramas. The social environment in which Bhasa, Kalidasa lived were totally different from the societies in which we are living in. Social,

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political and religious conditions of India of those days were far more peaceful and congenial for the development of poetry in an idealistic way. The compositions of those days could dwell on and propagate the values of truth and lofty ideals. They could point to the eternal problems of mankind and could interpret the relation between *dharma* and *artha*, *dharma* and *kāma*, *kāma* and *mokṣa* etc. from an idealist point of view. The truth and values of life explained in these works may not be true for a particular society or people only but may hold good for the people of all times and place.

We may mark the difference in trends in the modern Sanskrit dramas under two heads: plot construction and style. Our dramas now depend more and more on the actual state of life and society for their plot and are gradually discarding the well known and much repeated themes of the epics and other popular Tales. The *Bhārata-vijayam* and *Vīra-Pratāpam* of Mathura Prasad Dikshit, *Kāśmīra-sandhāna-samudayam* and *Hyderabāda-vijayam* of Bhīma Bhaṭṭa, the collection called *Raṇaśrī-raṅgaḥ* by Velankar are all specimens of modern dramas dealing with the political problems of India and propagating patriotism. On the crisis of culture we have such interesting compositions like the *Bhrānta-Bhārataḥ* by a group of students of Gokuldas Tejpal Sanskrit college and *Punaruṇmeṣa* by V. Raghavan. The *Mahimamaya-Bhārata* of Jatindra Bimal Chaudhuri deals with the problem of irrigation etc. and the *Kāma-śuddhi* by Raghavan records the protest of the women-folk against becoming a mere play-thing in the hands of men. In style and technique we observe the most remarkable difference in the scenic divisions and less dependence on versification. It is also to be noted that many of the stereotyped theories and rules of the rhetoricians have been ignored although the form of presentation has remained almost the same.

These changing trends are also noticeable in the modern dramatic compositions of Bengal. The history of Sanskrit dramatic literature opens in Bengal with the *Lokānanda* of Candragomin in the 5th century A.D. Sanskrit dramatists of Bengal have produced dramas of high quality and the tradition has remained unbroken till today. Well known Sanskrit scholars like Mahāmahopādhyāya Pañcānan Tarkaratna, Mahāmahopādhyāya Haridās Siddhāntavāgīśa, Mahāmahopādhyāya Kālipada Tarkācārya have all produced Sanskrit dramas of high merits and they have been successfully staged to kindle the imagination and inspiration of thousands. The *Amaramaṅgalam* of Mm. Tarkaratna and the *Mivāra Pratāpam* of Mm. Siddhāntavāgīśa deal with the struggle of Mevar against the alien rule of the Mughals, the *Vaṅgīya-Pratāpam* and *Śivājī-caritam* of Mm. Siddhāntavāgīśa depict the exploits of rebellious Pratāpāditya of Bengal and Śivājī of Maharashtra both of whom tried to remove the authority of the Mughals over their respective mother lands. Although these dramas are based on the themes of medieval history of India and follow the technicalities of Sanskrit theorists they nevertheless reflect the contemporary Indian mind, its indignation and resentment

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against a foreign rule. Changes in trends could be noticed already in those dramas written in a conventional way. Comparatively later dramatic works of Bengal can be divided into three groups: (i) Dramas based on themes of Epics, Purāṇas etc. (ii) Sanskrit rendering of well-known Bengali dramas and (iii) Dramas with absolutely modern topics or problems.

In the first group we get the dramas of the well known *nyāya*-scholar Mahāmahopādhyāya Kālipada Tarkācārya who was himself a reputed actor. His *Nala-Damayantīyam* is based on the Nala-episode of the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇa-story of Uddālaka-Āruṇi is the theme of his *Mānavakagauravam*. In his *Praśānta-Ratnākaram* Mm. Tarkācarya dramatises the episode of Ratnākara who is later transformed into Vālmīki. Though these dramas have much similarity with the dramas of ancient times in respect of plot, ideal, approach, treatment of *rasa* etc. they are truly modern in the scenic sets and stage direction. Technique employed here reminds one of the Bengali *yātrā*-style and most unconventionally Sanskrit songs are tuned to the *Bhāṭiyāli* and *Kīrtana* forms of Bengali folk songs which add to the charm and grace of these plays. The dramas of Mm. Tarkācārya are remarkable for their dramatic qualities and are wonderfully suitable for the stage. His *Praśānta-Ratnākaram* was one of the most successful dramas of the late fifties.

To this group also belong some of the dramas of Pandit Śrījīva Nyāyatīrtha, worthy son of Mm. Pañcānan Tarkaratna and a prolific Sanskrit writer. He has about thirty dramatic compositions to his credit. In *Mahākavi Kālidāsam* he gives for the first time a dramatic version of the traditional life story of the great poet. His *Raghuvaṃśam* and *Kumārasambhavam* are the dramatised versions of Kalidasa's mahākāvyas. Other dramas of Pandit Śrījīva belonging to this group are *Śrīkṛṣṇakautukam, Nāganistāram, Śrī Śankarācārya-vaibhavam*. These dramas are based on ancient themes and written more or less with an orthodox structure. His other dramas have a true modern flavour in all respects and belong to the third group of our classification. Pandit Viśveśvara Vidyābhuṣaṇa has five dramas based on plots derived from ancient works, viz., *Dasyu Ratnākaram, Vālmīkisamvardhanam, Bharata melanam, Cāṇakya-vijayam* and *Uttara-Kurukṣetram*. These dramas exhibit the tendencies of classical dramas and his success lies more in approach and representational aspects rather than innovations. He also follows the *yātrā-style* but with a closed stage as is done in the modern Bengali *yātrās*. The dramas of Jatindra Bimal Chaudhuri belonging to this group are mostly of biographical nature excepting the *Svapna-Raghuvaṃśam*. His *Niṣkiñcana Yaśodharam* is the dramatic representation of the life of Yaśodharā-Gopā and was successfully staged in Rangoon by the Prācya-vāṇī troupe of Calcutta. Acts divided into scenes his dramas have been attractive because of the Sanskrit songs tuned to the *Kīrtana* style. The dramas of Rama Chaudhuri, widow of the late Jatindra Bimal also belong to this class excepting perhaps the *Vimala-*

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Yatīndram, a dramatic representation of the life and works of her eminent husband. Her other dramas include *Kavi-kula-Kokilam* on the life of Kalidasa, *Meghamedurīyam*, a dramatised form of the *Meghadūtam* and *Amara-Mīram* on the life of *Śrī Mīrābāi*. A former member of the Indian Administrative Service Dr. B. K. Bhattacharya has written a good number of dramas of which *Kavi-kālidāsam*, *Gīta-Gaurāṅgam* and *Siddhārtha-caritam* belong to this group both in form and content.

In the second group we may mention the *Vārtā-gṛham* of Dhyanesh Narayan Chakravarti which is a very attractive Sanskrit rendering of Rabindranath Tagore's Bengali drama entitled *Dākghar* (Post Office). Chakravarti's *Muktadhārā* is the Sanskrit rendering of Tagore's Bengali drama of the same title. He has also done a very faithful translation of the stage-successful Bengali drama *Candragupta* of D. L. Roy. Bimal Matilal's *Ratharajjuḥ* is the Sanskrit rendering of Tagore's *Kāler-yātrā* (March of time).

The third group of modern Sanskrit dramatic compositions of Bengal include quite a large number of dramas and we may here deal with the prominent among them. These dramas are mostly short plays and are based on the various problems our modern society is faced with.

The name of Pandit Śrījīva Nyāyatīrtha should be mentioned as the pioneer in this field of modern dramas in Bengal. He has about fifteen Sanskrit dramas to his credit which are truly modern in their form and character.

His two-act *prahasana* entitled *Puruṣa ramaṇīyam* depicts the historic tour of India by the Śankarācārya of Kāñci-kāmakoṭi. This play portrays the condemnable character of the frauds and upholds the glory of Lord Śiva and the excellence of the Lord's devotees. On the social problem of the equality of man and woman Pandit Nyāyatīrtha has an excellent *prahasana* entitled *Vidhiviparyāsam* which was composed to mark the historic convention held at Poona in 1944 to discuss the « Draft Hindu Code Bill ». Śrījīva's one-act play *Caura-cāturīyam* presents the story of a very clever thief who ultimately becomes a *sādhu* under the influence of wise counsel. In the two-act *prahasana* entitled *Caṇḍatāṇḍavam* Śrījīva has depicted the horrors of wars written at the outset of the Second World War. This play brings to the fore the clash between the communistic ideals supported by the material progress and happiness as advocated by Russia and some other countries of Europe and India's ideals of truth and non-violence. We find dramatic characters like anger (*krodha*), greed (*lobha*), sin (*pāpa*) and violence (*hiṃsā*) entering the stage with all the glamours of present day victorious generals only to be baffled by India armed with moral weapons of religion (*dharma*), truth (*satya*) and non-violence (*ahiṃsā*). The *Svātantrya sandhikṣaṇam* of Śrījīva is a symbolic drama which presents the political situation of the Indian sub-continent at the time of Independence. In a very skilful and interesting way are narrated the circumstances under which the country was partitioned. While dealing

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with the Rāmāyaṇa-story of Rāvaṇa's capture of the *Puṣpaka*-chariot Śrījīva's one-act *vyāoga* type of play *Kailāsanātha-vijayam* depicts the victory of non-violence over violence. The two-act play *Rāgavirāgam* extols the influence of music by which a king who is much opposed to music gets changed at heart and revises his anti-music actions. A small *Bhāṇa* type of composition the *Puruṣa-puṅgavaḥ* depicts the character of a clever (*dhūrta*) man named *Vāgvīra* who is really a *vāgvīra* inasmuch as he fights but with words only for the freedom or liberty of women, and when occasion comes for the real trial of his sincerity, like so many of our so-called social reformer leaders, *Vāgvīra* is not to be found anywhere near the scene. Another interesting one-act *prahasana* entitled *Vivāha-viḍambanam* depicts the social problem of the marriage of an old man with a poor young girl. With the help of a go-between who gets a handsome fee from the old man the marriage is settled but at the last moment the go-between plays a trick and the girl is married to a deserving young man. *Vanabhojanam* is a small one-act *prahasana* without any female character in it and it deals with the story of a picnic organised by some foolish students. *Rāmanāma-dātavya-cikitsālaya* is an one-act play of a new type which can not be classified under any of the ten *rūpakas* of the theorists. The plot is based on a novel plan of medical treatment proposed by Śrī Śrī Sītārāmdās Onkārnāth. The *Daridra-durdaivam* exhibits the jealousy, selfishness and foolishness of our modern society with the help of the character of a professional beggar-brahmin who having received a wonderful magic dice finally casts it to perpetuate poverty for himself and his fellow brethren. He could get anything from the dice on condition that his fellow brethren would get double of that for themselves. In the one-act *prahasana* entitled *Śatavārṣikam* Pandit Śrījīva deals with some modern scientific achievements and pleads for the application of our scientific progress to improve the condition of mankind. His *Kṣutkṣemīyam* exhibits the excellence of *karma* (action) along with the domineering position of fortune. The *Cipiṭakacarvaṇam* is a very interesting one-act *prahasana* which depicts the ridiculous account of a miser who by his nature and attitude creates troubles and sufferings not only for himself but also for his nearest relatives. The *Sāmya-sāgara-kallolam*, is an allegorical one-act play in which Śrījīva has utilised the political situation of India in the mid-seventies as the subject matter. This play occupies a unique position inasmuch as it is for the first time that a Sanskrit drama has dealt with the socialistic idea of ancient India and has exhibited its excellence along with the theory of non-violence and the political thoughts of Mahatma Gandhi based on that theory. The *Yogya-yugala-melanam* is a *prahasana* based on *bhakti*-cult. Haladhara, a devotee of Govinda, holds Govinda as a superior deity while Jaladhara, a devotee of Śrī Rādhā, thinks Śrī Rādhā as the better, and they fight each other with arguments and counter arguments leading to a crisis. There differences are solved and a reconciliation is arrived at. The identity of

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the two personalities is established at the end exhibiting the hollowness of such partisan attachment.

These dramas of Śrījīva are marked by an elegant language, suspenseful action and familiar characters mostly drawn from the middle and low class society. These are truly modern dramas and have been successfully staged.

The *Prabuddha-himācalam* of Viśveśvara Vidyābhuṣaṇa is another drama with contemporary events based on the tense political and disturbed social situation of India particularly of West Bengal around 1969.

Siddheśvara Chaṭṭopādhyāya's *Dharitrī-patinirvācanam* is a satirical play depicting the international situation between 1967-70. This drama presents *dharitrī* (Earth), the heroine, as engaged in choosing her life partner (*svayamvarā*) from among a host of countries represented as suitors. She does not find any of the suitors worthy of her and is unable to make the choice. Chaṭṭopādhyāya's *Atha Kim* is a very interesting play which exhibits the hankering of the modern man in the modern society after the unknown and unidentified NEW! Such men run after anything *new*, whether it is a creed, or a style or a political view or even a social custom without having any knowledge of the thing they are actually desiring for! His *Nanā-vitāḍanam* represents the pitiable plight of mother *nanā* i.e., Sanskrit language, posing a serious problem to the educationists of India about the place of Sanskrit in our curriculum. The ill-fate of the new democratic republic of India suffering in the hands of a few crazy political leaders has been brought forth in his *Svargīya-Prahasanam.*

Dr. B. K. Bhattacharya has at least three excellent modern dramas dealing with the most current problems of Bengal. As the Commissioner of the Department of Transport in the Government of West Bengal he was well acquainted with the weal and woe, demands and complaints of the State transport workers. His personal knowledge of the subject has enabled him to bring forth beautifully the problem of the daily life of such workers in the playlet entitled *Śārdūla-śakaṭam.* His *Śaraṇārthī Saṃvāda* portrays the painful picture of the plight of the refugees rushing in thousands from East Bengal to West Bengal. Bhattacharya's most remarkable modern Sanskrit play is perhaps the *Veṣṭana vyāogaḥ* which presents the uses and abuses of the widely employed means of *gherāo* in the hands of the labour community in West Bengal. Popular slogans in Bengali language like *calche calbe* — « our strike is on and will go on » — has been translated into Sanskrit with all the force as *caladidam calişyati,* and the unscrupulous character of some so-called trade union leaders who are in the field for their personal benefits only has been vindicated. The treatment of the plot and the dialogue of the play are attractive and forceful.

As discussed above these modern dramas deal with the problems of our present generation mostly exhibiting the evils and banes of our modern society. One noteworthy point of these dramas are that they

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are as if by a rule small plays of one or two acts. A modern man in a modern society with all the problems of his daily life can hardly find any time to sit through an enactment of seven to ten acts and it seems the modern dramatists have kept this difficulty of the modern man in mind to limit the extent of their dramas to one or two acts. In this regard we may observe an influence of the Bengali stage on these modern dramatic compositions in Sanskrit.

Santiniketan.

a) The dramas of Pandit Śrījīva Nyāyatīrtha have been published from Calcutta in the various issues of the Samskrita Sahitya Parishad Patrika, Praṇava Pārijāta, the Samskrita Pratibhā etc.
b) The dramas of Jatindra Bimal and Rama Chaudhuri have been published by the Prācya-Vāṇī of Calcutta.
c) The dramas of B. K. Bhattacharya and Siddheśvar Chattopadhyay have been published by the Samskrita Sahitya Parishat, Calcutta.
d) The dramas of Pandit Viśveśvara Vidyābhuṣaṇa have been published from Rishi-Dham, Dattapukur, Dt. 24-Parganas, West Bengal.

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KAMALESWAR BHATTACHARYA *

THE GRAMMATICAL BASIS OF NĀGĀRJUNA'S ARGUMENTS SOME FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS **

In Nāgārjuna's philosophy there is something that is attractive to the modern mind. But attempts to explain the technicalities of that philosophy in terms of Western philosophy seem to indicate a dangerous trend that may result in a misrepresentation of that philosophy.

In a paper read at the 2nd Conference of the International Association of Buddhist Studies held at Nalanda in January 1980 [1], I tried to point out, in the light of Candrakīrti's commentary *Prasannapadā*, the « grammatical basis » of Nāgārjuna's arguments against motion contained in the second chapter of the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*-s. The importance of these arguments will be seen from the fact that Nāgārjuna uses them as a model for other arguments in other chapters.

It is true — so far as I am aware — that the other commentators (whose works, unfortunately, are preserved only in Tibetan and Chinese translations, the Sanskrit originals being, it seems, irretrievably lost) do not emphasize this orientation of Nāgārjuna. Furthermore, recent studies have shown that there was a great deal of divergence in the Indian, Tibetan and Chinese traditions concerning the interpretation of this chapter [2]. In these circumstances, it may be objected that Candrakīrti, coming several centuries after the Master and following the drift

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** Paper read at the 3rd Conference of the International Association of Buddhist Studies, held, jointly with the XIVth Congress of the International Association for the History of Religions, at the University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Canada, in August 1980.

1. *A Corpus of India Studies: Essays in honour of Professor Gaurinath Sastri*, Calcutta, 1980, pp. 85-95.

2. Cf. Musashi Tachikawa, *A Study of Buddhapālita's Mūlamadhyamakavṛtti*, in « The Journal of the Faculty of Literature », Nagoya University, LXIII, Philosophy 21 (March 1974), pp. 1 ff. (Only the first part of this study — « to be continued » — has been available to me).

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of his time, is misrepresenting, himself, Nāgārjuna's thought by foisting upon his words a grammatical meaning which they possibly do not have.

Although I feel that Candrakīrti's interpretation is more satisfactory than any other interpretation which I have been able to see through translations in modern European languages of the Tibetan and Chinese translations of the commentaries mentioned above, I will not insist on this point. What I would emphasize, rather, is that Candrakīrti's interpretation itself has been misunderstood by his modern interpreters. My purpose, therefore, is here to interpret Candrakīrti rather than Nāgārjuna himself.

There is a great deal of interest today in Candrakīrti's *Prasannapadā*. The text needs a new edition. But, unless sufficient attention is given to the grammatical questions dealt with by Candrakīrti, this new edition will not be altogether free from blemishes — not to speak of the new translation which the *Prasannapadā* needs also. Thus, in his commentary on *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* II, 6, Candrakīrti states: ... *naivam. śaktir hi kārako na dravyam. kriyābhedāc ca tatsādhanasyāpi śakteḥ siddha eva bhedaḥ. na hi sthitikriyayā vaktā syāt. dravyam ekam iti cet, bhavatv evam, na tu dravyaṃ kārakaḥ. kiṃ tarhi? śaktiḥ. sā ca bhidyata eva.* As I have shown in my paper referred to above, the point raised here is a point of Grammar: following Bhartṛhari's terminology (the idea, however, was prevalent long before Bhartṛhari, at least when Patañjali wrote his *Mahābhāṣya*, if it did not originate with Pāṇini himself), Candrakīrti teaches his opponent that what is understood in Grammar by *kāraka* or *sādhana* « means to bring about an action » is not a fixed substance (*dravya*) but a power or capacity (*śakti*, *sāmarthya*) which resides in a thing and which is diversified because of the diversity of the actions. Professor Jacques May's interpretation of the term *śakti* used in this passage, viz.: « Les Vaibhāṣika font une différence entre l'élément (*dharma*, *dravya*) en lui-même, sa nature réelle (*svabhāva*), et son "efficiency moment", sa fonction ou manifestation (*kāritra*, *lakṣaṇa*). Pour les Sautrāntika, l'élément, la substance, ne se distingue pas de l'activité (*kriyā*), de l'énergie (*śakti*) par laquelle il se manifeste. Les Mādhyamika adoptent cette opinion en vérité de surface (*saṃvṛti-satya*). L'agent n'est pas une substance tantôt en repos, tantôt affectée d'une activité extrinsèque; il *est* activité ou énergie »[3], is quite irrelevant here. Candrakīrti, as the context — to which I am coming in while — shows, is speaking here in grammatical terms. There is, indeed, a striking parallel to this passage of the *Prasannapadā* in a grammatical treatise, in Jinendrabuddhi's *Nyāsa* on the *Kāśikāvṛtti*, which is a commentary on Pāṇini's Grammar: *na hi dravyaṃ kārakam. kiṃ tarhi? śaktiḥ. sā ceha bhidyate*[4]. Now, in the *Prasannapadā* passage just quoted,

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3. J. May, *Candrakīrti: Prasannapadā Madhyamakavṛtti* (Paris, 1959), p. 59, n. 33 (cf. paper cited above, p. 88).

4. *Nyāsa* on *Kāśikā* on Pāṇini II, 3, 7 (cf. paper referred to above, n. 27).

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where the word *kāraka* occurs twice, the manuscript preserved in Paris (Société Asiatique) gives, in the first place, the masculine *kārakaḥ*, but, a little farther in the same line, the neuter *kārakam*. In view of the grammatical theory being exposed in the passage, the neuter, of course, is naturally expected (*kāraka* in the technical sense is neuter in Grammar). As I have shown, we can manage, if need be, with the masculine also, without sacrificing the grammatical theory. But one wants to know what is the correct reading, and, for that purpose, all the manuscripts available should be consulted. Professor De Jong's *Textcritical Notes*, however, contain no indication on this point [5].

Before I come to the subject which I propose to discuss today, I would like to summarize briefly — in the light of Candrakīrti's *Prasannapadā* — the arguments contained in the first six *kārikā*-s of the second chapter of the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*-s, *kārikā*-s which are the most important in that chapter, for it is on their understanding that will depend that of much of the rest of the chapter. These arguments present themselves as follows. Motion (*gati*, *gamana*) cannot be conceived in relation to a road that has already been travelled (*gata*), nor in relation to a road that has not yet been travelled (*agata*): in the first one, motion has ceased, and in the second, it has not yet occurred. Motion can be conceived only in relation to a road that is being travelled at present (*gamyamāna*). But then, it is impossible to attribute motion to a road that is being travelled. It is because of a connection with the action of travelling (*gamikriyā*, says Candrakīrti) that we designate a road as « being travelled » (*gamyamāna*). There is no second action of travelling that can be coherently attributed to it. Or, one should suppose that in attributing the action of travelling to a road that is « being travelled », in the sentence *gamyamānaṃ gamyate* « [The road] that is being travelled is being travelled », one is using the verb *gamyate* « is being travelled » without there being any motion — which is absurd. In other words, one can only say *gamyamānam* « being travelled »; one cannot use the complete sentence: *gamyamānaṃ gamyate* « [The road] that is being travelled is being travelled ». Now, if it is supposed, for the sake of argument, that the connection with the action of travelling is in the finite verb *gamyate* « is being travelled », then there is no connection with the action of travelling in the participle *gamyamāna* « being travelled »; and we encounter the same absurditiy as before: one would be designating a road as « being travelled » (*gamyamāna*) without there being any motion! Finally, it may be supposed that there is connection with the action of travelling in both *gamyamāna* « being travelled » and *gamyate* « is being travelled ». There are, then, two motions, one by virtue of which the road is designated as « being travelled », and the other that is attributed to that road, its locus (*adhikaraṇa*, says Candra-

5. J. W. De Jong, *Textcritical Notes on the Prasannapadā*, in IIJ, 20, 1978, pp. 25-59, 217-52.

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kīrti), when it is said: *gamyamānaṃ gamyate* « [The road] that is being travelled is being travelled ». What harm is there if there are two motions? The harm is that, if there are two motions, then there should also be two agents of motion (*dvau gantārau prasajyete prasakte gamanadvaye*: *kārikā* 6ab). « An action » — says Candrakīrti — « necessarily requires a means to bring it about (*sādhana*): the object (*karman*) or the agent (*kartṛ*). Now the action of travelling also resides in an agent; therefore, it requires an agent of travelling (*gantṛ*) ». Candrakīrti refers here to the grammatical theory according to which the action denoted by a verbal root resides either in the agent (*kartṛ*) or in the object (*karman*), and the verbal root *gam-* « to go, move, travel » is one of those which denote actions that reside in the agent (*kartṛsthakriya*). There should be, then, two agents of motion if there are two motions. But we have only one agent in the case under consideration. The opponent, ignorant of Grammar, says that one agent can perform more than one action: for instance, when the same Devadatta, standing, speaks and sees. But Candrakīrti teaches him, in the passage quoted above, that *kāraka* is not a substance (*dravya*), but a power (*śakti*) which is diversified because of the diversity of the actions. In this way we can account for the fact that Devadatta performs simultaneously the actions of standing, of speaking and of seeing. Each of these actions has a different agent: it is not the substance Devadatta, which is the same in all these actions, but a power — each time different — that resides in him. When, however, Devadatta alone moves, there are not in him two powers which can account for the double action of moving implied in the sentence *gamyamānaṃ gamyate* « [The road] that is being travelled is being travelled ». There would be no difficulty if the two actions of moving or travelling referred to two different times; there would then be two powers in Devadatta, functioning as the agents of the actions of moving in two different times. But, in the instance under consideration, both the actions refer to the same time, the present. Hence the paradox.

So much for the first six *kārikā*-s of the second chapter of the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*-s, according to Candrakīrti's commentary. The majority of the arguments contained in the rest of the chapter are just variants of these arguments. So, once these arguments are understood, it will be easy to understand the others.

Similar arguments will be used by Nāgārjuna, in other contexts, in the third and the seventh chapters of the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*-s. But the eighth chapter is a continuation of the second; for the last two *kārikā*-s of the second chapter are elucidated only in the eighth. This eighth chapter, entitled *Karmakārakaparīkṣā*, has also posed a problem. I shall, therefore, discuss it briefly here.

The problem is with regard to the interpretation of the terms *karman* and *kāraka*. It is clear from the context that Nāgārjuna is here talking about « act » and « agent » in the moral sense. However, Candrakīrti interprets the terms in the grammatical sense. *Kāraka*, he says,

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is the « agent » (*kartṛ*: this terms is also used by Nāgārjuna himself in the same chapter), the agent who is « independent » (*svatantra*). Candrakīrti thus refers to Pāṇini I, 4, 54, where the *kartṛ*, one of the *kāraka*-s, « means to bring about an action », is defined as « independent » (*svatantraḥ kartā*). Similarly, Candrakīrti interprets *karman* in the grammatical sense of *karma-kāraka*, and quotes Pāṇini I, 4, 49, where the *karman*, i.e. the « object », is defined as « that which the agent most wishes to reach (through his action) », *kartur īpsitatamaṃ karma*. What further complicates the matter is that as instances of *karman* « object » Candrakīrti himself cites things which are rather « acts » than « objects »: *ghaṭakaraṇa* « fabrication of a pot », *ānantaryakarman* « an act (a bad one) that finds retribution immediately ». I shall not discuss here Professor May's translation of this chapter nor his comments on this and that point. I shall rather translate the first three *kārikā*-s of this chapter along with Candrakīrti's commentary on them, and try to show how the entire thing holds together. The translation does not go without difficulty, for we have to deal with two values of the term *karman*: « act » and « object ». I propose to render, in Nāgārjuna's *kārikā*-s, the term *karman* by « act-object ». I do not think that there should be any objection to this procedure, for Nāgārjuna might well have had in mind both these values, while formulating his paradoxes.

I. *sadbhūtaḥ kārakaḥ karma sadbhūtaṃ na karoty ayam /*
kārako nāpy asadbhūtaḥ karmāsadbhūtam īhate //

« This existent agent does not perform an existent act-object. Neither does a nonexistent agent aim at a nonexistent act-object ».

Candrakīrti:

tatra karotīti kārakaḥ kartā. kurvāṇasyaiva kiṃcit kārakavyapadeśo nākurvāṇasya. tac ca karaṇaṃ sadbhūtasya vā kartuḥ parikalpyeta, asadbhūtasya vā, sadasadbhūtasya vā. kriyata iti karma, kartur īpsitatamam[6]*. tad api trividham: sadbhūtam asadbhūtaṃ sadasadbhūtaṃ ca. tatra sadbhūtaḥ kārakaḥ kriyāyuktaḥ sadbhūtaṃ kriyāyuktaṃ karma na karotīty ekā pratijñā. idānīm asadbhūto 'pi kriyārahito 'sadbhūtaṃ kriyārahitaṃ karma na karotīty aparā pratijñā.*

« Of these, *kāraka* means *kartṛ* " agent ", by virtue of the etymology " ... does " (*karoti*)[7]. It is with regard to somebody doing something that one uses the designation " agent ", not with regard to somebody who does not do anything. And that doing would be conceived either with regard to an agent who is existent, or with regard to an agent who is nonexistent, or with regard to an agent who is both existent and nonexistent. The word *karman* is derived through the etymology " ... is

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6. Thus read, instead of *kartarīpsitatamam*, as printed in L. de La Vallée Poussin's edition.

7. Cf. *Pāṇini* III, 1, 133 (*ṇvultṛcau*) & III, 4, 67 (*kartari kṛt*).

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done " (*kriyate*) [8]. It means " that which the agent most wishes to reach " (*kartur īpsitatamam*) [9]. That also is of three kinds: existent, nonexistent, existent-nonexistent. Now, one proposition is: An existent agent, i.e. an agent endowed with action (*kriyā*), does not accomplish an existent object, i.e. an object endowed with action (*kriyā*). And another proposition is: Also, a nonexistent agent, i.e. an agent bereft of action, does not accomplish a nonexistent object, i.e. an object bereft of action ».

Candrakīrti:

tatrādyāṃ prasādhayitukāma āha:

« Desirous of demonstrating the first of these [propositions], [the Master] says »:

IIab. *sadbhūtasya kriyā nāsti karma ca syād akartṛkam /*

« An existent [agent] does not have any action, and the act-object would be without an agent ».

Candrakīrti:

kriyānibandhanatvāt kārakavyapadeśasya karotikriyāyukta [10] *eva kaścit sadbhūtaḥ kārakavyapadeśaṃ labhate, tataś ca tasyaivaṃvidhasya kriyāhetukalabdhakārakavyapadeśasyāparā kriyā nāsti yayā karma kuryāt. kriyābhāvāc ca yadā kārakaḥ karma na karoti tadā kārakanirapekṣam akartṛkaṃ karma syāt. na cākartṛkaṃ karma saṃbhavati vandhyāsūnor iva ghaṭakaraṇam iti. evaṃ tāvat*
sadbhūtasya kriyā nāsti karma ca syād akartṛkam
iti doṣaprasaṅgāt sadbhūtaḥ kārakaḥ karma na karoti.

« Since the designation *kāraka* (" means to bring about an action ") [11] has for its cause the action (*kriyā*), it is somebody existent, i.e. endowed with the action of doing (*karotikriyāyukta*), who receives the designation " agent ". And for that reason, such a person, who has received the designation " agent " because of the action (*kriyā*), does not have another action through which he would accomplish the object. And when the agent does not acomplish an object because of the absence of action, the object, independent of an agent, would be without an agent. But an object without an agent is an impossibility, like the fabrication of a pot by the son of a barren woman. Thus, then, because the fault arises, viz.

" An existent [agent] does not have any action, and the act-object would be without an agent ",

an existent agent does not accomplish an object ».

This argument reminds us of the arguments of the second chapter, for instance: It is by virtue of the action of moving that a « mover »

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8. *Uṇādisūtra* IV, 144 (*Siddhāntakaumudī*, 584) [*sarvadhātubhyo manin*].
9. *Pāṇini* I, 4, 49 (cf. p. 39 above).
10. Thus read, instead of *karoti kriyāyukta*, in L. de La Vallée Poussin's edition.
11. *Kāraka* here is used in the technical sense. Cf. p. 42 below, commentary on *kārikā* III.

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(*gantṛ*) is called « mover »; there is no second action of moving in him by virtue of which one could say: « The mover moves » (*gantā gacchati*) [II, 9-10].

Candrakīrti proceeds:

idānīṃ sadbhūtam api karma kārako na karotīti pratipādayann āha:

« Now [the Master,] establishing that the agent does not also accomplish an existent object, says »:

IIcd. *sadbhūtasya kriyā nāsti kartā ca syād akarmakaḥ //*

« An existent [act-object] does not have any action, and the agent would be without an act-object ».

Candrakīrti:

sadbhūtaṃ nāma karma kriyāyuktam. tasyedānīṃ kriyānibandhanalabdhakarmavyapadeśasyāparā kriyā nāsti yayā karma kriyeteti. evaṃ tāvat sadbhūtasya karmaṇaḥ kriyā nāsti. yadā nāsty aparā[12] *kriyā tadā kārakas tat sadbhūtaṃ karma naiva karoti. yadā ca na karoti karmaṇo dvitīyakriyābhāvāt, tadākarmaka evāvidyamānakarmaka eva tasya karmaṇaḥ kārakaḥ syāt. na caitad yuktam. na hy akṛtānantaryakarmaṇa ānantaryakarmakārakatvaṃ dṛṣṭam iti.*

« An existent object, indeed, is that which is endowed with an action. Now that entity, which has received the designation " object " because of the action, does not have another action through which the object would be accomplished. Thus, then, an existent object has no action. When there is no other action, the agent does not, indeed, accomplish that existent object. And when he does not accomplish [the object] because of the fact that the object has no second action, the agent of that object would indeed be without an object, i.e. an agent whose object does not exist. This, however, is not reasonable; for it is against experience that one who has not performed an [evil] act that finds immediate retribution be the agent of an [evil] act that finds immediate retribution ».

evaṃ sadbhūtaḥ kārakaḥ sadbhūtaṃ karma na karotīti saṃsādhyedānīṃ yathāsadbhūtam api karmāsadbhūtaḥ kārako na karoti tathā pratipādayann āha:

« Having thus demonstrated that an existent agent does not accomplish an existent object, [the Master] now, establishing how also a nonexistent agent does not accomplish a nonexistent object, says »:

III. *karoti yady asadbhūto 'sadbhūtaṃ karma kārakaḥ /*
ahetukaṃ bhavet karma kartā cāhetuko bhavet /

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12. For the reading cf. J. W. De Jong, *Textcritical Notes...*, IIJ, 20, 1978, p. 47.

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« If a nonexistent agent performs a nonexistent act-object, the act-object would be without cause, and the agent also would be without cause ».

Candrakīrti:

asadbhūtaḥ kārako yaḥ kriyārahitaḥ. kriyā ca kārakavyapadeśe hetur iti kiryārahitaḥ kārako 'pi nirhetukaḥ syāt, karmāpy asadbhūtaṃ nirhetukaṃ syāt.

« That agent is nonexistent who is bereft of action. Action, however, is the cause of the designation *kāraka* (" means to bring about an action ") [13]; so the agent, bereft of action, would be without cause, and the nonexistent object also would be without cause ».

For our present purpose, it is not necessary to proceed further and see how Nāgārjuna refutes the other theses, viz.: An existent-nonexistent agent does not accomplish an existent-nonexistent act-object; An existent agent does not accomplish a nonexistent act-object; A nonexistent agent does not accomplish an existent act-object, and so on. There is no incongruity in Candrakīrti's commentary. An act also can become the grammatical « object » (*karman*) — « that which the agent most wishes to reach (through his action) » — in such sentences as *ghaṭakaraṇaṃ karoti* « ... does the fabrication of a pot », *ānantaryakarma karoti* « ... performs an [evil] act that finds immediate retribution ».

In Grammar, the *kāraka*-s (« means to bring about an action ») — the « agent » (*kartṛ*), the « object » (*karman*), and so on — are conceived in relation to an action (*kriyā*). That is the concept which is exploited by Candrakīrti — and, perhaps, by Nāgārjuna himself — to discredit the belief in the intrinsic reality of the « agent » and the « act », the « mover » and « motion », and so on — the belief in their intrinsic reality alone, for Nāgārjuna does admit them as relative: as he states at the end of the eighth chapter, the « agent » and the « act-object » are established only through the *pratītyasamutpāda* relation, and all other things are to be considered in the light of what has been said with regard to the « agent » and the « act-object » (*karmakartṛbhyāṃ śeṣān bhāvān vibhāvayet*).

It should be borne in mind, however, that although the Mādhyamika uses the Grammarian's concepts to serve his dialectical needs, he is open to criticism from the Grammarian's own side. The Grammarian would say that the Mādhyamika is unduly mixing up facts of language with ontological considerations which are foreign to them: these facts are explained, not, as the Mādhyamika assumes or feigns to assume, with reference to the « external being » (*bāhyasattā*) or « primary being » (*mukhyasattā*) of the things, but only with reference to their « superimposed being » (*aupacārikī sattā* or *upacārasattā*) which is conceived and externally projected by the mind of the speaker and the hearer.

13. Cf. n. 11 above.

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It is this being, which exists in the mind alone (*buddhisattā*), that is the ground of all verbal behaviour. « The meaning of a word never deviates from being » (*na sattāṃ padārtho vyabhicarati*), said already Patañjali [14], and, according to Bhartṛhari [15] and the later tradition [16], it is this « superimposed being » that he had in mind.

A modest attempt has been made in this paper to understand what the Mādhyamika actually says, so that he may be judged on his own ground.

14. *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini V, 2, 94.
15. *Vākyapadīya* III, 3 (*Saṃbandhasamuddeśa*), 51, in K. A. Subramania Iyer's edition with Helārāja's commentary (Poona, 1963).
16. Cf. Kaiyaṭa on *Mahābhāṣya, loc. cit.* (Nirṇayasāgar Press edition of Patañjali's *Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya*, with Kaiyaṭa's *Pradīpa*, and Nāgeśa's *Uddyota*, Vol. IV, Bombay, 1942, p. 341).

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G. M. BONGARD-LEVIN

A NEW FRAGMENT OF THE SANSKRIT « SUMUKHADHĀRAṆĪ » AND ITS SAKA VERSION

In 1967, together with M. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya and E. Tyomkin, I published in « Indo-Iranian Journal » a small fragment (I folio, recto and verso) of the Sanskrit text *Sumukhadhāraṇī*, kept in the Manuscript Fund of the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR [1]. The discovery of this fragment gave us an opportunity to compare the Sanskrit text with its Saka, Tibetan and Chinese translations.

Somewhat later M. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya and the author of this paper were lucky to discover in this Manuscript Fund a number of new fragments of the original Sanskrit version of the *Sumukhadhāraṇī*. One of them has been now prepared for publication. According to the data of paleography, this fragment originally belonged to a different manuscript. The number of the page (17) is preserved on the left side-recto.

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1. G. M. Bongard-Levin, M. I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya, E. N. Tyomkin, *A Fragment of the Sanskrit « Sumukhadhāraṇī »*, « Indo-Iranian Journal », vol. X, nn. 2-3, 1967, pp. 150-59.

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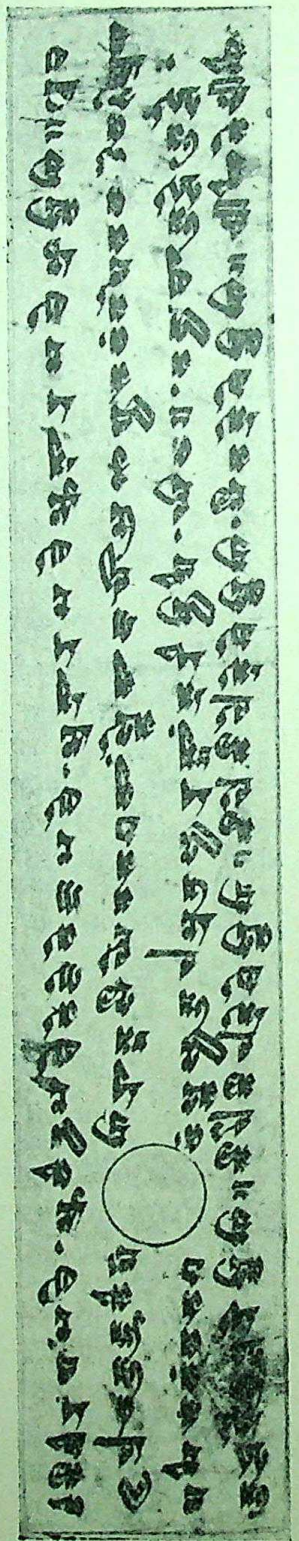
recto



verso

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Recto

1. pi bhadanta bhagavaṃs tasya kuladuhitur[2] vā rakṣāṃ kariṣyāmi. yāva // tadyathā. hihi vajra
2. hihi vajra. hihi vajra yāva kiri kiri vajra svāhā // tadyathā aṇḍare paṇḍare.
3. śvete paṇḍavāsini. kinnare karāḍe keyūre. iha buddha buddhe. tatra
4. buddhe. bhūje jaṃgame bhūjapani. bhayaṃ. bhaye. bhayāgre bhayāgrapate. vinī

Verso

1. vinī śīramapathe. ādityapathe teje tejapathe. akārapathe ākārapathe phu svāhā // atha
2. khalu vajṛabhūtir mahārākṣasī yena bhagavāṃs tenājali praṇamya bhavaṃtam etad avocat. aha
3. m api bhadaṃta bhagavaṃs tasya kulaputrasya rakṣāṃ kariṣyāmi. yāva //. tadyathā kuṭse. kuṭse.
4. kuṭsa vikuṭsare svāhā // nīle nīla keśe svāhā // nīle nīle keśe svāhā. pīta keśe svāhā // lohite lohi

Translation

Recto

1. « I shall also, Venerable Bhagavan, protect that one of the noble youths or that one of the noble maidens etc. Namely - - »
2. the text of the *dhāraṇī*
3. the text of the *dhāraṇī*
4. the text of the *dhāraṇī*

Verso

1. The text of the *dhāraṇī*. And
2. then *mahārakṣasī* Vajrabhuti came to the place where the Bhagavan was seated and, respectfully putting together the palms of her hands, addressed the Bhagavan and said. « I
3. shall also, Venerable One, protect that one of the noble youths etc. Namely ». The text of the *dhāraṇī*
4. The text of the *dhāraṇī*.

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2. A part of the usual formula is omitted, *tasya kulaputrasya vā kuladuhitar vā.*

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The above-given Sanskrit fragment, being the part of the original Sanskrit version of the *dhāraṇī*, may be compared with the corresponding Saka text, published by H. Bailey [3].

Recto

1. pi bhadanta bhagavaṃs tasya	1029. ttrāmī miḍāni gyasta ba'ysa ttye bisīvrrāṣai o vā
kuladuhitur vā rakṣāṃ	1030. bisīvrrāṣaiñä āysdarja yanu(mä)
kariṣyāmi. yāva //	cu tvā sumukha
	nāma dāya byāṃja jsīñi kā'ka vījya drrę́śä
	dijsāte o vā ysaina panamāte vāśī'tī //
tadyathā. hihi vajra	1031. tad yathā hihi vajrre.
2. hihi vajra. hihi vajra yāva kiri kiri	hehe vajrra yāva kiri kiri
vajra svāhā // tadyathā	1032. vajrra svāhā // tad yathā
aṇḍare paṇḍare.	aṃḍare. paṃḍare.
3. śvete paṇḍavāsini. kinnare	śvete. paṃḍarvāsini kinare
karāḍe keyūre.	karāḍe keyure.
iha buddha buddhe tatra	iha buddhe. tatra
4. buddhe. bhūje	buddhe. bhūje
jaṃgame bhūjapani.	1033. bhūje bhūje. bhūjaṃgapate.
bhayaṃ. bhaye.	bhaye bhaye
bhayāgre	bhayāgri
bhāyāgrapate. vinī	1034. bhayāgrapate. vini

Verso

1. vinī śīramapathe.	vini. śīri śiripati śīmapati.
ādityapathe teje	ādityapati teje
tejapathe. akārapathe	tejapati. ākārapate phu
ākārapathe phu	
svāhā // atha	svāhā //
2. khalu vajrabhūtir	1035. ttī vā vajrradūtta mista rakṣaśa
mahārākṣasī yena	'kāmä hālai
bhagavāṃs	'gyastä ba'ysä āste hāṣṭa
tenājali praṇamya	1036. aṃjalä dasta biysīyā u gystä
bhagavaṃtam	namasya u
etad avocat. aha	ttai hvā si aysä

3. H. W. Bailey, *Khotanese Buddhist Texts*, Cambridge, 1951, p. 142.

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3. m api	ttrāmī
bhadaṃta bhagavaṃs tasya kulaputrasya	1037. gyasta ba'ysa ttye bisīvrrāṣai o vā bisīvrrāṣaiñi jsa
rakṣāṃ kariṣyāmi. yāva //	rakṣi jsę pa'jsaṃja yanumä u ką'ma cu tvā sumukha nāma dāyya byāṃja jsīñi kā'ka vījya
	1038. drraiśä dijsāte o vā ysaina panamāte vāśī'tī //
tadyathā kuṭse. kuṭse	1039. tad yathā kuṭe kuṭe.
4. kuṭsa vikuṭsare svāhā //	kuṭa kuṭa kuṭani. kuṭa kuṭare svāhā //
nīle nīla keśe svāhā // nīle nīle	nīle nīle nīle — keśe svāhā //
keśe svāhā.	pīte
pīta keśe svāhā // lohite lohi	1040. pīte pīta-keśe svāhā // lohite lohite

The comparison of the Sanskrit text with the Saka one makes clear their evident difference (the Saka text is more extensive, the *dhāraṇīs* are also different, though not so significantly). This can testify to the fact that Saka translation was made from a different, more full Sanskrit manuscript. Not only the very fact of the discovery is of great importance, but the Sanskrit text is also useful for the study of this fragment of the Saka translation, as well as for the study of the Saka language in general.

The translation of the Saka text

(the *dhāraṇīs* are naturally left without translation, though the Sanskrit text gives grounds for such attempts).

1029. « And so, the Lord Buddha, that high-born young man or
1030. that high-born maiden shall I protect who would deeply remember this doctrinal text, guarding life, which is entitled Sumukha, and who would recite (it) having arisen early in the morning ».
1035. And then this great *rakṣasā*, Vajradutta by name, (came) in the direction where the divine Buddha was sitting .
1036. And, having blessedly put together her hands, respecfully addressed the divine Buddha and said. « In such a way
1037. O Lord Buddha, that high-born young man or that high-born maiden shall I protect, esteem and guard, who this doctrinal text, guarding life, which is entitled Sumukha, would deeply
1038. remember and who would recite (it) having arisen early in the morning ».

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HÉLÈNE BRUNNER

LE ŚAIVA-SIDDHĀNTA, « ESSENCE » DU *VEDA*

(Etude d'un fragment du *Kāmikāgama*)

Summary — The sentence « *siddhānto vedasāras syāt* », which occurs in the *Uttara-Kāmikāgama*, is taken for examination as an instance of āgamic statements which, cut off from their context, are sometimes put forward with the view to demonstrate the derivation of the Āgamas from the Vedas, or at least the close relationship of the two types of scriptures. Without attempting to enter into a general discussion of the given sentence, the author of this paper wishes to show that the simple study of its immediate context (given n. 15) is enough to deprive the statement from all its pungency, not to say of all its meaning.

« *Siddhānto vedasāras syāt* », affirme avec autorité le *Kāmikāgama* [1], celui des *Āgama* śivaïtes dont le nom est le mieux connu, puisqu'il ouvre

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ABRÉVIATIONS SPÉCIALES

I.F.I. Institut Français d'Indologie, Pondichéry.
PKā *Pūrva-Kāmikāgama*
UKā *Uttara-Kāmikāgama*
SP3 *Somaśambhupaddhati*, 3ème partie, Publ. de l'I.F.I. No 25, Pondichéry, 1977.
T. (suivi d'un numéro): transcrit de l'I.F.I.

1. *Uttara-Kāmika*, 24, 94b. Le contexte sera donné plus tard. Toutes nos références à cet *Āgama* renvoient à la seule édition complète que le *Kāmika* ait connue jusqu'ici: CivañaNapotayantraçālai, Cintātripēṭṭai, Madras, 1909, car. *grantha*. Les deux parties du *Kāmika*, nommées respectivement dans les colophons *Pūrva-Kāmika* et *Uttara-Kāmika*, y sont réunies en un seul gros volume (1308 p. pour la première partie qu'accompagne une traduction et un commentaire tamouls; 253 p. pour la seconde, dont le texte est aussi long mais qui n'est pas accompagnée de traduction tamoule).

Récemment, deux éditions du seul *PKā* ont vu le jour. L'une, en caractères *nāgarī*, reproduit, mais sans la traduction et la glose tamoules, le texte de l'édition de 1909: *Kāmikāgamaḥ, pūrvabhāgaḥ*, Śrī C. Svāmināthaśivācāryaiḥ prakāśitaḥ, Dakṣiṇabhāratārcakasaṅghaḥ, Madras, 1975, XXX + 210 p. L'autre, en caractères *grantha*, et dont une partie seulement a été publiée, donne encore le même texte, mais fait suivre chaque chapitre d'un résumé en tamoul. Elle est due au même éditeur.

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la liste de ces vingt-huit traités [2]. Légèrement modifiée (*siddhānto vedasāratvāt*) et attribuée au *Suprabhedāgama* [3], la formule figure parmi d'autres déclarations du même type dans un ouvrage moderne dû à un auteur cingalais [4]. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri et, plus récemment, Sivaraman [5] l'empruntent à cette source, en même temps d'ailleurs que deux passages du *Makuṭāgama*, « *vedasāram idaṃ tantram* » et « *vedāntārtham idaṃ jñānam* » (le second erroné), qu'ils donnent comme distincts, alors qu'ils appartiennent au même *śloka* du *Makuṭa* [6].

Après avoir noté que S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri considère que ces déclarations âgamiques « affirm the derivation of the Āgamas from the Vedas » [7], tandis que Sivaramam y voit la preuve que « the Śaiva Āgama... expressly presuppose and indeed claim to trans-create the Veda » [8], nous exprimerons un premier étonnement: comment se fait-il que ces deux

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On peut avoir une idée du contenu de ce *PKā* en se reportant au résumé qu'en a donné B. Dagens dans le BEFEO, 64 (1977), pp. 1-38; mais ce résumé est à utiliser avec prudence, en particulier pour le ch. 1, auquel nous aurons l'occasion de renvoyer.

2. D'où la formule usuelle pour désigner ce corpus: *kāmikādi*. On trouvera la liste des *Āgama* et des ouvrages secondaires (*Upāgama*) qui les accompagnent dans la Planche que N. R. Bhatt a incluse dans son édition du *Rauravāgama* (Publications de l'I.F.I. No 18, Pondichéry, 1961, face à p. XVIII). Notons cependant que l'ordre de ces titres n'est pas absolument fixé, même en ce qui concerne les *Āgama* principaux ou *Mūlāgama*; on trouve de nombreuses variantes, surtout à partir du No 11.

3. No 10 de la liste précédente. Nous ne trouvons pas ce *pāda* dans l'édition imprimée de ce texte (même éditeur que la première édition du *Kāmika* — voir n. 1 — Madras, 1928, car. *grantha*). Mais voir n. 42.

4. Sendilnāda Iyer Kāśivāsi, *Śiva ñāna boda vacanālaṃkāra Dīpam*, Madras, 1929, selon la bibliographie donnée par K. Sivaraman, *Śaivism in philosophical perspective*, Delhi, Patna, Varanasi, 1973, p. 653.

5. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri, *The Sivadvaita of Srikantha*, Madras, 1930, p. 4 et et note *ad loc.* (le nom de l'auteur mentionné y est orthographié Kāśivāsi Senthinathier, et le titre de son ouvrage sanskritisé); K. Sivaraman, *op. cit.*, p. 433, n. 45.

6. *vedasāram idaṃ tantraṃ tasmāt vaidikam ācaret /*
vedāntaryam idaṃ jñānaṃ siddhāntaṃ paramaṃ śubham //
(*Makuṭāgamam*, First part, South Indian Archakar Association, Madras, 1977, car. *grantha; pat.* 1, *śl.* 22). On notera au troisième *pāda* la leçon « *vedāntaryam* », certainement exacte: la science dont on parle est « intérieure » au *Veda*, par opposition aux autres, considérées comme « extérieures ». Voir n. 15, l. 94b et 108b. Il n'est question du Vedānta!

Quant au mot « *tantram* » du premier *pāda*, le distique suivant:
ūrdhvasrotodbhavaṃ śreṣṭham aṣṭāviṃśatitantrakam /
vedasārārthadaṃ jñeyam... //
fait comprendre qu'il ne désigne pas le seul *Makuṭa*, mais réfère à l'ensemble des *Āgama*.

7. *Loc. cit.*

8. *Op. cit.*, pp. 22-3.

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auteurs, bons connaisseurs du Śaiva-Siddhānta tamoul[9], aient dû recourir à un ouvrage moderne pour y puiser ces citations, et ne les aient pas relevées, elles ou d'autres du même genre, dans la littérature ancienne de l'école? Les maîtres tamouls d'autrefois, qui se sont pourtant toujours efforcés de montrer la compatibilité, voire l'identité essentielle, entre *Veda* et *Āgama*, n'auraient-ils pas eu connaissance de ces textes? A l'heure actuelle aussi, il semble que les Siddhāntin préfèrent s'en rapporter, pour définir la relation entre les deux corpus, le védique et l'âgamique, aux déclarations de Tirumūlar[10], ou même au commentaire des *Brahma-Sūtra* écrit par Śrīkaṇṭha[11], un auteur dont pourtant ils rejettent la philosophie. S'il s'avérait que des expressions âgamiques aussi percutantes n'ont pas été utilisées dans leurs œuvres doctrinales par les auteurs anciens du Śaiva-Siddhānta tamoul, il faudrait opter pour l'une ou l'autre de ces hypothèses: ou bien ces passages sont, dans les *Āgama* où on les trouve, des interpolations très tardives; ou plutôt les vieux maîtres connaissaient encore trop bien leur sources sanskrites pour s'appuyer imprudemment sur des phrases détachées de leur contexte.

Notre but aujourd'hui n'est pas de clarifier ce problème historique. Il n'est pas non plus de mettre en regard de ces déclarations générales affirmant la parenté entre les *Veda* et les *Āgama* tout ce que ces derniers enseignent par ailleurs sur la pratique rituelle ou le comportement (nous ne parlons même pas de la doctrine, dont les traits les plus significatifs sont évidemment étrangers au védisme), et qui souvent va en sens contraire. Cette étude systématique serait certes souhaitable; mais elle demanderait un trop long développement, et il n'est pas inutile, croyons-nous, de procéder auparavant à un examen de ces affirmations péremptoires, en les replaçant dans leur contexte immédiat ou lointain, qu'il nous faut, dans un premier temps, prendre tel qu'il nous est parvenu. C'est ce travail que nous nous proposons de faire ici, pour la seule déclaration du *Kāmika*: « *siddhānto vedasāras syāt* ».

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9. Pour la distinguer du *Śaiva-Siddhānta* que définissent les *Āgama* eux-mêmes (voir plus loin) comme étant l'école dont ils sont les Ecritures, nous appelons « *Śaiva-Siddhānta* tamoul » l'école qui a fleuri en pays tamoul à partir du XIIème siècle, et qui, tout en reconnaissant comme primordiale l'autorité des *Āgama*, se fonde sur un canon constitué par des textes tamouls. L'expression ne signifie nullement que les maîtres de cette école n'ont écrit qu'en tamoul. Beaucoup ont également produit des œuvres sanskrites.

Pour la liste des œuvres du canon tamoul, voir K. V. Zvelebil, *Tamil Literature* (in « A History of Indian Literature »), Wiesbaden, 1974, p. 92.

10. Un passage du *Tirumantiram*, déjà cité par Schomerus (*Der Caiva Siddhānta, eine Mystik Indiens*, Leipzig, 1912) revient sans cesse sous leur plume. Voir par ex. P. Thirugnanasambandhan, *Sataratnasaṅgraha of Śrī Umāpati Śivācārya*, Madras, 1973, Intr., p. XVI-XVII; S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 9; Sivaraman, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

11. *Śrīkaṇṭha-bhāṣya*, II, 2, 38; cité S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 9; Sivaraman, *op. cit.*, p. 29 et n. 28, p. 436; J. M. Nallaswami Pillai, *Studies in Saiva-Siddhanta*, Madras, 1911, p. 274.

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La proposition intervient dans la seconde partie de l'*Āgama*, celle que l'on nomme *Uttara-Kāmika* et qui se présente comme un prolongement naturel de la première partie, le *Pūrva-Kāmika* [12]. C'est donc ce texte qui va nous retenir, plus précisément un fragment du chapitre 24, intitulé « *ācāryābhiṣeka-vidhi* ».

Après avoir, comme son titre le laisse entendre, décrit le rituel de consécration du maître (*śl.* 1-52), le chapitre se prolonge par des considérations diverses, plus ou moins directement liées au personnage de l'*ācārya*. L'affirmation (*śl.* 77b) que le *guru* doit être *saṃhitāpāraga* amène le texte à préciser de quelles sortes de *saṃhitā* il s'agit: ce sont évidemment les *Āgama*, « à partir du *Kāmika* »:

saṃhitās syāt catuṣpādayuktāḥ kāmikapūrvakāḥ (78a).

Encore faut-il savoir comment se situent ces textes parmi la masse des Ecritures connues. L'*Āgama* s'y prend en deux temps, dans deux passages consécutifs, peut-être conciliables mais certainement hétérogènes. Le premier (78b-81) définit la position du *Śaiva-Siddhānta* par rapport aux autres écoles śivaïtes. Nous apprenons ainsi que les textes *śaiva* (*lato sensu*) se divisent en quatre groupes, nommés dans un ordre de valeur dégressive: Śaiva (*stricto sensu*), Pāśupata, Somasiddhānta et Lākula [13]; et que chacun se divise encore en trois sous-groupes, dits « de droite » (*dakṣiṇa*), « de gauche » (*vāma*) et « définitif » (*siddhānta*), le dernier étant cette fois le meilleur. La forme la plus élevée du śivaïsme est donc la section « Siddhānta » du groupe « Śaiva »:

tatrāpi śaivasiddhāntas sarvebhyo'hy uttamottamaḥ (81b).

Par la suite, notre texte se contentera, pour désigner l'école correspondante ou ses traités, de l'appellation « Siddhānta » [14].

Le second passage demande à être examiné de plus près [15]. Abandon-

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12. Voir n. 1. Le lien entre le *PKā* et l'*UKā* est évident si l'on compare la fin du premier ouvrage et le début du second. Mais on a l'impression très forte que l'*UKā* a accueilli quantité d'éléments hétérogènes, et des enseignements qui parfois contredisent ceux du *PKā*. On aura l'occasion de le constater dans cette étude.

13. Sur ces quatre sectes śivaïtes, voir D. N. Lorenzen, *The Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas*, New Delhi, 1972, pp. 7-10, où sont mentionnées les sources classiques et pourâniques. La plupart des *Āgama* donnent la même liste que celle de l'*UKā*. Voir H. Brunner, *Différentes conceptions du terme « śaiva » dans la littérature âgamique du Sud de l'Inde*, communication présentée lors du XXXème Congrès des Sciences Humaines en Asie et Afrique du Nord, Mexico, 1976, à paraître.

14. On peut aussi trouver, pour désigner le même groupe, le mot « *śaiva* », sans complément, au sens le plus étroit que ce terme peut revêtir. Voir H. Brunner *op. cit.* Il en va probablement ainsi dans les derniers *śloka* du passage cité n. 15

15. Pour que le lecteur puisse avoir le fragment entier sous les yeux, nous le donnons ici *in entenso*, en omettant toutefois les *śl.* 97-105 qui ne seront pas analysés. Les lectures sont celles de l'édition de 1909 (voir n. 1), avec quelques variantes em-

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nant la considération du seul śivaïsme, l'*Uttara-Kāmika* tente en effet

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pruntées au transcrit T. 298B de l'I.F.I. Dans certains cas, signalés à la suite de ce texte, de légères corrections ont été introduites.

siddhānto mantratantras syād atimārgaṃ tato'varam /
adhyātmaṃ yat tato nīcaṃ tasmād vaidikam eva ca // 82 //
vaidikāl laukikaṃ hīnaṃ brahmādyāḥ pañcadevatāḥ /
vaktāro laukikādīnāṃ teṣāṃ bheda ihocyate // 83 //
sadyamantrād viniṣkrānto brahmanāmākhilārthadṛk /
tena vai laukikaṃ śāstraṃ martyaloke'vatāritam // 84 //
śabdaśāstram alaṃkāro niruktaṃ chanda eva ca /
kauṭilyaṃ bhārataṃ jyotiśśāstraṃ vātsyāyanādikam // 85 //
āyuśśāstraṃ dhanuśśāstraṃ vṛkṣāyurveda eva ca /
lokāyataṃ tathā sāṃkhyaṃ arhato matam eva ca // 86 //
mīmāṃsā daṇḍanītiś ca vārttādyaṃ laukikaṃ matam /
vāmamantrād bhaved viṣṇuḥ kāraṇeśo dvitīyakaḥ // 87 //
tena vaidikam uddiṣṭaṃ tvaṣṭādaśapurāṇakam /
dharmaśāstraṃ ca vedāntaṃ pāñcarātraṃ ca bauddhakam // 88 //
rudro'ghorād viniṣkrāntas tvadhyātmaṃ ca praṇītavān /
nyāyavaiśeṣikaṃ sāṃkhyaṃ seśvaraṃ yat praṇītavān // 89 //
īśvaraḥ puruṣāj jātaḥ tvatimārgaṃ praṇītavān /
pañcārthaṃ lākulaṃ cānyat tathā pāśupataṃ matam // 90 //
sadāśivo hi bhagavān mantratantram apālayat /
ṛgyajussāmātharvāś ca puruṣādy-ānanodbhavāḥ // 91 //
paścimād vāmasaṃjñaṃ tu vāmād dakṣiṇam uttamam /
dakṣiṇāt kaulikaṃ śreṣṭhaṃ mahākaulaṃ tataḥ param // 92 //
pūrvāmnāyaṃ tataś śreṣṭhaṃ tasmāt siddhāntam uttamam /
siddhāntāt param ātmajñān (?) neti śāstrasya niścayaḥ // 93 //
anyatantreṣu ye muktāḥ siddhānte paśavo matāḥ /
siddhānto vedasāras syāt anyad vedabahiṣkṛtam // 94 //
siddhāntavihitācāro vaidikācāra ucyate /
garbhādhānādikaṃ karma yāvat śrāddhāvasānakam // 95 //
tāvat tu vaidikaṃ karma śaivaṃ vātha samācaret /
tena vai dīkṣā kartavyā jātakarmādikāḥ kriyāḥ // 96 //
. . . . . .
. . . . . *dvijānāṃ vihitaṃ tu yat // 105 //*
tat sarvaṃ karma kartavyaṃ na vāvaśyaṃ tu śaivakam /
kartavyaṃ tvapy anuṣṭheyaṃ śaivakarmāvirodhi yat // 106 //
viruddhaṃ cet parityājyaṃ na tu śaivīṃ parityajet /
saṃgrāhyaṃ vaidikaṃ sarvaṃ śaivavākyāvirodhitam // 107 //
śaivaṃ vaidikam evoktaṃ vaidikaṃ śaivam eva vā /
vaidikād na bahirbhūtaṃ śaivaṃ śaivāt tad apy atha // 108 //
tathāpi vaidikāt śreṣṭhaṃ śaivaṃ śaivāt paraṃ na hi /
siddhāntaṃ kāmikādi syāt nāsmāt param anuttamam // 109 //
śaivaṃ tu mūlabhūtaṃ syāt caturvedās tad udbhavāḥ /
tathāpi vaidikaṃ vedasāram ityādivākyataḥ // 110 //
śaivaṃ proktaṃ ca sarvatra tadarthaikyān munīśvarāḥ /

Corr. apportées:
82b: les deux sources ont « *ādhyātmam* ».
87a: les deux sources ont « *vārtādyam* ».
87b: on a « *vāmamantrādhipo* » (ms.) et « *vāmatantro bhaved* » (livre).
111a: on a « *tadarthaikyā* » (ms.) et « *tadarthoktyā* » (livre).
Nous avons laissé, avec nos sources, le mot « *siddhānta* » osciller entre le masculin et le neutre, sans attacher d'importance à cette alternance.

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de dresser un tableau de toutes les écoles connues, en les groupant sous cinq chefs, qui correspondent chacun à un visage de Śiva. C'est là que nous allons rencontrer les *Veda*. Voyons d'abord comment se présente le début de cet exposé (82-83):

> « Le [corpus] [16] du *Siddhānta* est appelé *mantra-tantra*; l'*atimārga* lui est inférieur; l'*adhyātma* est plus bas que ce dernier, et le védique encore plus bas; plus bas que le védique est le « mondain ». Ce sont les cinq Dieux dont le premier est Brahman qui ont prononcé [ces cinq sortes de sciences], la mondaine et les autres. On va maintenant en dire le détail ».

L'*Uttara-Kāmika* ne se préoccupe pas de justifier le choix des cinq termes qu'il utilise (*mantra-*, *atimārga-*, *adhyātma-*, *vaidika-* et *laukika-tantra*) pour désigner les cinq sections hiérarchisées en lesquelles se diffracte la Science une venue de Śiva. Il se contentera de remplir ces rubriques par la suite, et nous saurons par là ce qu'il entend par exemple par *atimārga-* et *adhyātma-tantra*. Cette quintuple division est d'ailleurs traditionnelle. Le *Pūrva-Kāmika* l'a déjà exposée dans son premier chapitre, qui traite de la « Descente des *Tantra* » (*tantrāvatāra*), et c'est sûrement de ce passage [17] que notre texte s'inspire. On peut même se demander pourquoi il éprouve le besoin de revenir sur la question, si ce n'est dans le but d'apporter quelques modifications significatives à l'exposé du *Pūrva-Kāmika*. Elles vont apparaître en effet dans le développement qui suit (84-91a), où le texte précise, à propos de chaque section, l'identité du Dieu-auteur et la liste des sciences qu'il enseigne.

On apprend ainsi que les cinq Dieux « dont le premier est Brahman » sont les divinités que les *Āgama* nomment Kāraṇa ou Kāraṇeśvara, à savoir Brahman, Viṣṇu, Rudra, Īśvara et Sadāśiva [18]. Notre texte

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16. Il faut ajouter partout le mot « *tantra* », comme le montre le passage du *PKā* cité n. 17. D'autres *Āgama*, dans des descriptions similaires, parlent de cinq *jñāna*, ou de cinq *śāstra*; tandis qu'ailleurs ce sont cinq *karman* qui sont distingués par les mêmes rubriques (par ex. *Mṛgendra, kriyāpāda*, 8, 78-79, avec « *āmnāya* » au lieu de « *vaidika* » et « *abhisandhi* » au lieu d'« *adhyātma* »). Pour ne pas être entraînée dans une longue discussion étrangère à notre propos, nous ne traduisons pas « *atimārga* » et « *adhyātma* ». Voir notre traduction du *Mṛgendra, kriyā-* et *caryā-pāda*, à paraître.

17. *PKā*, 1, 17b-19a:

laukikaṃ vaidikaṃ caiva tathādhyātmikam eva ca //
atimārgaṃ ca mantrākhyaṃ tantram etad anekadhā /
sadyo-vāma-mahāghora-puruṣeśāna-mūrtayaḥ //
pratyekaṃ pañcavaktrās syus tair uktaṃ laukikādikam /

18. Sur les Kāraṇeśvara (ou Kāraṇeśa, ou Kāraṇa), voir H. Brunner, *SP3*, p. 118, n. 7 et Index. Le plus élevé d'entre eux (donc, le cinquième, si on les énumère comme ici à partir du bas), Sadāśiva, est le Gouverneur du domaine du cosmos qui correspond à la *kalā* Śāntyatītā (*ibid.*, p. 182, 328 et Pl. V). Il ne saurait se confondre avec l'aspect que prend Śiva lorsqu'il apparaît avec cinq têtes, dix bras, etc., bien qu'il porte le même nom. En fait, c'est assez souvent qu'on détecte, du premier au second, un glissement dont il serait aisé de rendre compte.

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enseigne expressément que les quatre premiers sont respectivement « issus » des aspects ou Visages de Śiva qui ont noms Sadyojāta, Vāmadeva, Aghora et [Tat-]Puruṣa[19]. Il ne le fait pas pour le cinquième: « C'est en vérité le Seigneur Sadāśiva qui est responsable du *mantra-tantra* » (91a). En vertu de la ligne 83a (*brahmādyāḥ pañcadevatāḥ...*), ce nom « Sadāśiva » doit normalement désigner le cinquième Kāraṇeśvara, et c'est ainsi que nous le comprenons. Le fait que ce Sadāśiva est issu du Visage supérieur, Īśāna, est alors implicite. Avec cette lecture, les correspondances entre les cinq sections de la Science et les Visages du Dieu sont exactement celles que donnent tous les *Āgama* qui traitent de cette question, y compris le *Pūrva-Kāmika*; la seule innovation de notre texte consistant à interposer, entre Śiva et les Ecritures dont il est l'auteur, ces Dieux inférieurs que sont les Kāraṇeśvara. Nous nous en tiendrons à cette vision, malgré la forme surprenante de la ligne par laquelle notre *Āgama* décrit la genèse du *mantra-tantra*: « *sadāśivo hi bhagavān...* », qui pourrait se lire comme une incitation urgente à confondre le Kāraṇa Sadāśiva avec le Dieu suprême dont la forme quintuple porte le même nom — c'est-à-dire à oublier, en ce qui concerne le Siddhānta, la structure du schéma annoncé[20].

En précisant la distribution des sciences connues entre les cinq grandes catégories définies plus haut par leur relation aux Visages, l'*Uttara-Kāmika* complète le *Pūrva-Kāmika*, qui était muet sur ce point. Sans entrer dans le détail de ses listes (elles nomment en tout trente disciplines, de la grammaire au *mantra-tantra*), nous relèverons un premier renseignement, qui ne concerne pas directement notre propos, mais permet de relier le passage que nous étudions à celui qui le précédait et que nous avons résumé: les trois groupes śivaïtes inférieurs

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19. Tels sont les Visages latéraux, qui regardent repectivement vers l'Ouest, le Nord, le Sud et l'Est (ordre qui n'est pas l'ordre naturel des directions, mais qui est parfaitement fixé dans les *Āgama*). Le cinquième, Īśāna, regarde vers le haut. La liste peut se prendre à partir du bas (*sadyojātādi*) ou du haut (*īśānādi*), selon la nature du rituel où ces Puissances sont invoquées.

Qu'elles soient nommées Mūrti (voir n. 17), ou Vaktra, ou Mantra (comme ici), ou Brahma-Mantra, ou Brahman, ces Puissances sont conçues comme des aspects de Śiva, dont la somme constitue le Dieu Sadāśiva; mais elles peuvent aussi en être isolées et se présenter comme des personnages indépendants, à cinq visages chacun. Voir n. 17 (dern. l.) et n. 23. Voir aussi H. Brunner, *SP3*, Index, sous «Brahman(cinq)».

20. Voir n. 18. Il est visible que l'*UKā* est gêné par sa propre présentation de la genèse des sciences. L'interposition des Kāraṇa entre Śiva et les quatre catégories inférieures de la connaissance est en effet un moyen ingénieux de mettre en évidence l'imperfection indubitable de ces dernières; elle n'a plus de sens dès qu'il s'agit du Siddhānta (ou *mantra-tantra*), dont tous les *Āgama* enseignent la création directe par Śiva. D'où l'ambiguïté, probablement voulue, du texte. L'*UKā* a peut-être aussi calqué sa déclaration sur une ligne du *PKā* (1ère ligne citée n. 23). Peut-être encore a-t-il voulu ménager, pour quiconque le désirerait, la possibilité d'intégrer à sa description cette autre doctrine très répandue, selon laquelle chacun des cinq Visages de Śiva énonce une partie des vingt-huit *Āgama*. Nous reviendrons dans une étude ultérieure sur la grande variété des schémas imaginés par les *Āgama* pour rendre compte de la relation entre le Dieu et les différentes sciences.

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mentionnés alors se retrouvent ici, sous les noms de Pañcārtha, Lākula et Pāśupata, dans la section dite « *atimārga* » (*śl.* 90). Un fait beaucoup plus significatif s'impose cependant à notre attention: les *Veda* ne sont pas nommés sous la rubrique « *vaidika* »; ils font l'objet d'un enseignement séparé (91b):

> « Le *Ṛg-*, le *Yajur*, le *Sāma-* et l'*Atharva*[*-Veda*] sortent respectivement du Visage de [Tat-]Puruṣa et des suivants » [21].

Nous saisissons ici une divergence sérieuse entre les deux parties du *Kāmika*; car, bien que le *Pūrva-Kāmika* n'offre pas de passage strictement parallèle à celui-ci, il donne assez souvent la liste des différentes sciences pour que l'on puisse être assuré qu'il n'a nulle intention de faire aux *Veda* une place privilégiée [21bis]. En outre, la ligne 91b relance le problème soulevé à propos de la ligne 91a: ici comme là, le texte omet de parler des Kāraṇeśvara. Est-ce volontaire? L'*Uttara-Kāmika* relie-t-il directement chaque *Veda* à un Visage de Śiva pour marquer la supériorité de ces écrits par rapport aux autres traités? S'il en était ainsi, il faudrait revenir à la ligne précédente (91a) et renoncer à l'interprétation que nous en avons donnée; car il n'est pas question de faire enseigner par notre texte une création indirecte du *mantra-tantra* et une création directe des *Veda*. Toute la suite démontrera l'impossibilité d'une telle vision. Le Sadāśiva de la ligne 91a ne pourrait même pas être identifié au Dieu Śiva à cinq Visages, faute de quoi les *Veda* et les *Āgama* (rappelons que pour notre texte le *mantra-tantra* n'est autre que le *Siddhānta*) seraient émis ensemble, ce que la suite contredit également. Il faudrait donc comprendre que l'*Uttara-Kāmika* (comme aussi parfois le *Pūrva-Kāmika*: voir n. 23) appelle là « Sadāśiva» l'aspect supérieur de Śiva, Īśāna. On aurait alors le schéma suivant: le *mantra-tantra* et les *Veda* créés directement par Śiva, mais les premiers par le Visage supérieur et les autres par les Visages latéraux; et tous les autres traités créés indirectement, par le canal de quatre Kāraṇeśvara. Le schéma est logique; il est confirmé, en ce qui concerne *Veda* et *Āgama*, par d'autres textes de l'école; mais il exige à notre avis une lecture trop acrobatique de la ligne 91a. Nous préférons opter pour une solution plus simple. Dans son ardeur à respecter, pour évoquer la genèse des *Veda*, la vieille tradition indienne selon laquelle chacun d'eux est prononcé par l'un des quatre visages de Brahman, l'*Āgama* a bien opéré la transposition nécessaire (les quatre visages de Brahman sont devenus les quatre visages latéraux de Śiva); mais il a oublié le

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21. Ils sont donc respectivement liés à l'Est, au Sud, au Nord et à l'Ouest; car l'expression « *puruṣādi* » indique qu'il faut prendre les Visages dans l'ordre traditionnel (n. 19) et dans le sens qui va du plus haut au plus bas (sauf qu'Īśāna n'entre pas en considération). Notons que la correspondance entre les quatre *Veda* et les directions peut varier d'un texte à l'autre; elle se présente tantôt comme ici, tantôt de façon exactement inverse (ex.: *Suprabhedāgama, caryāpāda*, 5, 158).

21bis. Voir n. 43.

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début de son exposé, selon lequel la création des sciences se fait par l'intermédiaire des Kāraṇeśvara. Il suffit de le compléter sur ce point. Cette hypothèse nous permet en même temps de conserver notre interprétation de la ligne précédente.

Quelle que soit, au demeurant, la lecture que nous faisons de ce *śloka* 91, quelques résultats semblent acquis en ce qui concerne la vision que l'*Uttara-Kāmika* se fait ici des *Veda*. Le premier est qu'ils doivent être soigneusement distingués (leur mention séparée suffit à en témoigner) de la masse des autres traités. Le deuxième est qu'ils ont cependant, comme tout le reste, Śiva pour auteur — ce qui va de soi dans une école où Śiva, Réalité suprême, est l'unique source de tout ce qui est. Le troisième, que la suite va amplement corroborer, est que le Siddhānta, né (directement ou pas) du Visage Īśāna, leur est supérieur.

Nous pouvons maintenant continuer notre lecture du texte. Les deux distiques suivants (92-93) rappellent la hiérarchie des directions, d'où découle celle des traditions (*āmnāya*) qui leur sont associées:

> « La [tradition] du Nord est supérieure à celle de l'Ouest; celle du Sud l'emporte sur celle du Nord; plus haute que celle du Sud est [la tradition] des Kaula[22] et plus haute encore celle des Mahākaula. La tradition de l'Est est meilleure, et celle du Siddhānta encore plus haute. Au-delà du Siddhānta, qui connaît le Soi (?), il n'y a rien: telle est l'assurance [que nous donne] l'Ecriture ».

Nous ne sommes pas du tout sûre que ce passage soit simplement une reprise (avec addition de deux écoles non nommées plus haut) du développement qui précède, et que, sous la mention des directions Ouest, Nord, etc., il faille lire « *laukika* », « *vaidika* », etc. Il est plus probable que ces quatre lignes reflètent un enseignement du *Pūrva-Kāmika* que l'*Uttara-Kāmika* semblait jusqu'ici ne pas avoir repris à son compte et selon lequel le « courant du haut », appelé là *mantra-tantra*[23], se divise lui-même en cinq branches hiérarchisées, mises en correspondance avec les cinq Visages du Visage Īśāna, vu comme un Dieu quintuple, et dont la plus éminente est le *Siddhānta*. L'utilisation du terme *āmnāya*, fréquent dans ce contexte, ainsi que la mention séparée de

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22. *Kaulika* est la leçon de T. 298B; le livre imprimé a *kālika*. Sur la répugnance des textes à rattacher les Kaula à une direction bien définie, voir H. Brunner, *Un Tantra du Nord, le Netra Tantra*, in BEFEO, 61 (1974), p. 154, n. 6.

23. Voir n. 17. La division en cinq du *mantra-tantra* est décrite dans les lignes qui suivent immédiatement (20b-21):

> *teṣveva mantratantrākhyaṃ sadāśivamukhodgatam //*
> *siddhāntaṃ gāruḍaṃ vāmaṃ bhūtatantraṃ ca bhairavam /*
> *ūrdhva-pūrva-kuberāpya-yāmya-vaktrād yathākramam //*

(la suite donne quelques détails sur chacune de ces branches). On se rappellera (voir n. 17) que le *PKā* avait donné cinq Visages à chacun des cinq aspects de Śiva. L'*UKā* n'a rien dit de tel; mais il connaît ces écoles śivaïtes et les cite ailleurs (ch. 32, *śl.* 88).

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deux écoles tantriques, nous font pencher pour cette interprétation. Les deux lignes suivantes semblent la confirmer, tout en nous apportant des enseignements nouveaux, beaucoup plus importants. Voici la première (94a):

> « Ceux qui sont libérés dans les autres *Tantra* sont considérés dans le Siddhānta comme des *paśu* ».

Reprise à l'envi par les maîtres de l'école, cette affirmation est le plus souvent introduite dans une discussion qui compare entre elles différentes voies religieuses rivales, et non pas toutes les sciences, comme la grammaire, la poétique et le reste; c'est pourquoi nous disons qu'elle confirme notre interprétation du *śloka* précédent. Mais il vaut mieux prendre la phrase comme notre texte la présente, c'est-à-dire comme un rejet total de toutes les doctrines autres que le Siddhānta. D'ailleurs, même si l'expression « *anyatantreṣu* » ne visait que les branches inférieures du *mantra-tantra*, il s'en suivrait logiquement, puisque ce *mantra-tantra* est de toutes façons au sommet de la pyramide des écoles, que la ligne 94a rejette *a fortiori* le bloc des sciences inférieures, *Veda* compris. Il faut donc lui donner tout son poids. Or, ce que nous rappelle cette brève formule au ton définitif est un dogme śivaïte aussi ferme que clair: hors du Siddhānta, pas de salut [24]; car seule la *dīkṣā* śivaïte que décrivent les *Āgama* sous le nom de *nirvāṇadīkṣā* est capable de faire sortir l'âme (*ātman*, *aṇu*) de sa condition de bétail (*paśutva*) pour la faire accéder à la condition la plus haute, où elle est exactement semblable à Śiva (*śivatva*) [25].

Retenons donc que les *Veda* ne peuvent conférer la libération. Ce n'est pas une découverte, la cause est entendue depuis longtemps. Même les plus ardents défenseurs, parmi les Siddhāntin contemporains, de l'harmonie parfaite entre les *Veda* et les *Āgama* ne peuvent ignorer cet enseignement âgamique [26], qui souvent d'ailleurs se durcit: les *Veda* sont un obstacle à la libération [27].

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24. Il faudrait nuancer ce propos si l'on prend en compte tous les *Āgama*; car certains sont plus généreux (voir H. BRUNNER, art. cité à la n. 13). De toutes façons, la possibilité de faire accéder à la délivrance n'est jamais reconnue que des écoles śivaïtes; ce n'est que l'extension du terme « Śaiva » qui varie.

25. Voir H. BRUNNER, *SP3*, Index sous « *śivatva* » et p. VI ff. et 552 ff.

26. On explique avec Tirumūlar que les *Veda* représentent une connaissance «générale» et les *Āgama* une connaissance «spéciale»; et l'on précise que cette distinction correspond à celle qui existe entre l'enchaînement et la libération. Voir SIVARAMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

27. On peut citer le *Cintyāgama* (T. 14, p. 444 puis 445) qui, après avoir rappelé que la libération (*mokṣa*) consiste en la destruction des souillures (*mala*) et que seule la *dīkṣā* peut opérer celle-ci, fait la liste des 40 *saṃskāra* védiques et conclut:

catvāriṃśat tu saṃskārā vaidikakramanirṇayāḥ /
kratavo'py uktamārgeṇa malānāṃ vardhanāya vai //
tasmād vaidikamārge tu malanāśo na vidyate /
śaivāgamoktamārgeṇa dīkṣayā mokṣa eva hi //

Voir aussi H. BRUNNER, *SP3*, pp. 272-73.

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Le texte reviendra indirectement sur la nécessité de ce rite salvateur qu'est la *dīkṣā* śivaïte. Auparavant, et sans autre préparation, il lance comme un coup de clairon la phrase dont nous sommes partis (94b):

« Le Siddhānta est l'essence des *Veda*; le reste est hors du Veda ».

Remarquons à nouveau le mot « *anyad* » qui, s'il reprend le « *anya* » de la ligne précédente, renvoie encore probablement aux seules doctrines du *mantra-tantra*, autres que le *Siddhānta*, contre lesquelles la diatribe se poursuit [28].

Mais le problème majeur n'est pas là. Il réside d'abord dans l'apparente contradiction entre l'enseignement (implicite) selon lequel les *Veda* ne sont pas libérateurs et l'affirmation (explicite) selon laquelle le Siddhānta, évidemment libérateur, est l'essence du *Veda*. On peut cependant surmonter cette difficulté si l'on admet que l'essence (ou la « crème », ou le « cœur », ou tout ce que l'on voudra mettre sous le mot « *sāra* ») de ce qui est spirituellement inefficace puisse posséder un immense pouvoir. Il suffirait de dire que les vérités exprimées par Śiva dans les *Āgama* sont aussi contenues (le Dieu y aurait veillé...) de façon cachée, diluée, dans le corpus védique, d'où nul ne peut les dégager [29]. Sous cette forme diluée, elles sont parfaitement inutiles. Leur « essence » au contraire, énoncée par Śiva sous la forme des *Āgama* pour le bien des hommes qu'une série de vies ont déjà préparés à cette révélation, est investie du pouvoir insurpassable de la Śakti même de Śiva, dont ces textes représentent un aspect. Tout cela permettrait de justifier la formule de l'*Uttara-Kāmika*, à condition bien sûr de ne pas imaginer que Śiva a « extrait » ces vérités efficaces à partir d'un corpus védique éternel qu'il aurait trouvé tout constitué à côté de lui.

Il reste à expliquer comment l'existence d'une telle relation entre *Veda* et *Āgama* [30] peut fonder la supériorité du *Siddhānta* sur les autres écoles. Car c'est bien ainsi, comme une justification de la ligne 94a, que la ligne 94b se présente: c'est *parce que* le Siddhānta est l'essence du *Veda* qu'il est la seule école valable. Du point de vue de la doctrine,

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28. Les affirmations parallèles des autres *Āgama* sont proférées dans cette perspective. S'il en allait autrement ici, il faudrait mettre « hors du *Veda* » toutes les écoles citées plus haut par le texte, y compris les *Veda*.

29. D'où l'affirmation courante, de la part des Siddhāntin, que seuls les *Āgama* permettent de comprendre les *Veda*. Voir par ex. THIRUGNANASAMBANDHAN, *op. cit.* (n. 18), p. XVI: « The Āgamas constitute a true exegesis of the Vedas ». L. RENOU, *Etudes védiques et pāṇinéennes*, tome VI, p. 17, n. 5, exprime son indignation devant de telles prétentions.

30. Relation privilégiée, qui n'entre pas dans la logique du schéma précédent et qui se superpose au lien universel qu'établit (en principe) entre les différentes sciences leur commune origine, Śiva. On peut l'accepter comme un article de dogme (le *Kāmika* l'affirme, donc c'est vrai); mais on ne peut pas l'expliquer, au moins dans la perspective de notre texte, par le seul fait que Śiva est l'auteur des deux corpus — car il est l'auteur de tout le reste aussi bien. Ce dernier argument est pourtant maintes fois avancé par les auteurs du Śaiva-Siddhānta tamoul lorsqu'ils veulent montrer que *Veda* et *Āgama* ont la même autorité.

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l'argument est absurde: la supériorité du Siddhānta est établie par les paroles infaillibles de Śiva qui s'exprime dans les *Āgama*; aucune autre justification n'est nécessaire, ni même possible. La raisonnement qui précède ne peut se comprendre que si l'on abandonne la théorie pour se situer sur le terrain des controverses socio-religieuses.

C'est bien dans cette direction que le texte maintenant nous achemine. Loin de s'attarder sur les implications profondes de l'affirmation qu'il vient de proférer (les auteurs du Śaiva-Siddhānta tamoul réfléchiront plus tard à ces problèmes), il nous ramène brutalement aux réalités concrètes de la société indienne et de ses rites (95-96):

> « Le comportement juste (*ācāra*) prescrit par le Siddhānta est appelé " comportement védique ". Les rites védiques qui vont de l'implantation de l'embryon au Culte des Ancêtres peuvent se faire aussi selon le mode śivaïte [31]. C'est selon ce mode seulement qu'il faut faire la *dīkṣā*, c'est-à-dire les rites de " naissance " et les autres » [32].

Les différents cas qui peuvent se présenter en pratique (la femme d'un initié a ou non reçu la *dīkṣā*, etc.) sont alors passés en revue. Après quoi le texte donne la liste exhaustive des rites domestiques qui peuvent se faire selon le rite védique; mais c'est pour affirmer aussitôt que ces rites sont facultatifs, tandis que les rites śivaïtes sont obligatoires (106a):

> « Tout cela, on peut le faire ou ne pas le faire; mais les [rites] śivaïtes sont obligatoires » [33].

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31. Le ms.T. 298B lit « *śaivād* » au lieu de « *śaivam* » à la ligne 96a. De toutes façons, ce *śloka* 96 n'est pas clair. On pourrait comprendre qu'il enseigne que, même si l'on accomplit les rites védiques, il faut *aussi* accomplir les rites śivaïtes (en donnant à « *vā* » le sens de « *ca* » ou de « *vai* »). La ligne 96b pourrait alors se lire: « C'est la raison pour laquelle... ». Ce à quoi l'on veut en venir est toutefois bien net: la *dīkṣā* (śivaïte) est obligatoire pour tous. Voir H. BRUNNER, *SP3*, Intr. et p. 134, n. 25.

32. Le rituel de la *dīkṣā* comporte en effet, et même à plusieurs stades de son déroulement, une série de *saṃskāra* qui portent les noms de certains *saṃskāra* védiques, tout en ayant une fonction très différente. Voir *ibid.*, pp. 130-40, pp. 258-96 et Pl. IX.

33. Injonction répétée partout à satiété. Sans sortir du *Kāmika*, nous trouvons par ex. les instructions suivantes à propos des *sandhyā* matinales: celui qui n'est pas détaché (*avirakta*) fait la *sandhyā* brahmanique d'abord, puis la *sandhyā* śivaïte abrégée, « pour obtenir tout ce qu'il désire » (c'est l'effet reconnu à la première); quant à celui qui n'a plus de désir, il fait la première ou ne la fait pas, mais la seconde obligatoirement (*PKā*, 3, 30-32a). Nous donnons les deux dernières lignes:

itaras tu virāgātmā laukikārtha-parāṅmukhaḥ //
kuryād brāhmīṃ na vā kuryāc chaivīm eva niyogataḥ /

L'idée sous-jacente à cette injonction est toujours la même: les rites védiques peuvent tout au plus procurer quelques biens transitoires, tandis que les rites śivaïtes sont libérateurs. Voir plus loin.

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De plus (106b-107a):

> « Il ne faut accomplir que ce qui n'est pas en contradiction avec les rites śivaïtes. Ce qui les contredit, il faut l'abandonner; mais il ne faut jamais abandonner les rites śivaïtes »[34].

L'enseignement suivant nous ramène à notre sujet (107b-108):

> « En acceptant des [rites] védiques tout ce qui ne contredit pas les rites śivaïtes, on peut dire que ce qui est śivaïte est védique, et que ce qui est védique est śivaïte. Le śivaïte n'est pas extérieur au védique, et le védique de même [n'est pas extérieur] au śivaïte ».

On arrive enfin à la conclusion de cet examen des différentes sciences (109-111a):

> « Cependant, [l'enseignement] śivaïte est supérieur au védique, et rien n'est supérieur au śivaïsme. La doctrine définitive (*siddhānta*), ce sont les *Āgama* dont le premier est le *Kāmika*; il n'y a rien au-delà, c'est ce qu'il y a de plus haut[35]. La [voie] śivaïte est le fondement, les quatre *Veda* en sont issus[36].
>
> Et pourtant, on emploie partout, pour qualifier ce qui est śivaïte, des expressions telles que " védique " ou " essence des *Veda* ". C'est parce que tout cela, O Meilleurs des Sages, a le même sens ».

C'est là le dernier mot. Pour justifier l'affirmation selon laquelle « Le Siddhānta est l'essence du *Veda* », notre *Āgama* n'a rien de mieux à offrir que ces explications embarrassées, qui vident de toute sa substance la formule même qui les a provoquées.

Pouvait-il en aller autrement? Les *Āgama*, Parole de Śiva[37], néces-

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34. Les deux sources de notre texte lisent « *śaivīm* », qui suppose un « *kriyām* » sous-entendu (à moins que le verset n'ait été emprunté simplement à un chapitre sur les *sandhyā*, ce qui n'a rien d'impossible). Il faudrait peut-être rétablir «*śaivam*».

On notera que le premier *pāda* du *śl.* 107 montre qu'il est inexact de dire qu'en vertu de leur commune origine, les *Veda* et les *Āgama* ne peuvent jamais se trouver en contradiction. Les maîtres śivaïtes qui connaissent les *Veda* ont bien perçu les oppositions entre ces textes et les *Āgama*, et certains ont dressé des listes des parties des *Veda* qu'il faut absolument refuser. Voir par ex. ce que dit SŪRYABHAṬṬA, auteur tardif dont la date exacte est inconnue, dans son traté intitulé *Śaivasiddhāntaparibhāṣā* (Devakoṭṭai, 1926, p. 39; ou Bangalore, 1958, p. 49).

35. En lisant avec le ms. « *tasmāt* » au lieu de *nāsmāt* », on devrait comprendre que le Siddhānta est plus haut que le śivaïsme. Le mot « *śaiva* » aurait alors un sens plus large que « *siddhānta* ». La lecture toutefois est moins naturelle, et elle s'accorde mal avec la ligne 109a.

36. Noter cette affirmation, sur laquelle nous n'avons pas le temps de nous étendre, mais qui lève tout doute, s'il en restait, au sujet de la relation ontologique entre *Veda* et *Āgama*.

37. En dehors des passages qui essaient de décrire systématiquement la genèse de toutes les sciences, et qui nécessairement sont amenés à en attribuer la paternité à Śiva, les *Āgama* ne conçoivent rien en dehors d'eux-mêmes qui puisse être dit « Parole de Śiva ».

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sairement vrais, nécessairement parfaits, ne peuvent en aucune façon entretenir avec les *Veda* le moindre rapport de dépendance [38]. Telle est la position théorique, qui ne tolère aucun compromis. Mais notre texte se fait l'écho, peut-être presque malgré lui, d'événements très concrets. A une certaine phase de son développement, pour répondre à certaines critiques et probablement attirer des adhérents, l'école a dû tolérer la pratique des rites védiques privés qui lui semblaient inoffensifs. Ainsi affirmait-elle son orthodoxie — c'est-à-dire, selon les normes indiennes courantes qu'elle épousait en même temps, sa supériorité — face à d'autres écoles śivaïtes franchement opposées au *Veda*. Un tel processus n'a rien d'exceptionnel, il fut le fait d'autres écoles religieuses de l'Inde. Cependant, cette védisation allait à l'encontre des enseignements âgamiques essentiels, et elle a visiblement été accomplie à regret. On l'a limitée au strict minimum, et réservée à certains disciples seulement: les brâhmanes dont la maturation spirituelle n'était pas suffisante pour qu'ils puissent reconnaître la vanité de ces rites d'autrefois [39]. Le texte que nous venons d'analyser témoigne dans sa maladresse de la difficulté de cette adaptation; c'est même là son intérêt principal.

Il y a de fortes chances au demeurant pour que ce passage ait été greffé après coup sur un développement antérieur, car le début du chapitre sonne tout autrement. Dans la longue liste des personnes indignes d'être consacrées *ācārya*, le texte nomme en effet (22a) « celui dont la pensée s'arrête sur les *Veda* et les *Purāṇa* »; et il précise encore (23) qu'il faut « écarter soigneusement (comme *ācārya*) celui qui, dans son égarement, met au même niveau la science de Śiva que constituent [les *Āgama*] comme le *Kāmika* et la connaissance du sens du *Veda* [40]. Par ailleurs, la volonté de conciliation qui caractérise notre extrait n'a pas de suite. Au chapitre 32 par exemple qui, sous le nom d'*anukarmavidhi*, traite d'une quantité de rites divers, l'*Uttara-Kāmika* n'hésite pas à proposer de la Science une division manichéenne qui ignore le fragile agencement réalisé au chapitre 24. On trouve alors d'un côté le seul Siddhānta, et de l'autre, sous le nom de « science inférieure » (*apara-*

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38. Voir n. 36. Nous parlons naturellement en nous plaçant au point de vue des *Āgama*. Il va sans dire que l'historien n'est pas en peine de relever dans les textes âgamiques maints échos des *Veda*, et qu'en ce sens il y a effectivement dépendance des *Āgama* envers les *Veda*. Mais c'est là un tout autre problème, qui ne se pose pas pour ceux qui acceptent les *Āgama* comme la Révélation par excellence.

39. Voir n. 33. La *dīkṣā* que l'on confère aux disciples qui ne sont pas prêts à suivre uniquement les règles śivaïtes (le *śivadharma*) est une forme inférieure d'initiation, qualifiée de « *lokadharmiṇī* ». Elle est caractérisée en particulier par le fait que le *guru* qui opère la *dīkṣā* n'annule pas, pour ces disciples, les fruits résultant des actes méritoires qu'ils ont faits avant leur initiation. Voir H. Brunner, *SP3*, p. 270, fin de la n. 246.

40. *kāmikādi-śivajñānaṃ vedārthajñānam eva ca /*
samaṃ yo manyate mohāt taṃ prayatnena varjayet //
(*UKā*, 24, 23).

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vidyā) [41], tout le reste, y compris les quatre *Veda*. La conclusion est éclairante: « Tout cela (les nombreuses écoles citées) est déclaré néfaste; mais le Siddhānta est considéré comme faste » (*sarvaṃ raudraṃ samādiṣṭaṃ siddhāntaṃ saumyam iṣyate*: 97a) [42]. Ces affirmations-là sont en parfaite consonance avec l'enseignement de la grande majorité des *Āgama*, et en particulier avec celui du *Pūrva-Kāmika* qui, dans l'exposé initial dont nous avons parlé [43], range aussi les quatre *Veda* dans ce qu'il nomme « connaissance inférieure ». Nous aurons à revenir sur cet exposé du *Pūrva-Kāmika* dans une étude prochaine.

Qu'il nous suffise d'avoir montré ici que même le passage le plus accommodant d'un *Āgama* particulièrement soucieux de ménager les *Veda* ne peut pas dire n'importe quoi, et qu'il ne faut pas le lui faire dire. Lorsqu'on a bien compris que « l'essence du *Veda* » que constituent les *Āgama* est une « essence » ontologiquement et logiquement antérieure au matériau dont on pourrait la croire extraite, seule porteuse de vérité, seule efficace, seule indispensable aux hommes épris de liberté, il est impossible d'avancer la formule dont nous sommes partis comme une preuve de l'accord profond entre le corpus védique et le corpus âgamique, encore moins de l'utiliser pour établir l'excellence de ce dernier. Tout au plus peut-on s'en servir comme d'un argu-

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41. Cette division de la Science née de Śiva en science « inférieure » et science « supérieure » est un thème favori des *Āgama*. La distinction peut jouer à plusieurs niveaux; mais, à partir de celui où les *Tantra* (sens général) apparaissent, elle sert à séparer les doctrines qui ne font connaître que les âmes liées et leurs liens (*paśu* et *pāśa*) de celle qui fait connaître Śiva (*pati*). Le *Veda* est toujours rangé dans la catégorie inférieure. Voir par ex. les citations du *Svāyambhuvāgama* données dans l'*Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati*, Trivandrum, 1922, part III, pp. 4 et 6.

42. La distinction *saumya* / *raudra*, très commune aussi, ne recouvre pas la précédente. Elle apparaît dans les passages où l'on s'inquiète des effets de tel ou tel rite et où l'on met en garde contre le danger qu'il y aurait à mélanger les différents *Tantra*. La plupart du temps, elle est utilisée à l'intérieur même du śivaïsme pour écarter les Pāśupata, Soma et Lākula (qui sont des *Tantra raudra*) et exalter le Siddhānta (qui est *saumya*). Le critère est alors l'attitude envers le *Veda*: ce qui est en accord avec le *Veda* est *saumya*, ce qui lui est contraire est *raudra*. C'est la position du *Suprabheda* (*kriyāpāda*, 56, 7-10a), dont voici la déclaration la plus nette:

vaidikācāra-sambandhāt saumyaṃ śreṣṭham iti smṛtam /
śrutyuktācāra-bāhyatvād aparaṃ raudram ucyate //

Voir aussi *Kūrma-Purāṇa* (Vārāṇasī, 1967), II, 37, 147-48.

Il n'en va pas de même dans le *PKā*; voir n. suiv.

43. Le passage précède immédiatement celui que nous avons donné à la n. 17 (*PKā*, 1, 14b-17a):

ādav abhūd dvidhā jñānam adhikāra-vibhedataḥ //
parāpareṇa bhedena pati-paśv-arthadarśakam /
śivaprakāśakaṃ jñānaṃ śivajñānaṃ paraṃ smṛtam //
vedādyam aparaṃ jñānaṃ paśu-pāśārthadarśakam /
yathā vilakṣaṇaṃ cakṣuḥ kṣapāyāṃ nṛ-biḍālayoḥ //
tathā vilakṣaṇaṃ jñānam evam etat parāparam /

La distinction est reprise et développée dans le même chapitre (*śl.* 114b-118); et la liste des sciences que le *PKā* situe dans la catégorie inférieure est proche de celle que l'*UKā* donne dans le passage dont nous parlons.

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ment publicitaire à l'usage de l'extérieur, destiné à séduire les ignorants qui ne voient pas que, dans cet « accord », l'un des termes avale celui qu'il prétend honorer. Habilement maniée, il se peut fort bien que cette affirmation hardie ait aidé au développement de la secte. Mais elle n'a sans doute jamais dupé les maîtres śivaïtes eux-mêmes, tant que leur connaissance des *Āgama* (et des *Veda*) [44] est restée vivante. C'est aujourd'hui seulement qu'elle risque de faire illusion.

44. Bien qu'elle ne soit pas encouragée — tout au contraire — par les *Āgama* que nous connaissons, l'étude du *Veda* a dû finir par s'introduire dans le curriculum des disciples de classe brâhmanique, et même des maîtres. Des inscriptions l'attestent, sans qu'on puisse savoir jusqu'à quel point cette étude pouvait être poussée.

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MARIA CHRISTOPHER BYRSKI

IS THERE A SANSKRIT WORD FOR PUMICE?

The word *phenaka* appears in the *Kāmasūtra* twice. Both times it appears in Book I, Lesson IV, *sūtra* 6 and 31 [1]. This word is also noticed by the *Jayamaṅgala* commentary of Yaśodhara. Here are the relevant portions of both texts:

« *tṛtīyakaḥ phenakaḥ* » 1.4.6.

Commentary:

« *tṛtīye'hni jaṅghayoḥ phenako deyaḥ syāt* »

and

« ... *śarīramātro mallikāphenakakaṣāyamātraparicchadaḥ...*
... *pīṭhamardaḥ* » I.4.31.

Commentary:

« *pravṛttaviṣayecchatvāc ca jaṅghāgharṣaṇārthaṁ phenakakaṣāyāv iti* ».

The Hindī rendering with which the text is furnished runs as follows:

« *tīsre din phen lagānā* » I.4.6.

Commentary:

« *tīsre din jāṅghon se samudraphen male* »

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1. I have at my disposal the following edition: *Śrī Vātsyāyana Maharṣi praṇītaṁ Kāmasūtram* with the *Jayamaṅgala* commentary of Yaśodhara and with the *Puruṣārthaprabhā* Hindī translation and commentary of paṇḍit Mādhavācārya, in two volumes, Bombay, *samvat*, 1991 (*śaka*, 1856).

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and

« *baiṭhak men sahārā lene kī mallikā aur samudraphen tathā pañcakaṣāy mātra hī jiske pās upakaraṇ ho* » I.4.31.

Commentary:

« *is kāraṇ jāṅghon ko mulāyam banāne ke liye samudraphen aur aisā hī kaṣāy jāṅghon par masalne ke liye bāṅdhe phirtā hai* ».

Vācaspati Gairolā in his Hindī rendering of the *Kāmasūtra*[2] writes in the first instance: « *prati tīsre din sābun lagā kar nahānā cāhiye* ». The second occurence of the word is althogether omitted in his translation. S. C. Upadhyaya in his English translation of the treatise[3] uses as the equivalent of the word *phenaka* « a foam producing and cleansing substance ». This must be applied, according to him, to the thighs every fourth day. At the second instance he uses the Sanskrit word itself and furnishes it with a foot-note saying that it is a soapy lathering substance. The same thing is repeated in the glossary where he writes that it is a foam producing and cleansing substance.

Richard Burton[4] in turn uses in both cases « lathering substance » and has also a foot-note saying: « This would act instead of soap, which was note introduced until the rule of the Mahomedans ».

One of the best translations of the *Kāmasūtra* is that done into German by Richard Schmidt[5]. The first passage there is rendered as follows:

« ... *alle drei Tage Sepia* ».

The relevant portion of the commentary runs as follows:

« ... *am dritten Tage soll an den Schenkeln Sepia angewendet werden; d.h. indem zwei Tage dazwischen liegen; sonst werden die Schenkel in der Folge rauh* »[6].

In the second case where the word *phenaka* is mentioned as one of the possessions of a *pīṭhamarda* also the word *Sepia* is used. Yet more enlightening context is that of the *Jayamaṅgala* commentary:

« *Um die Schenkel abzureiben, wenn ihn die Begierde nach sinnlichen Genüssen ankommt, "Sepia" und ein "braunrotes Gewand"* »[7].

Thus Schmidt differs from the others in translating the word *phenaka* as *Sepia* which denotes according to the dictionary « *braunschwar-*

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2. Vācaspati Gairolā, *Kāmasūtra pariśīlan*, Allahabad, 1967, p. 81.
3. S. C. Upadhyaya, *Kama Sutra of Vatsyayana*, Bombay, 1961, pp. 82, 86, 267.
4. Richard Burton and F. F. Arbuthnot, *Vatsyayana's Kamasutra*, London, 1963, p. 14.
5. Richard Schmidt, *Das Kāmasūtram des Vātsyāyana*, Berlin, 1915.
6. *Op. cit.*, p. 63.
7. *Op. cit.*, p. 74.

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zes Farbstoff, der aus einem Sekret des Tintefisches gewonnen wird »[8]. It is then brownish-black colour obtained from secretion of cuttle fish. Finally we emerge with the following meanings of *phenaka*: « soap, lathering substance, sea-foam and sepia ». While the first three meanings are simple deductions from the basic meaning which is foam, the last one apparently owes its origin to Böthlingk and Roth Dictionary which gives the meaning *os sepiae*, i.e., a bone of cuttle fish.

In our view none of the above renderings is satisfactory. The soap variant cannot be accepted for this simple reason that soap was unknown in ancient India. This was rightly pointed out by Burton although without much consequence for his translation. The *Manusmṛti* for instances states:

« For the cleansing of the ejectors of urine and faeces earth and water should be used as much as necessary » (V.133).

« One who desires cleanliness should apply earth — once to the urinary organ, thrice to the anus, ten times to one hand and seven times to both hands » (V.135).

« Such is the purification for householders; double of this for students, treble for hermits, and quadruple for renunciates » (V.136)[9].

It is absolutely evident that if *phenaka* were soap in any sense resembling our present soap then it would have been mentioned by Manu. The fact that the *Kāmasūtra* stipulates *phenaka* to be used only once every three days and applied only to the thighs also speaks against it being treated as soap or any other cleansing substance. Especially that it is supposed to be used *pravṛttaviṣayecchatvāt*, i.e. because of a desire of involvement in the objects of senses. Equally puzzling in this context is its twin word *kaṣāya*. Whatever it may mean, above all it seems to indicate that *phenaka* as well should be treated with some suspicion. Since *kaṣāya* also is supposed to be applied *jaṅghāgharṣaṇārthaṁ*, therefore it is obvious that both *phenaka* and *kaṣāya* serve here some cosmetic purpose other than simple cleanliness and having certain aphrodisiac function. But if this is so, then why *kaṣāya* — an ochra robe, usually mendicant's garb has been mentioned here and in what way it rubs thighs?! The answer of course is that neither *phenaka* nor *kaṣāya* mean what is usually ascribed to them, i.e., soap and ochra-robe. As we have already mentioned they serve some cosmetic purpose. The first one is exactly what Böthlingk and Roths Dictionary says it is. The bone of cuttle-fish is a well known cosmetic used already in ancient Rome[10] and applied in order to soften the skin. Probably this bone might have been used in the way similar to that in which pumice of today is used and it might have been called *phenaka* because, being

8. *Wörterbuch der deutschen Gegenwartssprache*, Berlin, 1976, 5 Band.
9. *Manu-Smṛti, The Laws of Manu with the Bhāṣya of Medhātithi*, transl. by Gangā-nātha Jhā, University of Calcutta, 1922, vol. 3, part 1, pp. 160-62.
10. See *Encyclopaedia Britannica* under « cuttle-fish ».

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lighter than water, it is thrown out on the beach of the ocean by the waves and there it resembles pieces of solidified foam. So it was called « foamlet » — *phenaka*. This finds an interesting parallel in pumice which being derived from Latin *pumex* is etymologically related to Latin *spuma* meaning foam [11]. In this context we are inclined to think that here we might have an equivalent of the word *phenaka* although the actual object so designated differs, for pumice is a volcanic product while *phenaka* is an organic one.

As it has been already hinted above a similar misunderstanding grew around the word *kaṣāya*. Its most common meaning — ochra robe — has been so much in vogue that it overshadowed all other meanings of this word. Yet in the *Kāmasūtra* its proximity with *phenaka* indicates that the commonly accepted meaning should be at least suspicious.

Burthon translates this word as « red cloth » [12] while S. C. Upadhyaya omits it altogether. Gairolā writes *kaṣāya vastra* [13] and Schmidt *braunrotes Gewand* [14]. It is only paṇḍit Madhāvācarya that offers different reading in his Hindī commentary. He uses the word *pañcakaṣaya* [15] which according to Monier-Williams Dictionary means « decoction from fruits of five plants ». For *kaṣāya* the same dictionary gives: ointment, smearing, anointing, perfuming or anointing a person with cosmetics and Mayrhofer's Dictionary puts « astringent » as the primary meaning of it. Now, in the *Jayamaṅgala* commentary both words, i.e., *phenaka* and *kaṣāya* appear in the *dvandva* compound which usualy expresses a certain unity of meaning. Soap and mendicants garb would make a very odd pair. In addition *pīṭhamarda*, an impudent parasite and a dancing master who teaches courtezans would cut indeed a very unusual figure in monkish garb. Thus it is more proper to imagine him elegantly clad and having on himself as his only possessions the tripod stool (*mallikā*) and some sort of cosmetic bag(?) with pumice made of cuttle-fish bone and a flask(?) of fragrant *kaṣāya* ointment — the second applied after the skin of thighs had been treated with the first.

Warszawa 1980.

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11. See *Lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* von A. Walde, 3 neubearb. Auflage von J. B. Hoffmann, zweiter Band M-Z, Heidelberg, 1954, and *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine.* Histoire des mots par A. Ermont et A. Meillet, 3ème ed. révue, corrigée et augmentée d'un index, Paris, 1951.
12. Burton, *op. cit.*, p. 17.
13. Gairolā, *op. cit.*, p. 85.
14. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 74.
15. *Śrī Vātsyāyana Maharşi praṇītaṁ Kāmasūtram, op. cit.*, vol. 1. p. 156.

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COLETTE CAILLAT *

NOTES SUR LES VARIANTES DANS LA TRADITION DU *DASAVEYĀLIYA-SUTTA*

Summary — It is well established that the Śvetāmbara Canon has been handed down not without variants or alterations. While the editors of the *Jaina Āgama Series* aim at establishing the correct text (with the help of old mss, the various commentaries, etc.), they also collect in the critical notes (sometimes in the introductions) data which makes it possible for the interested reader to get a glimpse of Jaina Scriptural life. Taking as example the *Dasaveyāliya-sutta* (on the whole a well balanced treatise, the tradition of which is comparatively simple), and the notes of *JĀS* XV (in which Agastyasiṃha's *Cūrṇī* and the old *Vivaraṇa* are abundantly quoted), it is shown how we are faced with sometimes contradictory statements, with transfers and exchanges of pādas, with long and short recitations of the same instructions, with scholastic developments the authenticity of which is disputed by the ancient commentators (who either reject or retain them). We thus see how the teachers unceasingly questioned the suttas in order to cope with new problems and new methods, so that they kept alive Mahāvīra's legacy.

Il est établi que, loin d'être univoque, la tradition du canon jaina śvetāmbara présente, dans certains cas, d'importantes fluctuations — dont beaucoup, souvent intéressantes et citées avec déférence par les commentateurs classiques, sont attribuées à la recension « des Nāgārjunīya » [1]. Que des variantes notables aient tôt affecté la lettre de divers traités du *Siddhānta*, les grands docteurs jaina des VIIe-XIIIe siècles, auteurs des *Bṛhadvṛtti* ou *Ṭīkā* en sanskrit, le signalent expressément, non sans déplorer les divergences qui, çà et là, séparent irrémédiablement le texte de leurs manuscrits et celui sur lequel leur semblent se

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1. Sur ces points, SCHUBRING, *Lehre*, § 43. Autres observations, récemment, par A. METTE, *Piṇḍ'esaṇā*. Das Kapitel der Oha-nijjutti über den Bettelgang, Wiesbaden, 1974 (Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur. Mainz, Abh. der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse 1973, 11), pp. 8 ss. et *passim*.

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fonder les commentaires antérieurs, *Cūrṇī* (pk. *Cuṇṇi*) en particulier[2]. C'est ce que rappellent les éditeurs de la *Jaina Āgama Series*, dans plusieurs des introductions où ils justifient leur entreprise, exposent leur méthode de travail, discutent divers exemples significatifs, rassemblent éventuellement les conclusions de leurs analyses[3]. Là même où de tels résumés font défaut, l'apparat critique abondant dont les éditions sont pourvues livre au lecteur, entre autres, les plus importantes des données que fournissent les vieux manuscrits sur palme, d'une part, et, d'autre part, les Cuṇṇi, longtemps oubliées, comme on sait, au profit des exégèses sanskrites plus systématiques, exhaustives, dont la tradition a eu force de loi[4].

Assurément, certains su ont été, moins que d'autres, sujets à variantes. Ainsi, le *Dasaveyāliya* (remarquablement édité par Ernst Leumann dès 1892) offre, dans l'ensemble, un texte unitaire. Même dans ce traité, néanmoins, il se rencontre sporadiquement des lectures contradictoires. De plus, on aperçoit clairement comment les explications, amplifications, développements scolastiques tendent très tôt (et indéfiniment) à s'introduire dans le texte — non sans controverses toutefois, en sorte que des passages adventices (absents dans les mss du su proprement dit) sont à l'occasion soit retenus soit fermement rejetés par diverses écoles d'*ācārya*[5]. Inversement, il arrive que des leçons acceptées par tous les mss du canon ne soient ni citées ni, surtout,

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2. Sur des différences dans la qualité des mss dont ont disposé les divers commentateurs, cf. W. B. Bollée, *Studien zum Sūyagaḍa*. Die Jainas und die anderen Weltanschauungen vor der Zeitwende. Textteile, Nijjutti, Übersetzung und Anmerkungen I, Wiesbaden, 1977 (Schriftenreihe des Südasien-Instituts der Universität Heidelberg, 24), p. 6. En l'occurrence, les mss utilisés pour la *SūyṬīkā* semblent avoir été supérieurs.

3. Cf. spécialement *JĀS*, I, p. 97 (avec citations de Śīlānka, etc.).

4. La tradition qu'ont connue et diffusée les *Ṭīkā* est la seule que les éditeurs de la *JĀS* jugent possible d'appréhender du moins *in extenso*; celle, donc, qu'ils s'efforcent de (r)établir dans sa pureté (*JĀS*, I, p. 89; XV, p. 49 sq., etc.). La critique occidentale, cependant, a parfois une optique différente. En plusieurs cas, elle a tenté de retrouver, sinon un *Urtext*, du moins un archétype antérieur aux remaniements les plus criants dont les su ont fait l'objet, ou aux incorrections manifestes dont ont souffert certains passages. Cf., entre autres, W. Schubring, *Ācārâṅga-Sūtra*. Erster Śrutaskandha. Text, Analyse und Glossar, Leipzig, 1910 (Abh. für die Kunde des Morgenlandes XII.4); et, du même, la traduction de ce texte intitulé *Bambhacerāiṃ*, « Reines Leben », dans ses *Worte Mahāvīras*, pp. 66-121; Ernst Leumann, *Übersicht über die Āvaśyaka-Literatur*. Aus dem Nachlass herausgegeben von W. Schubring, Hamburg, 1934 (Alt-und Neu-Indische Studien herausgegeben vom Seminar für Kultur und Geschichte Indiens an der Hamburgischen Universität, 4); L. Alsdorf, *Uttarajjhāyā Studies*, IIJ, 6, 2 (1962), pp. 110-36 (cf. p. 134) = K. S., Wiesbaden, 1974, pp. 225-51; id., *The Āryā-Stanzas of the Uttarajjhāyā*. Contributions to the Text History and Interpretation of a Canonical Jaina Text, Wiesbaden, 1966 (Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz Abh. der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, 1966.2), pp. 155-220). Les analyses formelles ont, sans conteste, mis remarquablement en lumière quelques-unes des étapes de la composition du *Siddhānta*.

5. Cf. dans le chapitre 4, *infra*; comparer la fin du chapitre 3.

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glosées dans tel ou tel commentaire — si bien qu'on peut même déterminer la date relative de leur intrusion [6]. C'est cette vie de la tradition qui se laisse, jusqu'à un certain point, déchiffrer dans l'édition et les notes critiques du Dasav préparées par le regretté Puṇyavijaya [7]. Certains aspects m'ont paru mériter d'être signalés, en hommage à l'amical érudit qui porte à la tradition manuscrite de l'Inde un intérêt toujours en éveil, et s'intéresse, sous tous ses aspects, à la civilisation de ce grand pays [7bis].

Quoique Pu leur ait prêté grande attention (sans doute parce qu'il jugeait que des nuances pouvaient être ajoutées aux « règles » formulées par la *Grammatik der Prākrit Sprachen* de Pischel), on ne saurait, ici, présenter des exemples des v.l. d'ordre phonétique ou morphologique relevées dans l'édition du Dasav ou s'interroger sur leur portée. On ne peut pas non plus envisager toutes les variantes de vocabulaire [8], ni, en général, celles qui affectent la syntaxe. Comment, néanmoins, ne pas s'interroger sur quelques leçons contradictoires?

Le contraste est net entre l'acc. de la leçon traditionnelle *vandamāṇaṃ* et le nom. *vandamāṇo*, cité comme v.l. par les trois commentaires, Cu, V, Ṭ, en JAS, 242 (c) = E.5.2.29; la recommandation

itthiyaṃ purisaṃ vā vi...
vandamāṇaṃ na jāejjā, no ya ṇaṃ pharusaṃ vae,

« il ne demandera pas l'aumône à une femme ou à un homme... qui le salue et il ne lui parlera pas avec rudesse »,

s'accorde avec le contexte immédiat (JAS, 243, 245) et avec le portrait idéal tracé dans une stance ancienne:

no sakkaim icchaī, na pūyaṃ
no vi ya vandaṇagaṃ...
... sa bhikkhū,

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6. Cf. *JĀS*, I, p. 104. Sur les interpolations dans le Dasav, voir, déjà, E. Leumann (cité *infra*).

7. On notera que cette édition a été scrupuleusement publiée, sans modification, par le Pandit A. M. Bhojak, après la mort de Puṇyavijaya (qui n'a donc pas mis la dernière main à son œuvre — il y est ainsi resté de menues inadvertances, par exemple dans certaines citations de l'édition Leumann; voir également les remarques de Bollée, *loc. cit.*, p. 6). Quoique M. Bhojak ait préféré ne l'accompagner d'aucun commentaire, il m'a paru qu'on pouvait tenter de rassembler quelques observations de portée générale.

7bis. Voir aussi *Sayyaṁbhava's Dasakāliyasuttaṁ with Bhadrabāhu's Niryukti and Agastyasiṁha's Cūrṇi*, edited by Muni Shri Punyavijayaji, Varanasi-Ahmedabad, 1973 (Prakrit Text Society Series, 17), et la préface écrite par D. Malvania.

8. On notera JAS, 412 (c) *a-saṃbaddhe*, « non attaché (au monde) », mais *-buddhe*, Kh, 3, E.8.24, « non éveillé (à la vérité) »; ou encore, JAS, 71 (c)-72 (a), *saṃjogaṃ* (cf. l'ensemble de la tradition — et la traduction W. S., *-yo-*, Kh, 4), E.4.17-18 *-bhogaṃ*.

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« il ne souhaite pas d'égard, pas d'hommage, pas de salut, ... il est un vrai religieux » [9].

La variante *vandamāṇo*, cependant, fournit un texte conforme aux prescriptions de Dasav 568 = E.12.9, et, surtout, au passage parallèle de Āyār 2, *no gāhāvaiṃ vandiya 2 jāejjā, no vayaṇaṃ pharusaṃ vaejjā* [10].

On voit que les deux leçons, assurément inconciliables, correspondent l'une et l'autre à des préoccupations ailleurs exprimées par le canon; elles seraient donc l'une et l'autre théoriquement défendables si la première n'avait pas pour elle l'unanimité des mss du Dasav [10bis].

Autres variantes, quelque peu déroutantes: il arrive qu'on lise, dans la tradition ms du su une expression positive, mais dans les Cu (V), le privatif ou le syntagme négatif correspondant: JAS, 320 (b) = E, 6, 58 porte *pāṇāṇaṃ ca vahe vaho*, « injury against living beings by killing them » (traduit W. S.); mais Cu, V écrivent *pāṇāṇaṃ a-vahe*, donc « la destruction sans détruire (personnellement / intentionnellement) » —

Au chapitre 7, qui enseigne au religieux comment il sied de s'exprimer, les recommandations varient selon la tradition suivie. D'après JAS, 373 (a-d) = E, 7, 42:

payatta-pakke tti va pakkam ālave, etc.

« il dira " cuit avec effort " [non *su-pakke*, " bien (!) cuit "] ce qui est cuit... »;

tandis que, selon Cu,

payatta-pakke tti na pakkam ālave,

« il ne dira pas " ... " » [12].

Un peu plus loin dans le même chapitre, selon JAS, 383 (a-b), E, 7, 52:

... mehaṃ va nahaṃ va māṇavaṃ
na deva deva tti giraṃ vaejjā,

« il ne qualifiera pas de " dieu " respectivement nuage, ciel, homme... »;

mais Cu, V préfèrent une leçon qui porte en soi son explication:

a-deva deva tti ṇa vā vadejjā (Cu, *... tti ṇa ālavejjā*, V),

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9. Utt.15.5, texte suivant L. Alsdorf, IIJ, 6 (1962), pp. 116-19 = K. S., pp. 231-34.

10. Āyār 2.1.6.3 = *JĀS*, II, 1, p. 360 fin.

10bis. A la rigueur, peut-on envisager de prendre *vandamāṇaṃ* adverbialement (Cf. SPEYER, *Vedische und Sanskrit-Syntax*, § 3)?

A la leçon *vandamāṇo*, comparer la mise en garde de Manu, 6, 58:

abhipūjita-lābhāṃs tu jugupsetaîva sarvaśaḥ:
abhipūjita-lābhaiś ca yatir mukto 'pi badhyate,

« Il doit dédaigner absolument d'obtenir l'aumône à force de salutations; (car) un ascète... est enchaîné par les aumônes obtenues à force de salutation (trad. Strehly).

11. Cf. la note, JAS, p. 45, n. 2. Pour l'interprétation, voir JAS, 311.

12. Et de même dans les pāda b-d.

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donc, « il n'appellera pas " dieu " le nuage... — (qui ne sont) pas dieu » [13].

Ailleurs, c'est seulement le tour qui change: la présence ou l'absence de négation, accompagnée d'un changement de cas, modifie la lettre, non le sens général de l'énoncé:

kiṃ vâhaṃ (*câ-* E) *khaliyaṃ na vivajjayāmi?*,

« pourquoi n'évité-je pas d'achopper? »,

se demande le bhikkhu, selon JAS, 572 (b), E.12.13; mais, d'après Cu, V:

kiṃ vâhaṃ khalito vivajjayāmi?,

« j'ai achoppé (une fois): évite(rai)-je (la récidive)? ».

Au reste, ces commentaires signalent l'autre version au titre de *pāṭhântara* [14].

Quelles que soient, en effet, les faiblesses éventuelles des exégètes, ils ont du moins le mérite d'indiquer l'existence de leçons divergentes, et, à l'occasion, les diverses possibilités d'interprétation. Par exemple, dans la difficile stance JAS, 562 (b) = E.12.3, on voit que *āsavo* (sk. *āśravaḥ*, « courant, influx », accepté par V, Ṭ) a parfois été lu *āsamo* (sk. *āśramaḥ*, « stade de vie », Cu), lequel est effectivement cité comme variante par Ṭ [15]: sans doute les maîtres n'ont-ils pas, à l'occasion, dédaigné de jouer sur les mots [16]. Ils se devaient, d'ailleurs, de montrer toutes les virtualités du texte. Ils relèvent donc la multiplicité des possibles équivalences sk. d'un même terme amg. A propos de JAS, 386 (a), E.7.55,

sa-vakka-suddhiṃ samupehiyā muṇī (*sav-vakka- E*),

« le religieux surveillera la pureté de ses paroles »),

Cu, V, Ṭ s'accordent pour présenter plusieurs résolutions sk. du premier terme: *sa* (anaphorique), *sat-*, *sva-*.

Vers la fin du cinquième chapitre, E.5.2.44 (b) suit la leçon de Ṭ, *aguṇāṇaṃ ca vivajjao*, « éviteur de fautes » (*aguṇāṇaṃ* gén., pl.), à quoi JAS, 257 préfère *aguṇāṇaṃ vivajjae* [17], qui conserve l'ambiguïté signalée par Cu et V, ce dernier renvoyant à l'interprétation des Nāgārjunīya:

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13. On voit, par ces v.l., tout à la fois la parenté et l'autonomie mutuelles de Cu, V.

14. JAS, p. 80, n. 14.

15. Cf. W. Schubring, notes p. 130, et JAS, p. 79, n. 3. Sur *-v-*: *-m-*, Pischel, 261.

16. Certaines leçons de Cu laissent l'impression d'encourager au śleṣa. Par exemple, s'agissant du « chemin des (re)naissances » qu'on redoute et doit éviter, les mss écrivent généralement *jāi-paha*, mais Cu toujours *jāti-vadha*, avec dentale à l'hiatus (*jā*[*t*]*i-va*[*d*]*ha* V): JAS, 455 (d) = E.9.1.4, JAS, 534 (b) = E.10.14, JAS, 575 (c) = E.12.16 (Sur *paha*, *-vaha*, sk. *patha-*, Pi, 403). L'orthographe de Cu évoque aussi, naturellement, sk. *vadha-*, « meurtre, destruction ». Cf. *infra*, n. 40.

17. Cf. *-ṇāṇa vivajjao*, J.

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aguṇâṇa-vivajjae (*-aṇa-*, sk. *ṛṇa-*), donc « qui évite (de contracter) la dette des fautes » *aguṇa-riṇaṃ akuvvanto* [17bis].

Le début du deuxième chapitre semble avoir fait l'objet de multiples variantes, plus ou moins exhaustivement rapportées (et commentées) par Cu, V, Ṭ [18]; V, Ṭ marquent sans ambages la leçon qu'ils jugent bonne, *kahaṃ nu kujjā sāmaṇṇaṃ*, « comment donc pourrait-il mener la vie d'ascète? », qui correspond à la tradition ms du su proprement dit; celle-ci reflète également certaine hésitation, sinon en ce début de chapitre, du moins par l'absence de titre, dans tous les mss (sauf Kh, 1) à la fin de la leçon [19].

Un autre type de variante porte sur des syntagmes plus complexes: un pāda, un hémistiche, une strophe ou un groupe de strophes. On verra des exemples de transferts ou échanges de pāda, de contractions de stances, de différents types de récitations, longues ou brèves, d'interpolations, enfin, comme Ernst Leumann en a signalé dans son analyse, et comme Cu, V en insèrent ou dénoncent de leur côté.

Les portions en prose se prêtent tout particulièrement à des modifications, dont bon nombre, d'ailleurs, n'altèrent que superficiellement le texte.

L'introduction du chapitre onze énumère dix-huit réflexions [20]: les huit premières sont citées dans un ordre fixe (avec addition tardive d'un déterminant au point VI) [21], les suivantes (IX-XVIII) à une place qui varie de Cu à V et Ṭ [22].

Au chapitre 4, l'énoncé des six contentions, *yatanā*, qui suit celui des six (grands) vœux [23] donne également lieu à des variantes plus ou moins sensibles [24]. Dans la séquence *diyā vā rāo vā, egao vā parisa-gao vā, sutte vā jāgaramāṇe vā*, « de jour ou de nuit, seul ou en compagnie, endormi ou éveillé », les deux derniers déterminants avancent de deux crans chaque fois dans Cu (et deux fois, dans les deux premières yatanā, dans V). La sixième et dernière yatanā surtout est l'occasion de nombreuses interversions entre les compléments qui indiquent le lieu (où tel animalcule risque d'être endommagé) [25]: le total varie de dix-huit endroits, maximum (J, Kh, 3, 4), à six, minimum (V); dans toutes les traditions les trois premiers et les deux derniers points sont seuls im-

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17bis. Sur *ṛṇa-*, « dette », « faute », L. Renou, *Etudes védiques et pāṇinéennes*, 15 (Paris, 1966), p. 179; cité Ch. Malamoud, *La théologie de la dette dans le brâhmanisme*, *Puruṣārtha*, 4 (1980), 41 (*ubi alia*).

18. Cf. JAS, p. 2, n. 1; cf. E, v.l., s.

19. Cf. JAS, p. 3, n. 10.

20. JAS, § 542, E, pp. 640, 23-641, 7.

21. JAS, p. 75, n. 13 (v.l., Kh, 2); E, p. 640 n., et p. 585.

22. Voir JAS, p. 75 et nn. 17, 27.

23. Sur quoi *infra*.

24. JAS, §§ 49-54, E, 616, 12-617, 18.

25. Noter aussi la finale de loc. sg. *-e* dans une énumération au loc., v.l. citée par Cu (au lieu de *-aṃsi*, typiquement amg., qu'offre l'ensemble de la tradition), JAS, p. 14, n. 18.

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muables; et les mss ne présentent d'ordre fixe que de 1 à 6 et de 15 à 18 [26]. Tout en partant d'un canevas assez précis, le texte garde donc un caractère relativement mouvant, ouvert, particularité qui se retrouve, à un degré moindre, dans la yatanā 2 (où la Cu remplace un préverbe par un autre), et encore dans la troisième, où un ms (Kh, 4) ajoute deux termes à l'énumération des divers actes proscrits [27].

On verra plus loin que même le libellé des (grands) vœux fait l'objet de plusieurs discussions dans la Cu: le commentaire d'Agastyasiṃha intervertit les phrases d'introduction et de conclusion, tout en citant, à titre de variante, l'opinion des *ācārya* dont l'avis, contraire au sien, se trouve être conforme à la tradition ms du su [28].

Voici maintenant la liste des transferts de pāda. JAS, 26 (a) = E.3.10, au terme d'un développement, est, dans V, remplacé par JAS, 17 (c) = E.3.1, qui figure dans l'introduction du même passage. JAS, 76 (d) = E.4.22 est, dans V, remplacé par JAS, 68 (b) = E.4.14. Après JAS, 88 = E.5.1.6, Cu insère une stance à très peu près équivalente à JAS, 178 (a-b) + 179 (a-b), E.5.1.65 (a-b) + 66 (a-b), qu'elle supprimera donc plus loin. Quand des pāda se répètent, les substitutions aussi peuvent se reproduire: JAS, 145 (a) = E.5.1.48 (*taṃ bhave bhatta-pāṇaṃ tu...*, « cette nourriture serait... ») est remplacé par JAS, 228 (a) = 230 (a) = E.5.2.15 = 17 (*tārisaṃ bhatta-pāṇaṃ tu...*, « une telle nourriture [serait]... ») cela dans Kh, 2, 3, 4, dans Cu (et Ṭ, selon JAS); même chose en JAS, 151 (a) = 159 (a) = E.5.1.54 = 62 dans Kh, 2, 4. Inversement, JAS, 228 (a) dans Cu, Ṭ, et JAS, 230 (a) dans Kh, 1, 2, Ṭ, sont remplacés par JAS, 145 (a) [29]. Dans le septième chapitre, JAS signale deux cas d'interversion: JAS, 354-355 = E, 7, 23-24 deviennent 355-354, dans V; JAS, 367-370 = E, 7, 36-39 aboutissent à 369-370; 367-368, dans Cu.

De tels échanges avaient d'autant plus chance de se produire qu'il existe parfois comme une concurrence entre une récitation longue (qui n'hésite pas à reprendre exhaustivement toutes les répétitions de formules) et une récitation plus ou moins abrégée, qui, tantôt élimine une partie des pāda identiques, tantôt réduit l'énoncé à l'énumération des mots clés de l'enseignement. En pareil cas, JAS opte pour la formule longue. Les exemples les plus nombreux de cette liberté se rencontrent, comme on verra, dans le chapitre 5 (relativement long; composé essen-

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26. De 13 à 18, même ordre dans les mss, J, Kh, 1, 2, et dans Ṭ; même ordre de 12 à 18 dans Kh, 1, 2, et Ṭ.

27. Au reste, les fluctuations qu'accuse ici le Dasav sont très menues en regard de celles qui affectent le texte des vingt-cinq *bhavaṇā* (cinq après chacun des cinq grands vœux) dans Āyār 2, chapitre 15 (éd. Jacobi, pp. 131, 31-137, 24, *JĀS*, II, 1, §§ 777-791). Voir aussi les v.l. dans la définition des être mobiles, *tasā pāṇā*, JAS, § 40, E, 615, 3-12.

28. Cf. JAS, p. 9, nn. 1, 8, 10, etc.

29. D'après JAS. Cf. les concordances selon les notes de E, pp. 620, 622. Ces pāda sont parfois omis Cu, V (*infra*).

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tiellement de śloka). Naturellement, le phénomène se rencontre aussi en prose. Ainsi, dans l'introduction théorique qui ouvre le chapitre 4, E, à la ligne 7 du développement enchaîne directement *imā khala sā Chajjīvaṇiyā nām'ajjhayaṇaṃ* (« Voici la leçon appelée "Sur les six groupes d'âmes" ») avec la suite de l'exposé *taṃ jahā* (« à savoir »); or, à ce point où s'articule l'énoncé, JAS, § 34 [30] insère la formule stéréotypée utilisée au § 32 (initial du chapitre = E, lignes 2-5), attribuant, en dernière analyse, la proclamation de cet enseignement à Mahāvīra.

Au chapitre 7, Cu, V condensent en deux śloka — et modifient légèrement — le texte de JAS, 339-340-341 = E, 7, 8-10.

Au chapitre 5, enfin, il semble qu'il y ait eu, à deux reprises, comme une liberté de choix entre la récitation intégrale de séries de śloka parallèles où varie un élément unique, et leur réduction à la simple énumération des variables. Les dix-sept śloka de JAS, 115-131 suivent le texte du ms J (apparemment confirmé par les gloses de Cu, V); or cette tirade est condensée ailleurs dans la liste énumérative que constitue le couple d'āryā E.5.1.33-34, conformes à tout le reste de la tradition manuscrite du su, elle-même suivie par Ṭ [31]. De même, les dix-huit śloka de JAS, 160-177 reproduisent J (dix śloka sont amorcés dans Cu, sept dans V), alors que les autres mss, Ṭ, E, 5, 1, 63 se bornent à la chaîne des mots clés [32].

Certains enseignements sont ainsi présentés sous des formes optionnelles; cette latitude se répercute-t-elle sur l'économie des exposés voisins? On constate, en tout cas, que Cu, V inclinent à en éliminer partiellement les répétitions de pāda identiques. Sans doute les commentaires ne notent-ils pas les faits systématiquement; les relevés qui suivent peuvent néanmoins servir comme indicateurs de tendance. On constate plusieurs fois la suppression par le V de l'hémistiche (récurrent dans la tradition du su)

taṃ bhave bhatta-pāṇaṃ tu saṃjayāṇa akappiyaṃ,
« cette nourriture serait, pour des religieux, contraire à la règle »;
JAS, 138 (a-b) = 140 (a-b) = E.5.1.41 = 43 sont ainsi éliminés par Cu, V, en sorte que les quatre śloka 137-140 s'y réduisent à six hémistiches; JAS, 157 (a-b) = E.5.1.60 disparaît de même dans V. Parfois, ce ne sont pas seulement les deux premiers pāda ci-dessus, mais le śloka tout entier qui fait défaut; manquent ainsi, dans V, JAS, 145 = 155 = E.5.1.48 = 58; dans Cu, V, JAS, 147 = 149 = 151 = E.5.1.50 = 52 = 54; dans Cu seule, JAS, 159 = E.5.1.62.

De plus, les cinq śloka JAS, 178-182 = E.5.1.65-69 sont réduits à trois dans Cu [33], par suppression de 178 (c-d) + 182 (a-b) et transfert

30. Aucune v.l. n'est signalée.
31. JAS, p. 22, n. 15. C'est une citation, Schubring, *Worte Mahāvīras*, p. 3, n. 1.
32. JAS, p. 26 sq., n. 16.
33. Soit 179 (c-d)-180 (a-b) + 180 (c-d)-181 (a-b) + 181 (c-d)-182 (c-d).

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de 178 (a-b) + 179 (a-b) au début du chapitre[34]. V, de son côté, condensera, chaque fois en trois hémistiches, chacun des deux couples de śloka parallèles JAS, 227-228 et 229-230 = E.5.2.14-15 et 16-17[35].

Enfin, JAS, 254 = E.5.2.41, inverse de ce JAS, 257 = E.5.2.44 qui semble pouvoir prêter à śleṣa[36], n'existe pas dans Cu, V.

Au chapitre 7, on observe l'absence, dans V, de JAS, 344 = E.7.13, qui résume l'esprit des recommandations formulées et les justifie.

Reste à passer en revue les interpolations.

L'étude critique de la tradition ms du su et de trois commentaires échelonnés dans le temps (*Ṭīkā*, *Laghuvṛtti*, *Avacūri*) conduit E. Leumann à en détecter six; il expose le détail des faits dans la préface, p. 585, et dans les notes de son édition[37].

Ce ne sont pas les seules interpolations qui aient été présumées — ou tentées. A JAS, 270 fait suite, dans le mss, une énumération où Cu, V voient une « *gāthā* de *niryukti* »[38]: E.6.8 la retient (Leumann, il est vrai, ne disposait pas de Cu), JAS la rejette. JAS, 317 = E.6.55 est suspect d'après V (qui le cite et commente comme une variante de 316), ainsi qu'aux yeux de certains maîtres qui, dit Cu, le tiennent pour interpolé.

Plus d'une fois, en effet, on voit les deux anciennes exégèses, Cu, V, examiner l'authenticité canonique de divers passages — et rappeler que certains ont été mis au compte d'une « *Prācīnavṛtti* ». Il se trouve des ācārya pour attribuer à cette dernière la fin du troisième chapitre[39]: il se termine, selon eux, à la strophe 13, le dernier pāda de ce śloka étant alors « *te vadanti sivaṃ gatiṃ* », « ils vont à la destinée bienheureuse »[40].

Les développements en prose, et les points de transition paraissent particulièrement vulnérables.

Au chapitre 9, le début de la quatrième section[41] présente des séries d'énumérations de quatre termes; dans chacune, seul le quatrième et dernier des éléments est accompagné, dans les mss du su, de l'ordinal « complétif » — ce qui est conforme à l'usage morpho-syntaxique

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34. Après JAS, 88 = E.5.1.6, cf. *supra*.

35. Ils se réduisent respectivement à JAS, 227 + 228 (c-d), et JAS, 229 + 230 (c-d).

36. *Supra*, p. 211.

37. A l'occasion de 8.34[1] (= après JAS, 422), de 9.2.19 (= après JAS, 487, voir p. 66, n. 6), de 11.6[1] (= après JAS, 548); de plus, à l'occasion de 4.27[1] (= après JAS, 81), de 11.VI (= JAS, § 542.6); à quoi s'ajoutent quatre strophes de niryukti 12.16[1-4]. Les remarques de Leumann seront complétées par celles de Puṇyavijaya: JAS, 422[1], donné, par tous les mss, ne figure ni Cu ni V; JAS, 487[1] manque Kh, 2, Cu, V; on note que JAS, 548[1], que ne citent pas les mss de Ṭ et *Laghuvṛtti*, est introduit dans les éditions de ces textes; JAS, 81[1] (āryā dans un ensemble de śloka! voir *infra*) manque dans Cu, V (et d'ailleurs contredit la doctrine ancienne).

38. JAS, p. 39, n. 17.

39. Soit JAS, 29 (d) à 31 (d) = E.3.13 (d)-15.

40. *Vadanti* écrit pour *vayanti* (VRAJ-), avec dentale à l'hiatus, cf. Pischel, 203, *JAS*, I, p. 86. Cp. Dasav,JAS, p. 68, n. 20, la variante *gaiṃ vainti*.

41. JAS, §§ 511-517 = E, pp. 637, 29-638, 8.

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ancien [42]. Au contraire, la Cu, qui, à chacune des quatre étapes, rappelle le titre du sujet traité, accompagne cette précision de son numéro d'ordre: tour plus tardif, qui répond sans doute à un souci pédagogique. A titre d'exemple, voici le paragraphe 511 = E, 637, 29-31, consacré à la concentration sur la discipline. La tradition ms du su porte: *cauvvihā khalu viṇaya-samāhī bhavai, taṃ jahā... sussūsai I... na ya bhavai atta-saṃpaggahie IV cautthaṃ payaṃ bhavai*, « la concentration sur la discipline est de quatre sortes: 1) il écoute attentivement... 4) il n'est pas infatué de soi; c'est (là) le quatrième point... »; la Cu, elle, explicite: « *sussūsati viṇaya-samādhīe paḍhamaṃ padaṃ I... bīyaṃ padaṃ... tatiyaṃ padaṃ... -ggahie viṇaya-samādhīe cautthaṃ padaṃ...* [43].

Pour qui s'intéresse au mécanisme des interpolations, et, de manière plus générale, au mode de composition des sutta [44], la section en prose du chapitre 4 de Dasav est instructive. Cu, V font état de divergences d'opinion sur l'authenticité de certains passages; eux-mêmes retiennent, éventuellement, des éléments explicatifs (que leur forme dénonce, à l'évidence comme des additions tardives) [45].

Cette section se compose de deux parties principales. La première énonce, d'abord, un rapide enseignement d'ontologie, puis, elle formule globalement la règle de conduite qui en découle [46]; la seconde analyse, en quelque sorte, l'engagement ainsi prescrit, et souscrit par le religieux, en citant, *in extenso*, le texte des cinq vœux majeurs complétés par le sixième vœu — ne pas manger de nuit — [47], et celui de leurs appendices, les six yatanā [48]. Or Cu, V relèvent que, à la jointure des deux parties définies ci-dessus, peut se greffer la récitation de douze āryā [49] qui, en réponse à une hypothétique question préalable de l'élève, exposent la nécessité de la foi, *saddhā, śraddhā* (indispensable avant toute prise de vœu).

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42. J. Wackernagel, A. Debrunner, *Altindische Grammatik*, vol. III, Göttingen, 1930, p. 400 ss., cité par E. Benveniste, *Noms d'agent et noms d'action en indo-européen*, Paris, 1948, pp. 145-60, *ubi alia*.

43. Même schème dans les paragraphes suivants; de menues adjonctions complémentaires y sont également relevées. Même schème, d'autre part, dans V (avec des variantes de détail), cf. JAS, p. 69, n. 5 ss.

44. Si réfléchi, équilibré, qu'ait été le projet initial. Sur la composition du Dasav, Schubring, p. VII.

45. *Infra*. — Autre interpolation: pour introduire la définition des être mobiles (JAS, § 40, E, 615, 3 ss.), V répète, automatiquement, la liste des qualités attribuées aux autres groupes d'âmes (cf. JAS, p. 7, n. 2).

46. JAS, §§ 32 à 40 + 41, E, 614, 31 à 615, 12 + 13 à 19.

47. JAS, §§ 42-47, E, 615, 20 à 616, 11. Noter que la sixième observance (*rāibhoyaṇāo veramaṇa*) est généralement tenue pour un *vaya*. Elle n'est dénommée *mahavvaya* que par un des mss (Kh, 3) consultés par JAS et dans une v.l. de E. Elle ne figure d'ailleurs pas dans la série des cinq grands vœux monastiques énumérés Āyār 2, chapitre 15: preuve, entre autres, que son statut est différent.

48. JAS, §§ 49-54, E, 616, 12 à 617, 18.

49. Mètre relativement tardif, rare dans le Dasav, cf. W. Schubring, *Worte Mahāvīras*, p. 3.

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La Cu note la controverse dont ces stances font l'objet, certains ācārya les attribuant au su, d'autres à une *Prācīnavṛtti*; pour V, ce développement a une importance essentielle — et il l'inclut dans le texte canonique qu'il commente [50]. Or on constate que cet enchaînement de considérations ne figure dans aucun ms du Dasav proprement dit; le fait qu'il soit rédigé en āryā classique (mètre exceptionnel dans ce traité, et qu'on sait propre aux portions tardives du *Siddhānta*) est un indice qui concorde avec les précédents: ce passage a tous les caractères d'une interpolation d'école.

On pourrait du moins penser que le texte des cinq vœux majeurs (*mahavvaya*) a été intouchable: il n'en est rien; la grammaire, aussi bien que l'agencement de l'énoncé, ont donné lieu à des variantes. On se rappelle que la Cu intervertit les formules d'introduction et de conclusion [51]. Elle se distingue, en outre, par certains choix morpho-syntaxiques. Quand il est enjoint de respecter les interdictions « en esprit, en parole, en acte » [52], elle ne dit pas, comme le fait ici toute la tradition ms du su, *maṇeṇaṃ vāyāe kāeṇaṃ*, mais *maṇasā vayasā kāyasā*, formulation typiquement amg., probablement archaïsante [53]. Inversement, elle suit peut-être une syntaxe de type relativement moins figé lorsque, pour signifier qu'on s'engage au triple respect des prohibitions, elle préfère l'indicatif à l'optatif (tandis que ce dernier mode prévaut dans les mss) [54]. La Cu va plus loin: elle inclut, dans le texte

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50. Cf. JAS, p. 7 sq., n. 24.
51. *Supra*, p. 212.
52. Littéralement « par le corps ».
53. Sur ces instrumentaux *-asā* de thèmes en *-a*, Pischel, 364. La formulation *maṇasā vayasā kāyasā* est-elle plus hiératique? C'est celle qu'emploie Āyār 2, ed. Jacobi, 2.15.I.1, etc. = JĀS, II, 1, §§ 777, etc., dans l'énoncé des vœux. Elle est ancienne, se rencontre, par exemple, dans une āryā de type archaïque, Utt, 8, 10 (d):
... *maṇasā vayasa kāyasā c'eva*
(pour l'analyse métrique, K. R. Norman, *Kāvilīyaṃ: a metrical analysis of the eighth chapter of the Uttarādhyāyana-sūtra*, in A. N. Upadhye, etc., éd. *Mahāvīra and his Teachings*, Bombay [1977], pp. 9-19). Mais ancienneté n'implique pas nécessairement authenticité dans le texte du Dasav. On peut comparer avec un exemple très clair des *Āvassaya-sutta* et *-cuṇṇi* 2 (cf. *JĀS*, XV, p. 333 et n. 3): alors même qu'elle en cite le texte avec la leçon *maṇasā...*, l'*Āvassaya-Cu* commente la leçon *kāyeṇa...*, qu'on doit donc tenir pour originale à cette place.
54. Le moine fait vœu de ne pas commettre de méfait, de ne pas en faire commettre à autrui, de ne pas permettre à autrui d'en commettre; ainsi, dans le deuxième vœu (qui défend le mensonge): *n'eva sayaṃ musaṃ vaejjā, n'ev'annehiṃ musaṃ vayante vi anne na samaṇujāṇejjā*; mais ... *vaemi* ... *vayāvemi* ... *-jāṇāmi*, Cu (et, pour *-jāṇāmi*, aussi J, Kh, 1, 4). Assurément, au contraire de l'optatif, qui est ambigu (*-ejjā* valant pour les trois personnes du singulier), l'indicatif a l'avantage de n'être pas équivoque; il s'accorde, en outre, avec les indicatifs des phrases qui entourent cette formule. On a présumé une différence de valeur, en contextes « *vrata* », entre optatif (réalisation possible, et souhaitable, et obligatoire, d'un modèle de conduite préétabli) et indicatif futur (engagement solennel, vœu), P. Hacker, *Vrata*, Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, I Philologisch-Historische Klasse, 1973, 5, pp. 139-40 = [33] sq. du tiré à part. Comparer les autorités citées par L. Renou, *Sur le genre du Sūtra dans la littérature sanskrite*, JA, 251

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même de chaque profession de foi, l'examen dialectique qui a nom *nikṣepa*, en vertu duquel chacun des vœux est considéré « *davvato khettato kālato bhāvato* », « du point de vue de la matière, du lieu, du temps, de l'esprit ». De nouveau, d'ailleurs, Cu relève que, si certains maîtres tiennent cette analyse pour *sūtra-pāṭha*, les autres l'attribuent à une *Prācīnavṛtti*[55]. Que ces derniers aient raison, il y en a trois indices: la tradition ms du su n'a pas ici recours à ce schème; les formules des vœux énoncées dans Āyār 2, au chapitre 15 ne l'utilisent pas davantage[56]; de plus, le *nikṣepa* est un procédé scolastique, relativement tardif, banal dans les commentaires[57], encore embryonnaire dans le canon[58]. On constate donc que l'énoncé des cinq mahavvaya eux-mêmes n'a pas échappé aux risques d'interpolations, et qu'il a donné lieu à quelques variantes grammaticales. Fondamentalement, cependant, leur contenu est fermement établi — de même qu'est invariable l'ordre de leur succession.

Ainsi, la tradition canonique semble avoir offert aux innovations une résistance inégale. On voit comment le texte a pu être soumis à des tensions, à la pression d'analogies, comment il a pu bourgeonner, comment commentateurs et ācārya l'ont interrogé pour répondre à de nouvelles préoccupations ou à une problématique nouvelle — comment, en somme, les maîtres ont su garder vivant l'enseignement légué par Mahāvīra.

(1963), p. 182 sq., § 19 et n. 110; il remarque, cependant, « Le verbe est à l'indicatif dominant dans les *Dh(arma)Sū(tra)*, mais concurrencé par l'optatif, qui prévalait encore dans less *Śr(auta)Sū(tra)*. Cette juxtaposition provient du fait que dans le Rituel comme dans le Coutumier description signifie norme, ce qui est est ce qui doit être; on peut donc indifféremment poser l'un ou l'autre modes ».

55. Cf. JAS, p. 9, n. 3.

56. Ed. JACOBI, pp. 131-36; *JĀS*, II.1, §§ 777-790.

57. Cf. L. ALDSDORF, *Nikṣepa - A Jaina Contribution to Scholastic Methodology*, JOIB, 22 (1973), pp. 455-63 = K. S., 257-265; idem, *Jaina exegetical Literature and the History of the Jaina Canon*, in A. N. Upadhye, etc., éd. *Mahāvīra and his Teachings*, pp. 1-8.

58. BH. BHATT, *The Canonical Nikṣepa*. Studies in Jaina Dialectics, Leiden, 1978 (Indologia Berolinensis, 5).

ABRÉVIATIONS

(a) (b) (c) (d)... = indication des *pāda*; je précise le pāda généralement après la référence à JAS (et ne répète pas après E) — acc. = accusatif — amg. = ardhamāgadhī — Āyār 2 = *Āyāranga-sutta 2*; renvoie à *The Âyâraṃga Sutta of the Çvetâmbara Jains*. Edited by H. Jacobi, London, 1882 (Pali Text Society); sauf indication contraire, renvois aux leçons... paragraphes; j'indique généralement la concordance avec la récente édition *JĀS*, vol. II, 1 (*infra*) — Cu = *Cuṇṇi* = *Cūrṇī*; ci-dessous, renvoie aux citations (par Pu, dans JAS, cf. *JĀS*, XV, p. 89) de la Cu d'Agastyasiṃha (voir la référence *ibid.*, p. 89) — *Dasav* = *Dasaveyāliya-sutta* (cf. SCHUBRING, *Lehre*, § 54); je renvoie, en général, conjointement, à l'édition publiée dans la *JĀS*, XV (numérotation continue des stances et paragraphes) et à l'édition Leumann (cf.,

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infra, JAS, E), le signe «=» note l'identité des deux textes (excepté pour les indications éventuelles des quantité, nasalité, etc.) — E = édtion E(uropéenne) du Dasav, *Daśavaikālika-sūtra und -niryukti nach dem Erzählungsgehalt untersucht und herausgegeben* von ERNST LEUMANN, ZDMG, 46 (1892), pp. 581-663 (texte p. 613-63); transcription du su en nāgarī, par Jīvrāj Gh. Doshi, Ahmedabad, 1912, reproduite dans W. S. (*infra*), renvois, pour les portions en vers, aux chapitres et stances, pour les portions en prose, aux pages et lignes — gén. = génitif — J = ms de Jesalmer utilisé par Puṇyavijaya (voir *JĀS*, XV, p. 40) date V.S. 1289 = 1232 ap. J.C.) — JAS = édition du Dasav dans *JĀS*, XV — *JĀS* = *Jaina Āgama Series*, Bombay, 1968 (Shrī Mahāvīra Vidyālaya) I, *Nandisuttaṁ and Aṇuoggaddārāiṁ*, Editors Muni Puṇyavijaya, Pt. Dalsukh Mālvaṇiā, Pt. Amritlāl Monhanlāl Bhojak, 1968; II, 1, *Āyāraṅga-suttaṁ*, Ed. Muni Jambuvijaya, 1977; XV, *Dasaveyāliyasuttaṁ Uttarajjhayaṇāiṁ and Āvassayasuttaṁ*, Ed. Late Muni Shri Puṇyavijayaji and Pt. Amritlāl Monhanlāl Bhojak, 1977 — Kh = mss de Cambaye (Khambāt 1, 2, 3, 4) utilisés par JAS (cf. *JĀS*, XV, pp. 39-40) — ms(s) = manuscrit(s) — nom. = nominatif — Pi, Pischel = R. PISCHEL, *Grammatik der Prākrit-Sprachen*, Strassburg, 1900 (GIAPhA I, 8); renvois aux paragraphes — pk. = prakrit — pl. = pluriel — Pu = Puṇyavijaya, éditeur de Dasav JAS — Schubring ou W. S. = renvoi à la traductions en anglais, et aux notes et introduction, dans *The Dasaveyāliya Sutta*, edited by Ernst Leumann and translated, with introduction and notes by Walther Schubring, Ahmedabad, 1932 (= K. S., Wiesbaden, 1977, pp. 109-248). SCHUBRING, *Lehre* = W. SCHUBRING, *Die Lehre der Jainas*. Nach den alten Quellen dargestellt, Berlin-Leipzig, 1933 (GIAPhA III, 7). SCHUBRING, *Worte Mahāvīras* = W. SCHUBRING, *Worte Mahāvīras*. Kritische Übersetzungen aus dem Kanon der Jaina, Göttingen (und Leipzig), 1926 (Quellen der Religionsgeschichte, XIV, 7) — sg. = singulier — sk. = sanskrit — su = sutta, sūtra — Ṭ = *Ṭīkā*; ci-dessous, renvoie aux citations (par Pu dans JAS), de la Ṭ de Haribhadra (cf. *JĀS*, XV, p. 89). On notera que Pu renvoie généralement à l'édition de Ṭ, mais qu'il a collationné le texte imprimé et de vieux mss sur palme (les v.l. sont mentionnées *passim*); E, dans ses notes, cite H(aribhadra) directement d'après les mss — Utt = *Uttarajjhāyā* — V = *Vṛddhavivaraṇa*; ci-dessous, renvoie aux citations (par Pu, dans JAS; cf. *JĀS*, XV, p. 89) — v.l. = *varia lectio* — W. S. = voir Schubring.

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GORDON C. CHISHOLM

THE EDUCATION OF THE HERO AS DEPICTED IN SANSKRIT FICTION *

Perhaps nowhere has learning been more anxiously sought after and elaborately catalogued than in the society of classical India as depicted in its literature; or, more proudly displayed than by its authors *kavis*. Knowledge, the fruit of learning, was a prize to be won and a treasure to be at once both actively guarded and exploited. The aims of the various sciences to be learned were generally identical with those traditional aims of Hindu society — *kāma*, *artha*, *dharma*, and *mokṣa*. Drawing upon the tradition of the *śāstra* literature — texts enumerating, explaining, and commenting upon the arts and sciences for study — many Sanskrit novels and stories *kathās* include episodes which turn upon the hero's skillful employment of some science *vidyā* or art *kalā*. Most often these are applied in some particular instance of opportune chance in order to facilitate the hero's obtainment of his ends. These ends are usually the vanquishing of a rival and the winning of a beautiful maiden [1]. By itself, the singular importance of the hero's erudition and artful skill to the mechanics of plot development merits the inclusion of a section in the novel which details the extent and nature of his formative training. In other stories called *nidarśanakathā* the whole pretext for telling the story, or more properly the stories emboxed in the main narrative frame, is to impart learning through the sugar-coated pill of narrative. In fleshing out abstract principles and vividly displaying the effect of good and bad actions to the listener their aim is to inspire conduct which leads to success. As will be discussed later, *nidar-*

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* Page references to Sanskrit and Prakrit works are to the page numbers of those editions of the texts listed in the Bibliography.

1. Two of many possible examples of an art or science used in the winning of a maiden (i) Naravāhanadatta's knowledge of a musical scale played on the *vīṇā* to accompany the melody of Gandharvadattā's song, BKŚS XVII. (ii) Kuvalayacandra's completion of the verse, given only one *pāda*, which secures him the love of Kuvalayamālā, KMA, p. 154.5.

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śanakathā often function on more than one level of meaning and interpretation. Examples of this type are the *Pañcatantra* and *Kuṭṭanīmatam* [2].

The focus of this paper will be on that part of the novel which tells of the formal education of the hero *nāyaka*, most usually a prince. Parallel passages which treat of the heroine *nāyikā*, most usually a princess, will also be discussed where available. Our primary aim is to highlight certain features of the topic by comparing many of the elements involved in this section of any novel with similar narrative portions in several other novels. Below is a list of the texts which we have utilized. While nearly all are Sanskrit compositions, two Prakrit works have been included with a view to giving some representation, however small, of this important body of *kāvya*. Such an inclusion in no way implies an adequate treatment of the literature in Prakrit bearing on the present topic.

Sanskrit	*Work*	*Author*	*Century A.D.*
BKŚS	*Bṛhatkathāślokasaṃgrahaḥ*	Budhasvāmin	8th or 9th
BKM	*Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*	Kṣemendra	11th
KSS	*Kathāsaritsāgara*	Somadeva	11th
K	*Kādambarī*	Bāṇa	7th
HC	*Harṣacarita*	Bāṇa	7th
ASK	*Avantisundarīkathā*	Daṇḍin	7th
DKC	*Daśakumāracarita*	Daṇḍin	7th
TM	*Tilakamañjarī*	Dhanapāla (I)	10th
USK	*Udayasundarīkathā*	Soḍḍhala	11th
PT	*Pañcatantra*	Pūrṇabhadra *	12th
KM	*Kuṭṭanīmatam*	Dāmodaragupta	8th or 9th
SM	*Samayamātṛkā*	Kṣemendra	11th
ŚMK	*Śṛṅgāramañjarīkathā*	Bhoja	11th
KMAM	*Kuvalayamālākathā*	Ratnaprabhasūri	13th
Prakrit			
KMA	*Kuvalayamālā*	Uddyotanasūri	8th
BK	*Bhavisayattakahā*	Dhanapāla (II)	10th

* Original author unknown.

We have as well consulted various *śāstras* which the authors of the above works have undoubtedly drawn upon or which reflect and or comment upon the literary treatment of educational subject matter. These include *Arthaśāstra*, *Kāmasūtra*, *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, and *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*.

* * *

Let us begin with the *Bṛhatkathāślokasaṃgraha*, one of three existing Sanskrit versions of India's first great novel the *Bṛhatkathā*, said to be

2. Raghavan, *Bhoja's Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa*, p. 817.

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originally composed in Prakrit by one Guṇādhya. The sixth and seventh chapters of the BKŚS deal with the birth and boyhood of prince Naravāhanadatta and contain a good amount of information about his formal education. The appeal of Budhasvāmin's work, more so than both the KSS and the BKM, lies in its realistic and sympathetic appreciation of human personality. Human beings are here depicted with both flaws and excellences duly observed, as well as with an eye to the humorous side of life. Budhasvāmin's skill as a novelist is evident in the way he uses episodes to develop themes and to bring important concepts into relief. The charm of his art relies not so much on a monumental tapestry of detail and evocative splendour, as one might say of an author like Bāṇa, as it does on an ability to offer the reader glimpses of spontaneous human behaviour given meaning by the context in which they occur.

One such instance is a description of Naravāhanadatta's behaving as all children do while growing up. He torments his friend Marubhūtika by taking away his ball and, on a further occasion, disturbing him while he is busy at target practice with his bow. On both these occasions Marubhūtika loses all self-control and chases after the young prince [3]. These incidents occur during the period of time when the boys are receiving their education — studying the Vedas and the various arts and sciences. Rather than merely recounting their virtues and praising their progress, Budhasvāmin is more faithful to the vagaries of a developing human temperament and shows his characters as being susceptible to pettiness and immaturity. He achieves this in a style of natural expression that makes the personality of the hero even more likeable and identifiable, more fully human. It also provides a fitting reason for what follows next in the story. Concerned over their lack of decorum and lack of sense, Yaugandharāyaṇa, the chief minister of king Udayana, proposes that the young prince and the ministers' sons be initiated into their future roles as soon as possible so that they may begin to mature and develop a sense of responsibility commensurate with their station in life. This provides him the opportunity to expound on the salient point that intelligence which is bound to facts and theories is worse than useless and has no appreciable good effect on the moulding and development of personality. In fact, if not honed by practical experience the intellect is then liable to misapply knowledge, a course of action resulting in more harm than good [4]. This theme

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3. BKŚS VI, 17-26.

4. *yāvadyāvaddhi śāstrajñāḥ śāstrārthānna prayuñjate /*
tāvattāvadbhavantyeṣāṃ kuṇṭhāḥ kāryeṣu buddhayaḥ //
amī rumaṇvadādīnāṃ putrā hariśikhādayaḥ /
vijānanto'pi śāstrāṇi sutarāmandhabuddhayaḥ //
vastunyalpe'pyanātmajñāḥ saṃrabdhālohitānanāḥ /
prabhumeva jighāṃsanti mṛgendraṃ markaṭā iva //

« As long as they know only theory and do not apply the aims of the sciences, their intellects will remain blunt in the sphere of practical affairs. These ministers'

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receives further treatment when the adolescent boys, trying their wings at giving sage advice to their fledgling king, hold council among themselves along with Naravāhanadatta. Hariśikha, sanctimoniously quoting passages from texts on *rājanīti* whether they are truly relevant or not, is justly made fun of by the somewhat arrogant but intelligently perceptive Gomukha who ridicules his pedantry [5].

This theme, the superiority of intelligence over pedantry, has an important significance. It did not escape the attention of other *kavis* either. Though important, the cataloguing of knowledge by an extensive listing of the various arts and sciences for study is finally secondary to the emphasis placed by Sanskrit authors on the proper understanding and use of knowledge. It is interesting to note that Budhasvāmin, perhaps the most successful of those authors to state this concept in a work of fiction, has really not bothered to include a long list of the subjects studied, something which is often found in other works.

Let us see how some other *kavis*, especially those writers of *nidarśanakathā*, have expressed this same idea: (1) At the end of the third *ucchvāsaḥ* of Daṇḍin's DKC Rājavāhana comments on the success of Apahāravarman's adventure, *paśyata pāratalpikamupadhiyuktamapi gurujanabandhavyasanamuktihetutayā duṣṭāmitrapramāpaṇābhyupāyatayā rājyopalabdhimūlatayā ca puṣkalāvarthadharmāvapyarīradhat / kiṃ hi buddhimatprayuktaṃ nābhyupaiti śobhām* « See how even adultery in connection with deceit has yielded both *dharma* and *artha* in large measure, by being the means of releasing elders from the distress of imprisonment, by being the method of killing a wicked enemy, and by serving as the basis for the attainment of a kingdom. What does not attain to brilliance when employed by the intelligent? » [6]. Almost all the stories of the DKC celebrate the artful use of intelligence and quick thinking. The attainment of virtuous ends justifies the dubious means used to achieve them. The exploits of the *kumāras* almost remind one of modern adventure novels, wherein the hero takes the law into his own hands and meets with success by relying on his own ingenuity, daring, and quick wits. Such dubious means are, however, not quite

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sons, Rumaṇvān's Hariśikha and the rest, have intellects that are blind though they are very familiar with the sciences. As regards even a trifling matter, they forget themselves and their faces become white with anger. Like monkeys they want to strike their lion king », BKŚS VI, 29-31.

5. *ataḥ pustakavinyastagranthabaddhārthbuddhayaḥ /*
praśnānugrahamarhanti nedṛśaḥ kūṭamantriṇaḥ //
ahaṃ punarguṇopāyaprayogakuśalo yataḥ /
cetasyaiḥ saha saṃparkaḥ prayogakusalairmama //

« Hence I am not one such as those false ministers who, having their minds dependent on meanings fettered to theories deposited in books, are not worthy of the honour of consultation. And furthermore, I am skilled in the employment of foreign policy and schemes for success because of my association with intelligent men proficient in their practical application », BKŚS VII, 75-76.

6. DKC, pp. 122-23.

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without official sanction. Among the arts learned by the youths during their education there are included *cauryadurodarādikapaṭakalāprauḍhatvam* « perfection in theft, gambling, and other deceitful arts »[7]. Mention is also made in K that all the arts of gambling were part of the curriculum of study prescribed for Candrāpīḍa[8]. (2) In the fourth chapter of Kṣemendra's SM the madam *kuṭṭanī* (the true *guru* of the prostitute) named Kañkālī has just begun to instruct the heroine, a prostitute named Kalāvatī, in the science of harlotry when she says, *na kulena na śīlena na rūpeṇa na vidyayā / jīvitābhyadhikaṃ buddhilabhyaṃ dhanam avāpyate //* « Neither by family, nor by virtue, nor by beauty, nor by knowledge is wealth — supreme in this life — obtained; it must be gotten by intelligence »[9]. (3) The introduction to the PT provides us a witty perspective on the anxiety and concern shown by parents for the academic success of their progeny; for nowhere is this more evident than in the case of a king distressed over the stupidity and unlearnedness of his sons. Desperate to find a way of enlightening his three sons, king Amaraśakti asks that some means be suggested by someone from among the large assembly of scholars whose livelihood he is providing for. At first he is only reminded of the many years required to complete the conventional course of studies. Then a counsellor named Sumati points out that since time is short and many obstacles intrude while infinite are the things to be learned some way must be found to impart what is essential and to discard the inessential. He suggests a *brāhmaṇa* named Viṣṇuśarman who would be equal to the task. Viṣṇuśarman accepts the challenge and succeeds in teaching the three princes *nītiśāstra* within six months. He composed the five texts of the PT which he then taught them. His didactic tales effectively circumvented a long and, we are encouraged to suspect, rather tedious course of formal education. The message of the *kathāmukha* is to emphasize the aim of education which is stated there as *pratibodhanam* « awakening » « enlightening »[10]. And while it lists the various *śāstras* — *vyākaraṇa, dharmaśāstra, arthāśāstra,* and *kāmaśāstra* — it implies that a thorough study of their contents is not the only satisfactory route towards the refining of one's intelligence.

Having read those parts of several novels dealing with a prince's education it occurs to one that this introductory passage to the PT can be read almost as a burlesque of those works written in a more serious tone. The despair of the king over his blockhead sons and his search for some extraordinary means to achieve their education is in a way a gentle spoof of the usual narrative wherein the proud king builds a

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7. DKC (*pūrvapīṭhikā*), p. 22.
8. K, p. 126.
9. SM IV, vs. 19.
10. PT, p. 2, line 14. Synonymous expressions which have principally the same meaning in this context: *prabodhanārthaṃ*, p. 2, line 17; *bālāvabodhanārthaṃ*, p. 3, line 13.

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splendid school, maintains there a faculty of learned professors and is filled with joy on learning of his son's diligent and rapidly successful progress through a vast curriculum of study, secure in the knowledge that the prince will be a worthy successor to his throne. King Amaraśaktì laments, ... *mamaite putrāḥ śāstravimukhā vivekarahitāśca / tadetānpaśyato me mahadapi rājyaṃ na saukhyamāvahati* / « ... these sons of mine are averse to study and devoid of insight. Consequently, when I look at them my kingdom, though it is vast, brings me no happiness » [11]. Almost directly in contrast with the above we cite the following passage from Bāṇa's K. Śukanāsa, the prime minister of king Tārāpīḍa, declares on seeing the accomplished young prince, *tāta candrāpīḍādya khalu devasya tārāpīḍasya samāptavidyam upāruḍhayauvanamālokya bhavantaṃ sucirādbhuvanarājyaphalaprāptirupajātā* / « Dear Candrāpīḍa, seeing that you have grown to youth and completed your learning, there has occured today, after so long a time, the fulfillment of king Tārāpīḍa's earthly rule [12]. Śukanāsa continues his lavish praise of the prince, emphasizing the blessing received by his parents in having such a son, and the good fortune of his future subjects [13].

* * *

Reading detailed descriptions of the context in which the education of the hero progresses — the place of learning, his teachers, fellow pupils, the length of study — one begins to discern a consistent pattern of narrative events. These events vary in detail between the various *kathās*, but it is the correspondences which prove most interesting. At the least, these details may provide us, then, with a composite picture of the literary treatment of education at the ruler's court. Below is a comparative outline of the hero's educational career after his birth and earliest childhood years.

Period of Education: BKŚS states no age or number of years; KSS tells us that Naravāhanadatta was studying the sciences by the time he was eight [14]; BKM states no age or number of years; K states that

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11. PT, p. 1, lines 17-18.

12. K, p. 157.

13. As a textbook for rulers the *Arthaśāstra* has something germane to say on the role of intelligence and its effective use in educational training, *śrutāddhi prajñopajāyate prajñāyā yogo yogādātmavṛtteti vidyānām sāmarthyam* / « From learning arises intelligence, from intelligence arises application, from application arises self-discipline; such is the power of the sciences », *Arthaśāstra*, I, 5.16. Cf. also the virtues possessed by Harivāhana, hero of the *Tilakamañjarī*, as a student: attentiveness *abhiyuktatā*, self-reliance *svādhīnatā*, sharpness of intellect *kuśāgrīyatā nijabuddher*, and resolute application *abhiyogaḥ*. Upon completing his studies at the age of sixteen, *ārabdhakāryasya tribhuvane'pyaśakyamavijeyamasādhyaṃ ca kimapi na prāyeṇābhut* / « There was probably nothing whatsoever in the three worlds that was impossible, unconquerable, or unattainable for him once he had undertken to do it », TM, p. 79.

14. KSS VI, 1.5.

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Candrāpīḍa began when he was in his sixth year and graduated during his sixteenth for a total of ten years residence in school [15]; Bāṇa's autobiography in the HC states that he left his teacher's house when he was fourteen [16]; ASK informs us that investiture with the sacred thread *upanayana*, the ceremony which marks the beginning of formal education, took place either during the eighth, eleventh, or twelfth year from conception according to one's caste; or, in an alternate schedule, from the fifth, seventh, or eighth year from conception according to one's caste [17]. We assume that these numbers apply to Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, and Vaiśyas respectively. The *Avantisundarīkathāsāra* states that Rājavāhana's education was complete at age sixteen when he set out on his mission of world conquest [18]; DKC (*pūrvapīṭhakā*) offers no details in this matter of age; TM states quite clearly, as does K, that the period of study was ten years in length, Harivāhana began when he was six and graduated when he was sixteen [19]; KMA, a Jaina work, states that the prince was entrusted to a teacher at the age of eight and studied with him until he was twelve years old [20]; BK, another Jaina novel, does not enlighten us concerning the age at which studentship was engaged. From the above it may generally be stated that the period of formal education undergone by a youth lasted a decade, from the sixth to sixteenth years. The Jaina writer(s), perhaps with a view to asserting superiority of Jaina heroes over their Brāhmaṇical counterparts, shortens this period to four years.

Physical Accomodation - The School: BKŚS merely states that the boys' quarters *kumāravaṭakā* came under the superintendence of teachers [21], there is no mention of a new structure being built; K is the most specific and detailed in this matter. A well-equipped school (complete with underground exercise room) of magnificent proportions was built outside the city To make up for the geographical separation Candrāpīḍa was visited daily by his parents. There was a large faculty of specialists maintained there by the king [22]; TM, contrary to K, has the king build a school within the precincts of the royal palace in which, once again, many learned teachers are maintained [23]; KMA states that Kuvalayacandra was sent to a school *vijjāgharayam* [24] (Skt. *vidyāgṛham*) where he remained in seclusion, separated from his parents, until his twelfth year; BK relates that Bhavisayatta set out happily for the school

15. K, p. 128.
16. HC, p. 63.
17. ASK, p. 204; Daṇḍin himself began his studies after his seventh year i.e. when he was eight, ASK, p. 12.
18. *Avantisundarīkathāsāra*, Madras, 1957, p. 46.
19. TM, pp. 78-9.
20. KMA, p. 21, lines 12-15.
21. BKŚS VI, 15.
22. K, pp. 125-26.
23. TM, pp. 78-9.
24. KMA, p. 21, line 14.

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ujjhāsāla (Skt. *upādhyāyaśāla*) and upon graduating he departed with the appropriate celebration of honouring the Jina with gifts [25].

Classmates: The principal classmates of the hero during his school-days are usually those who will be his companions throughout the course of his life and adventures. These friendships formed early in life become very important later on as the novel's plot takes full shape. In BKŚS Naravāhanadatta's principal companions are the four ministers' sons: Hariśikha, Marubhūtika, Gomukha, and Tapantaka [26]. They become the prince's ministers when he becomes crown prince; in KSS this number of playmates is increased to six by the addition of twin sons, nephews of Udayana's family priest Śāntikara [27]. This is done, however, to make possible the employment of a poetic fancy by Somadeva. The prince's six companions are likened in their beneficial effect to the six measures of foreign policy *ṣaḍguṇāḥ* [28]. Interestingly enough this same literary comparison occurs in BKŚS in a slightly altered way and with reference to Naravāhanadatta's father king Udayana. His four minister-companions, the fathers of the prince's companions, are likened to the four schemes for success *upāyāścatvārāḥ* [29]. Both these comparisons emphasize the importance of the ministers' role and in turn the importance of the hero's boyhood friends. It should also be noted that this is a fine example of the propensity of authors for displaying erudition in their works; in this case writings on *arthaśāstra* are being utilized; BKM mentions the four ministers' sons as Naravāhanadatta's principal companions [30]; K limits the number to only one, he is Vaiśampāyana the son of Tārāpīḍa's prime minister Śukanāsa [31]; in TM Harivāhana meets his boon companion only after his formal education has been completed [32]; in DKC and ASK the classmates of the hero are once again ministers' sons, seven in number, as well as two sons of a political ally of Rājahaṃsa, The sons of Rājahaṃsa's four active ministers were Rājavahana's companions in earliest childhood. To their number were subsequently added the sons, each one a nephew of at least one of the king's four ministers, of three others who though eligible to be ministers by their birth chose other careers to follow instead. Also added were the aforementioned two sons of Prahāravarman. The events which lead to the arrival of these five *kumāras* at Rājahaṃsa's court in exile at the hermitage of Vāmadeva are quite miraculous. In the end, including

25. BK Sandhi Two, I, 14-II, 10.
26. BKŚS VI, 9-12.
27. KSS IV, 3, 91.
28. KSS IV, 3, 93.
29. BKŚS IV, 19.
30. BKM VII, vss. 559-562.
31. K, p. 126.
32. TM, p. 80, pp. 95-102.

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Rājavāhana, there are ten[33] *kumāras* who play, study, and grow up together. Neither KMA nor BK make mention of fellow students though one may assume their presence. Besides those classmates who are companions to the hero there are other students present as well. BKŚS mentions students of the Vedas in whose company the principal characters attended school[34]. TM alludes to the presence of others, while K specifies them as *ācāryakulaputra* « the sons of nobles and preceptors »[35].

Teachers: For the most part teachers are anonymous as a group. They are sought out and maintained under the king's direction and it seems that they each specialized in a particular branch of learning and that enthusiastic instructors of good character were available for every art and science. When some special instruction or interpretation was to be made, the « teacher » is usually the king's prime minister[36] or the king[37] himself who, of course, is named.

Curriculum: It is not our object to give a detailed listing of all the various arts and sciences studied. What is notable is the vast extent of the subjects mastered by the hero. Why should this « all-knowingness » be an essential attribute of the hero? The answer may be that the hero, most often a prince and future universal monarch, was to the author and his readers the highest embodiment of Brāhmaṇic culture and Hindu society, standing at the very apogée of *varṇāśramadharma*. It was therefore a necessity that he be as nearly perfect as possible. The *nāyaka*'s attention to learning and the enumeration of the various *śāstras* and *kalās* might go someway towards preserving their place in society, and emphasizing the importance of the Brāhmaṇas who were qualified to teach them[38].

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33. The number ten is based on the account given in the *purvapiṭhikā* of the DKC. There are actually eleven *kumāras* according to the text of the ASK; this probably follows the original plan of Daṇḍin. Pending the recovery of the full text of the ASK the full scale of Daṇḍin's great work remains a mystery.

34. BKŚS VI, 15.

35. K, p. 125.

36. K, pp. 166-80.

37. BKŚS VII, 56-62; BKŚS XVII, 116.

38. If the substance of the curriculum of study is any indication of vested interest then the relatively large number of topics related to trade and commerce included in the novels of Jaina authors should testify to that fact. Novels about or including merchants, the supporters of the Jaina community, would naturally be of great importance to *kavis* included in that religious community. Thus in the KMA trade *vāṇijjam* along with many related topics of knowledge are included in the hero's course of study (KMA, p. 22, lines 1-10). In the BK the arts and sciences are included first; however, the martial arts are then listed in some detail. The use of various weapons and defencing against them, hand to hand combat, giving and countering blows, wrestling, vaulting, riding elephants and horses are all listed (BK Sandhi Two, II, 5-8). The lives of merchants often included travel for profitable trade. This travel with valuable goods by caravan or ship was very hazardous as attacks by robbers and pirates were frequent (see for example KMA, p. 135, lines

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The one clear division which exists in the curriculum of study is that between *śāstra* and *kalā*. In BKŚS the boys observed vows while studying the Vedas and literature (both *śāstra* and *kāvya*) while it was not necessary to do so when they studied the arts [39]. ASK gives a quite elaborate description of the various restrictions and practices involved in the observance of such vows [40]. TM neatly distinguishes the two by using the terms *vidyā* and *upavidyā* [41]. In the case of the *śāstras* there is often mention of the different authors traditionally associated with them; ASK for instance speaks of the *dharmaśāstras* beginning with Manu, Vasiṣṭha, Gautama and so on [42]. Both the *śāstras* and *kalās* were necessary for the complete education of the hero, and skill in the various practical arts as well as mastery of the principles of statecraft and the use of various weapons were essential to a prince.

Miscellaneous Aspects: (1) In close connection with the details of the *nāyaka*'s education there generally occur the following: (a) ceremonies such as the *upanayana* (just prior) and the *abhiṣekham* (immediately after) (b) glowing accounts of the hero's nobility of character and the beauty and grace of his bodily form (c) a « coming out » upon his graduation in which the people of the country have a chance to observe the future ruler; an envoy from the king sent to inform the prince (and his companions) of such an event [43] (d) the gift of a horse [44] (a modern parallel for this would be the present of an automobile on the sixteenth birthday) and mansion [45] (e) the beginning of « world conquest » and the start of marvellous adventures and romance(s). (2) Naturally, there are many parallels in the vocabulary used by *kavis* in treating of this part of the *nāyaka*'s career. Phrases such as *sakala-kalākalāpaḥ*, *sarvavidyā* and *śāstrārthāḥ* recur frequently.

The apparent ease with which the hero masters the whole extant corpus of knowledge is a feature of singular note. It is often declared that the sciences of themselves enter the body of the hero. This fact may seem to oppose the diligence and self-discipline which are so much a part of the character of the novel's leading figure, yet really the expression of this idea glorifies his nature as a whole and is a testimony to his ability and intelligence since he is honoured as a most worthy

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25 ff.; BKŚS XVIII, 202 ff.). Obviously then, proficiency in arms and self-defence were an essential part of a merchant's training. In the Brāhmaṇical novels, such as those of Daṇḍin and Bāṇa, great emphasis is placed on knowledge of the Vedas and the *śāstras* expounding *dharma*, *artha*, and *kāma* as well as the practical and martial disciplines.

39. BKŚS VI, 16.
40. ASK, p. 204.
41. TM, p. 79.
42. ASK, p. 205.
43. BKŚS VII, 53 ff.; K, p. 128. In both novels the king sends his *senāpati* to bear his message to the prince.
44. K, p. 129; KMA, p. 23, line 12.
45. K, p. 157; TM, p. 79.

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vessel. It does two other things as well; it makes the sciences seem like autonomous realities, divinities; and suggests that the hero has been preordained by fate, or whatever controlling power, for greatness. What follow are statements of this idea in several novels: (a) K - *maṇidarpaṇa ivātinirmale tasminsaṃcakrāma sakalaḥ kalākalāpaḥ* / « The entire collection of arts entered into him as if he were an exceedingly clear jewelled mirror »[46]. (b) KMAK - *... kumāro medhānidhiḥ sakalābhiḥ kalābhiścirādutkaṇṭhitacetobhir vadhubhiriva vallabhaḥ prāvṛṣi nadībhirivādīnābhirnadīnaḥ svayaṃ svīkṛtaḥ* / « It is as if the prince, a treasury of intelligence, were a husband spontaneously accepted by his brides, all the arts, their hearts long yearning for him; like the ocean effortlessly claimed by great rivers during the rains »[47]. (c) BK - *emaivisiṭṭhaim aṇṇahiṃmi aṃgau guṇihiṃ tāsu variu* / « His body was chosen by other distinguished attributes such as these »[48]. (d) BKM - *tato rahaḥsthito rājā rajanītilakānanāḥ / dṛṣṭvā varāṅganāḥ prahvyaḥ prapracchāgamakāraṇam // tāḥ prāhurbhūpate sarvā vidyāḥ kalāstathā / śarīraṃ praviśāmo'dya tava putrasya dhimataḥ // ... tatastā viviśur vidyā rājaputraṃ kalāśca tāḥ / tadāviṣṭaśca sa babhau sudhāsikta ivodupaḥ //* « Remaining in secret, the king saw those modest women wearing yellow *tilakas* on their faces and asked them the reason for their coming. They replied, "Oh king, we are all the sciences and all the arts, today we enter the body of your intelligent son". ... The sciences and arts then entered the prince; and so entered he consequently became filled with nectar like the moon »[49]. (e) KSS - *anyedyur nirgato draṣṭuṃ devaṃ devakule ca saḥ / dadarśa nṛpatirbahviḥ suvastrābharanāḥ striyāḥ // kā yūyamiti pṛṣṭāśca tena tāstam babhāṣire / vayaṃ vidyāḥ kalāścaitastvatputrārthamihāgatāḥ // gatvā viśāma khastāntarityuktvā tāstiro'bhavan / savismayaḥ sa rājāpi vatseśo'bhyantaraṃ yayau //* « On the following day he went to view a god in the temple but instead the king saw many women dressed in beautiful clothes. "Who are you?", he asked them. They told him, "We are the sciences and these are the arts who have come here for the sake of your son. We will go and enter in at the places of bodily opening (?)"[50]. Once they had said this they vanished and the astounded king, lord of the Vatsas, went inside »[51]. This intervention of supernatural powers in the life of the hero is characteristic of the Indian novel, especially those (and there are many) in which both humans and semi-divine beings such as *vidyādharas* and *gandharvas* each share a large part of the narrative and interact with one another. This personification of knowledge and its seeking out of the hero foreshadows Naravāhanadatta's prophesied attainment of the

46. K, p. 126.
47. KMAK, p. 8, line 41; p. 9, line 2.
48. BK Sandhi Two, II, 9.
49. BKM VII, vss. 556, 557, 569.
50. KSS VI 8, vs. 156; should the text read *khasthāntar* instead of *khastantar*?
51. KSS VI, 8, vss. 154-156.

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status of a *vidyādhara*, which he acquires as a boon from Śiva upon his completion of a rigorous period of asceticism. Coincident with this he also as foretold finally becomes emperor *cakravartin* of the *vidyādharas* after many spectacular adventures, *tapastuṣṭaśca bhagavānsa dattvā darśanaṃ śivaḥ / devyā girijayā sārdhameva prahvaṃ tamādiśat // vidyādharāṇāṃ sarveṣāṃ cakravartī bhavādhunā / sarvāḥ sarvātiśāyinyo vidyāḥ sarvāḥ savigrahāḥ / kimādiśasi yatkurma ityājñāsādhanotsukāḥ //* « Pleased with his (Naravāhanadatta's) asceticism, Lord Śiva granted him a vision of Himself and, accompanied by the goddess Daughter of the Mountain, he commanded the bowing prince, "Become now emperor of all the *vidyādharas* and let all the all-surpassing sciences manifest themselves unto you!...". ... Then all the sciences appeared before him in bodily form and eager to fulfill his orders they said, "We will do what you command" »[52]. These latter *vidyās*, the special property of the *vidyādharas*, are qualitatively different from those studied by mortals. They are magical in nature and confer fantastic powers not unlike those possessed by the modern day comic strip hero Superman.

Supernatural favour which confers complete knowledge is opposite yet complimentary to the sentiment expressed by the well known verse from the introduction to the PT:

> Verbal science is boundless indeed.
> Since life is short and obstacles are many
> This being the case, let the essence be grasped,
> having discarded the inessential,
> Just like the geese do milk from the midst
> of water.

While the one demands a remarkable individual predestined for greatness the other admits the limits of human abilities and seeks to transcend them in the most efficient way possible. However, both represent attempts, conscious or otherwise, to circumvent the long and arduous task of study.

* * *

The space provided in novels for discussing the education of the heroine *nāyikā* is generally not great. The only exceptions to this rule are found in the novels on harlotry; however these deal with a somewhat different quality of woman than that met with in romances. Says Rājaśekhara in his *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* on this topic, *śrūyante dṛśyante ca rājaputryo mahāmātraduhitaro gaṇikāḥ kautukibhāryāśca śāstraprahatabuddhayaḥ kavayaśca /* « Princesses, daughters of prime ministers, prostitutes, and jesters' wives are heard and seen to have intellects established in knowledge and to be authors »[53]. We will discuss first

52. KSS XIV, 3, vss. 129, 130, 134.
53. *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, X, p. 53.

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those heroines who fall within the first two of Rājaśekhara's categories.

The education of women of noble birth as depicted in literature seems to have been restricted mainly, by omission at any rate, to the fine arts. The birth of a girl was generally considered a calamity; the birth of the heroine was only a cause for jubilation in that she was destined to marry a universal monarch [54]. Her status is real enough, but ultimately it is dependent on her relationship to the hero. TM offers a somewhat more extensive account of the education of a princess than we normally find: *svabhavanagatā ca sarvadā sarvakalāśāstrakuśalena sarvadeśabhāṣāvidā sarvapauraṇikākhyānakapravīṇena strījanena citrābhiḥ kathābhirvinodyamānā dināṇyativāhayati* / « When at home she (Tilakamañjarī) always spent her days being entertained by stories and paintings with her ladies who were versed in all legends and tales, who knew all the dialects, and who were proficient in all the arts and sciences » [55]. Her friend, the princess Malayasundarī, spent her days in much the same fashion. It may indeed be significant that the word used to describe their activity is *vinoda* [56] « diversion » « amusement ». This contrasts sharply with the serious, studied application to learning which is integral to the depiction of the hero in the same novel. The point is not that the heroine was not a serious person, but that the importance of her studies to her role in life was not that great; except that she be accomplished in the fine arts of dancing, painting, music and so forth. As it is said of Malayasundarī, she studied *ucitavidyās* along with their esoteric portions [57]; these « suitable » sciences were headed by dancing and playing music. The USK repeats this pattern but seems to go one step further in describing the arts enjoyed by the heroine as *śaiśava* [58], those appropriate to childhood.

One gets a somewhat different perception of the heroine in passages which talk of her character and intelligence. Kādambarī *asyā api rājakulasaṃparkcaturā matiḥ* / « Whose intellect was sharp through association with the palace » [59] was nobody's fool we are given to understand. Intelligent well-educated women also demanded husbands equal in quality to themselves. In the story of Upahāravarman's adventures, the lady who falls in love with him is already married to someone else. She detests her husband and only came to be his wife because her intended from birth (who it turns out is none other than Upahāravarman) was lost and her father gave her in marriage to a suitor named Vikaṭavarman, a man definitely not to her liking. Her description of him is

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54. TM, p. 263.
55. TM, p. 169.
56. TM, pp. 169, 264.
57. TM, p. 264.
58. USK, p. 97. It must must be kept in mind though that the word *śaiśava* refers to the period of age under sixteen years; according to Apte, *Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 927.
59. K, p. 296.

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one that well fits that of the villain *pratināyaka*: *ayaṃ ca niṣṭhuraḥ pitṛdrohī nātyupapannasaṃsthānaḥ kāmopacāreṣvalabdhavaicakṣaṇyaḥ kalāsu kāvyanāṭakādiṣu mandābhiniveśaḥ śauryonmādī durvikathano'nṛtavādī cāsthānavarṣī / ... ayogyaśca pumān...* « He is cruel, treacherous towards his father, unbecoming in appearance, lacking expertise in the manners of love, indifferent to drama, poetry, and the arts, power-mad, a false braggart and liar who bestows (gifts) on the unworthy, ... the man is unsuitable... » [60].

The novels on harlotry merit a thorough study in themselves. They fall into that category of literature known as *nidarśanakathā*, illustrative or didactic stories. These novels were written not only to delight the reader by the charm and wit in which the narrative abounds but also to expose the cunning means by which prostitutes deprive their clients of wealth and lead them to ruin. On the surface the plot is merely the instruction of a young, beautiful prostitute *gaṇikā* who seeks the advice of an experienced bawd *kuṭṭanī* so that she may become adept at attracting suitably wealthy clients and so achieve success in her profession. However, on another level of interpretation, by doing such a masterful job of instruction exemplified by story the *kuṭṭanī* gives away to the reader (via the author) the secrets of her profession, a profession which relies ultimately upon deceit and misrepresentation. So, in the final analysis, an exposé of harlotry is presented. This plan holds true for KM and SM, and to a certain extent for ŚMK. The latter novel is more equally written to promote the welfare of the prostitute; that as well as fleecing others of their wealth she can protect herself from those rogues who would cheat and dispossess her [61]. ŚMK may well have been written by Bhoja for a favourite *gaṇikā* in his entourage.

Once again, as shown before in BKŚS, there is a distinction made between quantity and quality in education. Quantity refers to the number and type of arts and sciences learned while quality refers to the ability to understand and successfully apply them to the end appropriate for the character. For the prostitute this end is *artha*, the attainment of money. While she must be proficient in the fine arts and well versed in the principles and practices of *kāmaśāstra* she must above all understand human psychology so that she can manipulate men to the utmost degree. To do this effectively the *gaṇikā* must herself be free of passion and personal attachment; it is repeatedly stated that she must not fall in love: (1) ŚMK - *yasyāṃ ca vaiśikopaniṣadi rahasyametad yad vyāghrādiva premṇaḥ sāvadhānatayā sarvvadaivātmā rakṣaṇīyaḥ* / « This is the secret concerning the true doctrine of harlotry: that through self-attention one's self should always be guarded from love as if from a tiger » [62]. (2) KM - *bālye tāvad ayogyā paścādapi*

60. DKC, pp. 109-10.
61. ŚMK, p. 18.
62. ŚMK, p. 19.

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vṛddhabhāvaparibhṛtā / tāruṇye rāgahṛtā yadi gaṇikā bhramatu tadbhikṣām // « While yet a child she is unfit and also later when she is possessed of old age. So if a prostitute gets carried away by love in her youth, she may as well then go begging »[63]. The whole story of Sundarasena and Hāralatā in the KM illustrates the tragic end in store for the prostitute who falls in love. As well as eschewing love, the prostitute must also avoid truth to maintain her livelihood if we are to believe Kṣemendra: SM - *asatyenaiva jīvanti veśyāḥ satyavivarjitāḥ / etāḥ satyena naśyanti madyeneva kulāṅganāḥ //* « Discarding truth, prostitutes live by untruth. Those who live by truth are ruined, as women of high birth are ruined by liquor »[64].

Many more such verses could be quoted which discuss the conduct appropriate for a prostitute. The course of education required for the *gaṇikā* receives ample enough treatment in *kāvya.* The basis for her curriculum is the text of the *Kāmasūtra.* The essence of the *gaṇikā*'s course of instruction is conveyed in the following lines from Dāmodaragupta's KM which describe the heroine Mālatī: *śithilayatu kusumacāpaṃ kṣipatu śarānvāṇadhau manojanmā / saṃsārasārabhutā vicarati bhuvi mālatī vātsyāyanamadanodayadattakaviṭavṛttarājaputrādyaiḥ / ucchvāsitaṃ yatkiṃ cittattasyā hṛdayadeśamadhyāste // bharataviśākhiladaṃtilavṛkṣāyurvedacitrasūtreṣu / patracchedavidhāne bhramakarmaṇi pustasūdaśāstreṣu // ātodyavādanavidhau nṛtte gīte ca kauśalaṃ tasyāḥ / abhidhātuṃ yadi śakto vadanasahasreṇa bhogināmīśaḥ //* « Let the God of Love slacken his flower bow and toss his arrows in their quiver now that Mālatī, the living quintessence of the existing world, walks the earth. Whatever has been expressed by Vatsyāyana, Madanodaya, Dattaka, Viṭavṛtta, and Rājaputra lives at the centre of her heart's domain. Perhaps Śeṣa, lord of serpents, would be able with his thousand mouths to declare her proficiency in song, dance, and the performance of instrumental music; in the works on cooking and sculpture; in lathework; in making stencils; in the textbooks on painting and arboriculture; in the works of Daṃtila, Viśākhila, and Bharata »[65]. The very best account available of the moulding of a prostitute from the moment of her birth onwards is probably that given in the second *ucchvāsaḥ* of the DKC. Among the interesting details given we learn that while a *gaṇikā* was

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63. KM, vs. 543.
64. SM IV, vs. 68.
65. KM vss. 121-24. The group of five authors' names, two of which belong to known writers on *kāmaśāstra*, refer collectively to the works on *kāma* which Mālatī has internalized. Lathework *bhramakarman* is the same as *takṣakarman* in the list of sixty-four arts in the *Kāmasūtra.* According to Yaśodhara's commentary this was the making of mechanical sex aids, such as an artificial penis (KS Comm. I, 3, 15; II, 6, 6). Daṃtila is probably the same as Dattila, a writer of a work on music and dancing (Krishnamacchariar: *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, p. 827). Viśākhila is a writer on music (Krishnamacchariar, p. 820). The phrase *bhogināmīśaḥ* contains a rather appropriate pun since *bhogin* means « sensualist » or « lover » as well as « serpent ».

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to be literate and well spoken *śabdahetu samayavidyāsu vārtāmātrāvabodhanam* « only knowledge of the facts in the sciences of grammar, logic, and astrology » [66] were taught to her. From this it can be inferred that no deep comprehension of highly intellectual subjects was necessary. Rather, she was given extensive training in the fine arts and in the intricacies of sexual behaviour. The prostitute's whole education and training (including her advertising) in this passage reads almost like the handling of a superb athlete or thoroughbred animal. The splendid description of Śṛṅgāramañjarī's attainments in ŚMK, which bespeaks the author's familiarity with *kāmaśāstra*, stresses her knowledge in the fine arts and sophisticated pastimes [67]; and while it gives some weight to her intellectual abilities these are still exercised mainly in the realm of those subjects previously mentioned. And, of course, this is just as it should be for a *gaṇikā*. Still, the important instruction for the prostitute in Bhoja's work, as in all the novels on harlotry, is that beauty and accomplishments matter little unless a *gaṇikā* has an understanding of male human psychology and is familiar with schemes to exploit this knowledge to her fullest advantage.

* * *

The argument of this paper has been that the writers of *kathā* took special notice of education in the characterization of the hero. This went beyond the essential (in most cases) formality of listing the different sciences and arts which made up the curriculum of study towards an effort to show that knowledge understood and intelligently cultivated was a dynamic and effective force in the lives of their fictions' characters. Indeed, works such as Daṇḍin's DKC exhibit on almost every page and in every section of narrative the high degree to which this is true. A depiction of the hero's formative instruction and training was thus necessary to begin and maintain this important thread throughout the creative work. Often as not, the show of the main character's erudition was as much a display of the *kavi*'s own extensive learning [68]. In conclusion, then, we would like to demonstrate yet another aspect of this theme — the education of the author as depicted in the novel.

In one great example of this available to us, Bāṇa's autobiography in the HC, it is the experience of the « real » world beyond the boundaries of the familiar which completes and enriches his previous formal education. In his *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* Rājaśekhara states that besides study of the Vedas and sciences travel to foreign continents and lands was a source of material for use in creative fiction [69].

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66. DKC, p. 66.
67. ŚMK, p. 12.
68. See for example DKC *ucchvāsa*, VI, for an amazingly detailed description of playing with a ball; and *ucchvāsa*, VIII, for its masterful discussion of *rājadharma*.
69. *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, XIV, p. 78.

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Bāṇa's mother died when he was still very young, and then his father passed away while he was yet in his early teens. Then began a time in which he led a somewhat wild and profligate life during which period his friends included a great cross-section of people, most of whom were either professional artists or members of the demi-monde. In their number were comprised poets, painters, musicians, actors, gamblers, ascetics, danseuses, and magicians among others [70]. In their company he wandered to different countries and away from the virtue to which he had been trained. Yet in the course of his adventurous youth he came into contact with circles of the intellectual élite which attracted his attention and reinspired his own natural devotion to learning. This combination of extensive experience and exposure to ideas must have gone a long way towards the growth and maturation of Bāṇa's formidable skills as a writer.

In the early part of the ASK there is information given about the early life of its author, Daṇḍin. What details that can be made out from the text, fragmentary as we have it, bear resemblance to the experiences of Bāṇa as a youth. Driven abroad by the changing tides of political upheaval, Daṇḍin *deśāntarāṇyabhramat* « wandered to foreign lands » where *avasacca ciramabhilakṣiteṣu gurukuleṣu alabhata cānavadyāṃ vidyām* / « he spent a long time at distinguished centres of learning and obtained knowledge of foreign culture » [71]. For both Bāṇa and Daṇḍin the experiences of young manhood no doubt provided much fertile soil for the flowering of the imagination.

If we may be permitted to indulge in some speculation further to this matter, it strikes us that in Dāmodaragupta's KM we may have a disguised account of the author's own worldly « post-graduate » education. This occurs in the story of Sundarasena and Hāralatā in which Sundarasena, previous to meeting Hāralatā, leaves home with his friend Guṇapālita to travel the world [72]. On his journey he has much the same experience as both Bāṇa and Daṇḍin recount of their own lives as young men. There is no proof that Dāmodaragupta was here actually describing his own formative years, but one wonders how they could have been very much different; for in what other way could he have attained the knowledge to write a work so splendidly realistic and insightful?

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70. HC, pp. 63-5. Bāṇa lists his friends singly or doubly and by name as well as profession.
71. ASK, p. 12.
72. KM, vss. 210-215 and 233-237.

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CATERINA CONIO

THE PROBLEM OF *CONTINUUM* AND *DISCONTINUUM* IN THE COSMOGONY OF *SVACCHANDATANTRA* XI, 1-9

The cosmology of *Svacchandatantra* is no doubt one of the most important in Indian Philosophy, first of all because this Tantra has a chief position among the so-called monistic *Āgamas* [1] and secondly because, having been commented upon by Kṣemarāja [2], is related to the school of Pratyabhijñā Philosophy.

Svacchandatantra, as a whole, is a complex treatise on initiation (*dīkṣā*) and, as such, largely deals with ritualism and *yoga-dhyāna*. Thus the recitation of cosmological and cosmogonical accounts is part of the « initiatic trip » of the adept and, at the same time, constitutes the background of fundamental truths regarding Reality.

The cosmographical description of the universe is a sort of ascending scale representing the series of *bhuvanas* [3]: a theme of highly symbolic significance which is one of the sources of the VIII book of *Tantrāloka*, a section we have dealt with elsewhere and therefore we do not take it now into particular consideration.

The cosmogonic aspect, i.e. the *adhvasriṣṭi* (path of creation) is here examined in its philosophical meaning and viewed as a particular example of *dvaitādvaita* metaphysic, which is however reinterpreted, by Kṣemarāja, in a more systematic and coherent manner as *advaita* of *ābhāsavāda*.

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1. The *Svacchandatantra* is classified among the Advaita Tantras, in the group of Bhairava Tantra. See K. C. PANDEY, *Abhinavagupta, an Historical and Philosophical Study*, Varanasi, Chowkhamba, 1963, p. 141.

2. *The Svacchanda Tantram with the commentary by Kṣemarāja*, edited by Paṇḍit Madhusūdan Kaul Shāstrī, Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies, Bombay, 1921-35, voll. 6. All the references given in the present article are taken from this edition. The *XI paṭala* is in the sixth volume.

3. The series of *bhuvanas* is expounded in the tenth *paṭala* of the *Svacchandatantra* and is often quoted in the commentary of Jayaratha to *The Tantrāloka* of Abhinavagupta, eighth *āhnika*.

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In the XI *paṭala* of *Svacchandatantra* creation is based upon the supreme God Śiva, who is *sūkṣma*, i.e. beyond the range of all perception [4], and is efficient cause, *nimitta-kāraṇa* and omnipresent (*sarvaga*). Śiva creates the entire universe without desire, that means without any want or deficiency, and through his own *tejas*, or, in other words, out of the glow and ardor of his very nature: one would also translate, in terms of Western language, with the Greek Word *agàpe*, although this could appear a rather venturous assertion.

Creation is also a play (*līlā*) a mere sport of the Lord and starts with a movement within the sky, *vyoma*. Here *vyoma* is considered as *upādāna-kāraṇa*, material cause, which however needs to be stirred by God and is not, in this respect, totally independent.

This cosmogonical account reflects a rather old metaphysical view and may be related to classical *Upaniṣads*, or at least to the *Maitrāyaṇīya* where we find that ether, *nabhas*, has as its own essence the *param tejas* [5], the supreme heat or ardor, which appears to be the first light and identical with the syllable Oṃ [6].

In the cosmogony of *Svacchandatantra* that we have taken into consideration, after the « movement» of *vyoma*, out of it comes *śūnya*, a term difficult to interpret in this particular context: but we may translate it provisionally with the traditional word *void*.

From *śūnya* derives *sparśa* and from *sparśa nāda* [7], the first sound. Let us now stop for a while to consider the meaning of this peculiar cosmogony apart from Kṣemarāja explanation which we shall deal with later. Kṣemarāja's commentary in fact, having been composed several century after the text of *Svacchandatantra*, reflects an already systematised philosophy and cannot be taken as the only possible interpretation although, as we shall see, it furnishes one of the best solutions to the metaphysical problem relative to creation.

Śūnya, in this particular context, is not an attribute of Śiva, *simpliciter*, as it is in other *Āgamas* or *Upaniṣads* [8], but an originated « vacuum », a sort of void in a twirl, so to say, which however is not a *nihil*. It is the vacuity which preceeds creation through the sound

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4. *Yo' sau sūkṣmaḥ paro devaḥ / kāraṇam sarvagaḥ śivaḥ, Svacchanda T.*, XI, 2.

5. See: *The Maitrāyaṇīya Upanisad, a critical essay, with text, translation and commentary*, by J. A. B. Van Buitenen, Mouton, 'S-Gravenhage, 1962, p. 121 (7, 11).

6. See also: A. Padoux, *Recherches sur la symbolique et l'energie de la parole dans certains textes tantriques*, Paris, De Boccard, 1963, p. 38.

7. *Śūnyāt sparśa samudbhavaḥ / tasmān nādaḥ samutpannaḥ, Svacchanda T.*, XI, 5.

8. As for the *Upaniṣads*, *śūnya* is found in the *Maitrāyaṇīya*, II, 4; VI, 31; VII, 4. *Śūnya* equated with *Ānanda* is found also in the *Nṛsimhottaratāpanīya-upaniṣad*, VI. In the Agamic Literature it is often an attribute of Śiva, in the sense that God is devoid of limitations and not describable through human categories. But there are texts like the *Prapañcasāratantra* in which *Bindu* is symbolised by a circle: the empty space within is called *śūnya*. See: J. G. Woodroffe, *Creation as explained in the Tantra*, Calcutta, Silver Jubilee of the Chaitanya Library, 1915, p. 17.

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(*nāda*): having *sparśa* as *medium*. *Śūnya*, therefore does not represent a gap, or a discontinuity between *vyoma* and *sparśa*, but only a void in which *sparśa* may find place. *Śūnya* is then a link, a *continuum* rather than a *discontinuum*, and it constitutes a step in the cosmogonical descending scale.

This *śūnya* cannot be compared to a *nihil*, as we have said, and this account of creation has nothing to do with the *creatio ex nihilo* of Western philosophical tradition, unless one would compare *śūnya* not with a speculative concept (as is the « ex nihilo » in Semitic and Christian metaphysics) but with an image similar to that of a *chaos* or a chasm, in the Greek acception of the term (*chasma*).

As far as *sparśa* is concerned, how can it be interpreted? It seems to me that it may be understood as the first articulation preceding a sound, and, in this particular case, the first original sound: *nāda*. *Sparśa* is a pre-resonance, in the musical sense, a pre-vocal articulation out of which at last the first phonic sound comes out.

Nāda, in its turn, is eightfold, namely: *ghoṣa*, *rāva*, *svana*, *śabda*, *sphoṭa*, *dhvani*, *jhāṅkāra* and *dhvaṅkṛta*[9]. Beside these eight aspects there is a ninth which is called *mahāśabda*, penetrating everything and ever sounding[10].

Then Sadāśiva appears as God endowed with qualities of knowledge and action (*dṛkkriyātmaka*); that means: God manifests himself as creative activity comparable to that of seeing and acting.

From *nāda*, as further step, derives *bindu*, having the splendour of ten million suns, articulated in a tenfold way[11], and appearing in different colours[12]. *Bindu*, as is known from the whole of Agamic Literature, is nothing but the first energetic concretion of creation and here is the first appearence of it in the glorious light of ten million suns.

Let us now stop in order to summarise our brief cosmogonical account in the philosophical perspective that commands our analysis of the text in question.

a) The supreme God Śiva is the « revealed » starting point of our knowledge regarding creation: this is the first truth which, as we shall see, may be considered also a « truth of reason » and not only a « reveiled truth ».

b) God is *nimittakāraṇa*, perfect fullness and therefore able to create as efficient cause, i.e. without any change in him.

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9. As for the meaning of these terms, see below note 30.

10. *Navamas tu mahāśabdaḥ / sarveṣām vyāpakaḥ smṛtaḥ // nadaty asau sadā...*, XI, 7. *Nadād binduḥ samutpannaḥ / Sūryakoṭisamaprabhaḥ / sa caiva deśadhā jñeyo / daśatattvaphalapradaḥ // daśadhā varṇarūpeṇa / daśadaivatasaṃyutaḥ /*, XI, 9-10.

11. See below, note 31.

12. The colours are given in the commentary as a quotation which sounds: *sitaṃ raktaṃ ca pītaṃ ca kṛṣṇaṃ harita piṅgalam / nīlam vicitravarṇaṃ tu sphaṭikābham manoramam*, *Svacchanda T.*, vol. VI, p. 11.

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c) The « medium » of his creative action is his own *tejas*.

d) The instrument is *vyoma* as *upādānakāraṇa*.

e) The purpose is mere *līlā*.

f) The sequence of the other cosmogonical steps: *śūnya*, *sparśa*, *nāda* and *bindu* are less important for the philosophical point of view we have chosen.

This Tantric cosmogony has clearly a descriptive character without any rational claim as it happens in all « revealed » religious texts. But the commentary of a philosopher like Kṣemarāja draws out whatever is rationally or metaphysically relevant in the above mentioned account of creation. The commentator explains in fact that the cause of the universe is the absolute Consciousness, the supreme Intelligence, *cit*, which is the source of knowing subject, object and means of knowledge (*pramāṇa*) [13]. Consciousness here is understood not as reveiled *datum*, but as a truth that is self evident and no means of proof can demonstrate. Why? Because Consciousness, or Intellegence — the two terms being one and the same in meaning — is the source of any proof and therefore is *previous* to any possible demonstration. In other words, it is an immediate datum. This can be said, of course, of individual consciousness [14] and not of universal Consciousness which we cannot experience in our contingent world. But here comes out a principle-which is implied in Pratyabhijñā philosophy- that we may call a principle of *continuity*. Such a principle does not allow for either an interruption or any dissolution in consciousness, for without consciousness there is no world, there is neither subject nor object. This principle was also known to Buddhist Philosophy which presented it in terms of a *series* and not as self-subsisting unity. But Kṣemarāja, following the view of the Pratyabhijñā school, asserts, against the Buddhist, the permanence of the universal Consciousness, for a series of cognitions does not explain itself either as change (of different objects of knowledge) or as continuity. In fact it is easy to note that in a doctrine of universal momentariness there can be, and there must be a stop or a series of breaks [15]. This is a theory which was already refuted by the Vedānta and then again by the great śaiva philosopher Utpaladeva [16].

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13. *Cidānandaghanaḥ, paraḥ sūkṣma ityantaḥkaraṇasyāpi agocaraḥ* (*op. cit.*, vol. VI, p. 2). Pure Consciousness is very subtle, which means beyond the range of *antcḥkaraṇa* the instrument of human knowledge. As far as *pramāṇa* is concerned Kṣemarāja says: *Svaprakāśasya asya siddhau na varākam pramāṇam upayuktam prayuta etadāyattā pramāṇādivastusiddhiḥ* (*ibid.*), p. 3.

14. See also *Iśvara-pratyabhijñā-kārikā*, 2 and *Iśvara-pratyabhijñā-vimarśinī*, Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies, n. XXII, Bombay, 1918, pp. 29-34. As for this problem, cfr. R. K. Kaw, *The Doctrine of Recognition*, Hoshiarpur, Vishveshvaranand Institute, 1967, p. 110 and p. 163.

15. Cfr. E. Frauwallner, *Die Philosophie des Buddhismus*, Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 3 Auf. 1969, pp. 96-115; and also: id., *Aus der Philosophie der Śivaitischen Systeme*, Berlin Akademie Verlag, 1962, as far as Utpaladeva is concerned.

16. Cfr. also R. K. Kaw, *The doctrine of Recognition* (*op. cit.*), chapter XI.

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Once established the existence of the universal Consciousness which is called by Kṣemarāja, according to Vedānta Tradition, *cidānanda*, (because the fullness of Intelligence must be also fullness of Beatitude) how can we call it a « cause »? If the absolute and first Being is Intelligence, why should also be active? And activity does not imply a change in the acting subject? If an act of knowledge may involve a sort of change in the knowing subject, at least as far as contents of knowledge are concerned, in universal Consciousness there cannot be any modification, first of all because everything is *omnipresent* in it and secondly because the activity of Intelligence, as such, presupposes a permanent and immovable point of reference which is the absolute subject [17].

In our text Kṣemarāja tells us that God, who is *cidānandaghana*, acts in a complete freedom, through the only « instrument » of his own *śakti* and makes objects appearing on his own screen (*svabhittau sarvam ābhāsayati*). Thus everything is « created » by way of *ābhāsavāda*. That means: everything is a manifestation, a *phainómenon*, to put it in Greek words, within the universal Consciousness, for the « screen » (*bhitti*) is nothing but Consciousness itself. And whatever appears is not separate from God, for God is omnipresent and superintends his « creation » [18].

God, as *svatantra* is able to bring about the universe without any extraneous cause, i.e. without an *upādānakāraṇa*, his own *śakti* being not separate from him. Dualism is thus overcome within the framework of *advaita metaphysics*, of *ābhāsavāda*: a theory which eludes the ambiguities of Śankara's school of thought and the so called idealism of *vivartavāda* [19]. If continuity between God and creation is established overcoming the *upādānakāraṇa* and avoiding the analogy of the potmaker [20] who works out a pre-existing matter, *vivartavāda* is also avoided, for *ābhāsavāda* is a *real* manifestation: and if change and becoming in the universe is real, this does not affect God because there is no alteration in *Him*.

But why should God create at all? There is, for creation, no deed nor a purpose except liberty expressed by the concept of *svātantrya*, or, as synonym of *līlā*, *svatantra-krīḍā*, free play. God is of the essence of his own free will and pure intelligence (*svaccha-svacchandacinmātramūrti*) and the world in its variety appears as a city reflected in a mirror [21].

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17. This theory is common with the Vedānta and is the main argument against those who deny, like the Buddhists, a permanent universal Self.

18. *yacca tad ābhāsayati, na tat vyatiriktam... athāca tadgacchati ābhāsayati adhitiṣṭhati ca...* (*Svacchanda T.*), *op. cit.*, vol. VI, p. 3.

19. As for *Vivarta* see: P. Hacker, *Vivarta, Studien zur Geschichte der illusionistischen Kosmologie und Erkenntnistheorie der Inder*, Wiesbaden, Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, 1953, n. 5.

20. ... *Nāpi upādānādyapekṣakāryajanakatvena kumbhakārādi-sādhareṇa rūpeṇa yathā anyeṣām adavaita-upadeśa-yogyanām-uktaḥ* (*ibid.*), pp. 3-4.

21. ... *jagat darpaṇa-nagaravad-anatiriktam api atiriktam iva ābhāsayati* (*ibid.*), p. 5.

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Thus *svātantryavāda* goes along with *ābhāsavāda* and it is due to the sovereignty of the Lord's will that effect evolves from a single first cause.

The term *vyoma* is explained by Kṣemarāja as *unmanā*, the supreme category identified with Śiva but having the power of covering his essence [22].

Beside *unmanā*, Kṣemarāja mentions also *vyāpinī-śakti* and *samanā-śakti* the latter being the manifested object, and the first penetrating power which pervades the whole series of *tattvas* [23].

This threefold character of *vyoma*, according to Kṣemarāja, obeys to what we have called the principle of continuity and gives account of differentiation without the need of any extraneous help; moreover the three concepts of *unmanā*, *samanā*, *vyāpinī* do not belong simply to the descriptive sphere, but express the transition, so to speak, from the aboslute and pure Intelligence to the creative power gradually articulating itself in a real possibility of manifestation.

Unmanā is *paravimarśamayī*, supreme self-consciousness and pure I (*ahamtā-ekarasā*) and appears through *samanā* the first cause of differentiation and consequently of the possibility of discursive knowledge [24], whereas *vyāpinī* determines the first movement, so to say, of objective manifestation, as *idantā* « or consciousness of *this* » [25].

Even the discontinuity represented by being and non being (*bhavā-bhava*) in temporal succession has to be « filled up » by the *śakti* of the Lord. In fact Kṣemarāja quotes the *Pratyabhijñā-kārikā* 2, 1, 5 regarding multiplicity and variety in space and time [26].

As far as *śūnya* is concerned, it is nothing but the state of quiet belonging to the sphere of *vyāpinī* and rising out of the *samanā* aspect of *vyoma*. And *sparśa*, coming out of *śūnya*, is the *śaktitattva* assuming the form of a sleeping snake: that means the cosmic energy in the subtle state in the threefold power of will, knowledge and action [27].

Śūnya, therefore, has a meaning strictly connected with the divine power of manifestation and may thus be related not to void in the spatial sense, but to the *vyāpinī* energy penetrating the whole cosmos.

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22. *... vyoma unmanāvaraṇam svasvarūpam eva samkṣobhya: « atrārūḍhastukurute śivaḥ paramakāraṇam »* (*ibid.*). The quoted verse is from paṭala X, 1258 of *Svacchanda T.*

23. *vyāpinīśakti sadāśivādi bhāvābhāvātmaka-svaśaktibhittibhūta śamanāśaktibhūmikām āśritya samanātmaka svaśakti bhittau svaśaktyā eva parameśvareṇa jagat bhāsyate* (*ibid.*).

24. *... sadāśiva-anāśritapadātmaka-sarvabhāvābhāsasūtraṇabhitti-kalpasamanā-rūpatayā sphurati* (*ibid.*), p. 6.

25. *... idantābhāsa-ullāsa-bhitti-bhūtatva-avabhāsanena ucchalad iva* (*ibid.*).

26. *mūrti-vaicitryato deśakramam ābhāsayaty asau*
kriyā-vaicitrya-nirbhāsāt kālakramam api īśvaraḥ

27. *pratipāditarūpa-prasuptabhujagākāra-śaktitattvātmā sparśaḥ* (*ibid.*), p. 7.

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In this respect one could also remember what is written in *Svacchandatantra* IV, 288-294 where is described the spiritual ascent of the yogin thorugh the different kinds of « void »: the last three of which are called precisely *vyāpinī, samanā* and *unmanā*[28]. Here the mystical experience of the yogin is signified by the rise to the most elevated realms of realisation which culminate in the supreme *śūnya* devoid of manifestation[29].

This correspondence between a descriptive cosmology and a mystical portion of *Svacchandatantra* shows the ontological continuity of the different degrees of reality and the parallel gradual stages of realisation. The above mentioned mystical section expresses a solidarity between the Tantric text and the commentary of Kṣemarāja both in the IV and in the XI *paṭalas*.

Such a continuity in creation and yogic experience allows the realised person to be one with the Supreme and at the same time one with creation and to pass from the inexpressible to what is expressed, from silence to sound (*nāda*) and from it to all the articulations of the manifested « voice » as have been handed down by the *guruparampará*: i.e. the ten kinds of sound which symbolise, somehow, the archetypes of earthly sounds: from the rustling of fire, the increasing note of a gong, the whispering of a shower or the humming of bees, to the human voice uttering words, or the tone of musical instruments resounding in the air, and the ringing of a bell[30]. All these are only examples taken to convey the idea of the several respective properties of *ghoṣa, rāva, svana, śabda* etc. which are, in themselves, only analogically describable, as we say in Western philosophical language.

If such different sounds may be called modifications of *nāda* under the supremacy of *mahāśabda* — the first original sound penetrating everything or abiding in everything — it is because the first seed of creation has to produce its effects. But *nāda*, as cause, is of the nature of *vimarśa*, the selfconsciousness of reality which is, at the same time, the power of bringing about the emergence of the universe and therefore is the very essence of being. *Nāda* corresponds then to Sadāśiva as first manifestation of God.

The first sound, possessed with consciousness is at the same time an extension and a condensation of the Highest Consciousness. There is no act or manifestation in the cosmogonical procession which is devoid of consciousness and the first sound as well as *bindu*, deriving from *nāda*, are, in essence, of the same nature as Śiva. The fact that *bindu* shines

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28. *śūnyatrayam calam hyetat / tadadho madhya ūrdhvataḥ // caturtham vyapinīśūnyam / samanāyām ca pañcamam / unmanāyām tathā ṣaṣṭam* (*Svacchanda T.*, IV, 289-90).

29. *tatśūnyam tu param sūkṣmam / sarvāvasthā vivarjitam* (*ibid.*), IV, 291.

30. These are the similes used to convey the meaning of the words *ghoṣa, rāva, svana, śabda, sphoṭa, dhvani, jhāṅkāra* and *dhvaṅkṛta*.

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with the splendour of ten million suns indicates the presence of the light of the supreme Intelligence.

Bindu has also a variety of colours which signify the variety of creation and the tenfold subdivision or multivalence of its light: since *kriyā-icchā* and *jñāna-śakti* are each threefold, they constitute nine forms, as Kṣemarāja explains, and, along with their very essence which is the Ātman, make a set of ten [31]. This sort of exegesis, although it may seem artificial, not only is on the line of Agamic literature but underlines the connection between the different phases of creation and the yogin in meditation; for, again, the knowledge of these aspects of *bindu* and the symbolic colours and the fivefold manifestation of Śiva and the *kalā*: *nivṛtti*, *pratiṣṭhā*, *vidyā*, *śānti* [32] — gives fruits of merit and thus helps to recover full unity with the highest portion of creation.

Quite interesting also, in this connection, the relation given by Kṣemarāja, between the letters of the Sanskrit Alphabet and the tenfold *bindu* [33]. In other terms, *bindu* is not only light but is also related to the letters from which one can formulate a language. Here the fruit or « benefit » of such a knowledge is the possibility of speaking and, of course, of thinking in an articulate manner. To know the highest degrees of creation means to have the clue of the thought positively expressed in language. The subdivision of the letter (*varṇa*) of the Alphabet, in this page of Kṣemarāja's commentary, has a different value from that of symbols of the emanation of the universe in other Tantric Texts [34].

The association between sound and light, between unity and multiplicity links together archetypical letters and synthetic language.

The speculative use of the philosophy of language as given in the Pratyabhijñā-system allows us to give the most positive evaluation of the intermediary function of language between the unmanifested transcendent world and the field of manifestation. There is no possible visible manifestation without a verbal expression, in this world. Whatever is visible and audible or tangible is also expressible. Language is not a fiction or an artificial construction — and this is against the Buddhist theory of *discontinuum* — but essentially a synthetic way of expressing reality.

Although Kṣemarāja, in his brief commentary to the above mentioned section of *Svacchandatantra* does not explain the relationship between thought and speech, it is clear from the whole of his philosophy that language, as such, is the abode of truth, and is a created

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31. *Svacchanda T.*, vol. VI, p. 11.

32. The symbol of each and every colour is not given in the commentary, nor is given their relation to the *kalā*.

33. *Bindu* is *visarga* (symbolising the emanation of the universe) and the other letters, subdivided in ten groups, constitute the whole of speech: *etadvarṇa-daśaka-abhivyaktatvāt sarvavāṅmayarūpam...* (*ibid.*), p. 12.

34. As for this, see A. Padoux, *op. cit.*

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instrument for expressing it. The divine thought is perfect truth: and above the realm of *māyā* in the series of the thirty-six tattvas of Śaivism, no delusion is possible.

The adept called to initiation will rise, through the *dīkṣā* and therefore by the grace of God, above the condition in which delusion, and untruth (in the verbally expressed form) is possible, and during the ceremony will learn how language was created, how divine it is and how truthful in its essence, for it is intrinsically bound to the very source of truth. Language, being not a mere human convention, is able to express adequately the eternal truth: this is the necessary corollary of this cosmogony of *Svacchandatantra* and the link of *continuity* between superhuman or divine language and human language, considering that the latter needs to be reconnected to the former through the purification of the mind of the initiated [35].

35. As far as initiation is concerned see: H. Brunner-Lachaux, *Somasambhupaddhati*, voll. 3, Pondichery, Institut français d'Indologie, 1963-77, and also: S. Gupta, D. J. Hoens and T. Goudriaan, *Hindu Tantrism*, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1979.

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SADASHIV AMBADAS DANGE

RELIGIOUS SUICIDE IN THE VEDIC PERIOD (?)

The title of the paper is bound to arouse some curiosity, not unmixed with doubt. The aim of the paper, however, is to kindle some fresh thinking about two problematic accounts from the Vedic texts. The first is the legendary account of the *yati*-s being devoured by the wolves (*sālāvṛka*-s), and the other one is the account of one Rahasyu Deva-malimluc, who is said to have killed the ascetics (*vaikhānasa*-s) at a place called Muni-maraṇa (« Death of the ascetics »).

To take the first. The legend of the *yatis* being devoured by the wolves comes about eight times in the Vedic texts; but it is not the same at all places. In certain cases the account is associated with Indra, stating that it is Indra who gave the *yatis* to the wolves; but at other places it is simply said that the *yatis* were being devoured by the wolves. The passages are as follows:

1. « Indra, indeed, gave the *yatis* to the wolves; as they were being devoured, Syūmaraśmi, a seer from amongst them, entered a horse (*teṣām adyamānānām syūmaraśmir ṛṣir aśvam prāviśat*); hence, does a horse smell its own excreta »[1].

In this passage, Indra is said to have given the *yatis* to the wolves. The Taittarīya Sam. mentions Indra in the same context, but adds a ritual detail, when it states that the *yatis* were devoured by the wolves at the south of the northern altar (*dakṣiṇata uttaravedyā ādan*), by it supporting the throwing of the remainder of the cleansing (*prokṣaṇī*) water to the south of the northern altar. It is also said that by doing so whatever cruel there be in that quarter gets pacified (*yad eva tatra krūram tat tena śāmyati*)[2]. The Aitareya Br. refers to the giving of the *yati*-s to the wolves as one of the bad deeds of Indra[3].

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1. *Kāṭhaka Sam.*, VIII.5.
2. *Taittirīya Sam.*, VI.2.7.5.
3. *Ai. Br.*, VII.28.

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2. As at the Taitt. Sam. (noted above), the northern altar and the southern quarter figure in the Kāṭhaka Sam.:
« The wolves, indeed, devoured the *yati*-s. As they were being so devoured, being clutched, they ran to the northern altar (*uttara-vedi*). That is why the wolves could not attack them. But, one of the *yati*-s, now, laughed (as the wolves were, thus, got rid of!); but, as he laughed, the wolves (again) ate them, one by one, dragging them. Hence one should not laugh thoughtlessly (or, fruitlessly, *moghahāsinā*) [4].

In the account noted above, though the point held out appears to be that it is not good to laugh thoughtlessly, the importance of the northern altar is implied. The northern altar is the one that could save from death or danger, as against the southern quarter, which is cruel and has to be pacified. The motif is present at another place in the same text, where it is said that the northern altar is the place of birth, or of those that are born; it is also the place for those that are the « eaters »; the southern altar is the place of those that are to be « eaten»; hence it is that, the northern altar is to be scattered over with sand, and not the southern one. The passage starts with the legend of the *yati*-s being eaten by the wolves. About the two altars, it is also said, in the same context, that the northern altar is to be elevated (by scattering the sand), so that it could be mounted upon (*abhyārohāya*; for protection) [5].

In the passages noted above Indra is not mentioned; and the account of the wolves and the *yati*-s starts straightway.

3. Yet another mention of the legend is in the context of the *kārīra*-ritual, a rain-charm. It is as follows: « The wolves, indeed, ate the *yati*-s; their (of the *yati*-s) heads fell off; they became the dates (*kharjurāḥ*); the juice of Soma that was (in the heads) got turned into the *karīra*-fruits, flying aloft; the *karīra*-s bring rain from heaven by being offered [6] ».

Hehe also Indra is not mentioned; and it would not be wrong to surmise that the motif of the wolves eating the *yati*-s is, originally, independent of all the accounts mentioned above. Evenso, the legend of the wolves and the *yati*-s must be very old and famous at the time of the formation of these various accounts, and was used to support certain details of the Vedic rituals, as *arthavāda*. The occasions to use the legend are, as noted above, the throwing of the *prokṣaṇī* water on the northern altar; the praise of the northern altar itself, saying that it is the altar for new birth, as against the southern one, which indicates death; and the praise of the *karīra*-fruits and the dates. The comparison of the dates

4. *Kāṭhaka Sam.*, XXV.6.
5. *Ibid.*, XXXVI.7.
6. *Ibid.*, also XI.10.

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with the heads of the *yati*-s also indicates that the *yati*-s had their heads clean shaven, as gainst those of the *muni*-s, who had long flowing hair[7]. The same is also indicated by the detail that one of the *yati*-s, the seer Syūmaraśmi, enters the horse and is indicated to have come out as its excreta which it smells[8]. That Indra gave the *yati*-s to the wolves has also to be taken as an *arthavāda*, and not a matter of fact; nor can it be taken as an effort of some so-called Aryan chief punishing the *yati*-s with this cruel fate. It is also to be noted that Indra often comes in rituals only as an indication of divine participation; and many rituals where such divinities as Indrāṇī, Vṛṣākapi and others are said to take part in acts or rituals indicate only this divine participation, the act being accomplished by mortal agents turned divine on the plane of the sacrifice or ritual[9]. What, then is the nucleus of the accounts involving the wolves, and the *yati*-s? The main points can be sorted out as under:

1. The *yati-s* were devoured by the wolves; but they were not offered to them by any enemy.
2. It is probable that they, or some of them, offered themselves to be so devoured, and that they did so in a group; some of them ran away when actually the wolves came, but others, as a rule, did not.
3. The smile of one of the *yati*-s did not stop the wolves from eating them; it appears to be misinterpreted as that of a person who has duped the volwes; it is not improbable that the smile was in spite of the wolves eating them; if so, it indicates complacency.
4. As an off-shoot of the previous point, it could be added that the *yati*-s were revered for this act of theirs; respect for them is clear in the fact that their heads are said to serve, in the form of the *karīra*-fruits, to bring rain in a Vedic ritual; at other places *yati*-s are said to be not particularly enemies of Indra[10].
5. If what is suggested above is accepted, it appears that the *yati*-s were devoured by the wolves (or offered themselves to them) on the southern quarter of a locality[11] (cf. the motif of the northern and the southern altar).

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7. RV X.136.7, *Kaśī*; cf. AV VIII.6.17, *munikeśa*, epithet of an evil spirit.
8. *Ibid.*, VIII.5; cf. BHAVABHŪTI, *Uttararāmacaritam*, IV.26; *vikirati śakṛt-piṇḍakān āmramātrān*; this may give the idea of a miniature head.
9. SADASHIV A. DANGE, *Sexual Symbolism from the Vedic Ritual*, Delhi, 1979, esp. pp. 51-82.
10. RV VIII.6.18[ab], *yá indra yátayas tvā bhṛgavo yé ca tuṣṭuvúḥ*; here the Bhṛgus are different from the Yatis; also *ibid.*, 3.9[cd]; X.72.7 for the praise of the yatis for nourishing the worlds.
11. The reason is that this quarter is associated with the dead, and also with no return; cf. *Śatapatha Br.*, III.1.1.2, *eṣā vai dik pitṛṇām; sa yad dakṣiṇapravaṇam syāt* (i.e. the altar) *kṣipre ha yajamāno amum lokam iyāt*; cf. also I.2.5.17; II.3.3.16; III.2.3.17.

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From what has been said above, it is not improbable that the *yati*-s, who have been known even to the Ṛgvedic seers as wandering ascetics [12], came to a particular place, when completely emaciated, as the last resort and with a determined mind to meet their last fate. The wolves (or dogs, the word is *sālāvṛka*) might be knowing the place by habit. The *sālāvṛkas* are referred to twice in the Ṛgveda, and the references appear to show acquaintance with the custom of offering persons to them, or, at least, the beasts so devouring. In one place Indra is said to have held a thousand *sālāvṛka*-s by the mouth [13], while at the other, Purūravas refers to them comparing them with the hearts of women [14]; it is also said that he may be eaten away by the wolves [15]. The point that strikes one here is, why should Purūravas not refer to any other type of bodily affliction, when being denied the attention by Urvaśī. True, that the customs of the disposal of the dead referred to in the Ṛgveda do not include the giving away to the wolves; but, there can be no doubt that Purūravas is referring to the most grotesque bodily torture in his mention of the wolves devouring him. The words of advice to Purūravas are: « Purūravas! Die not (*mā mṛthāḥ*); fall not: may not the vile wolves (*vṛ́kāso áśivāsaḥ*) devour you. Friendships with women are non-existent; they are the hearts of the *sālāvṛkas* » [16]. In the earlier verse, falling to the ground is closely associated with the devouring by the wolves; it precedes the eating by the wolves [17]. The wolves are, here, described as *rabhasâsaḥ*, « speedily attacking »; and, as noted above, they are described as *aśiva*, « inauspicious ». These details could not have been without an actual observation. In the passages noted earlier, Indra's agency in the act of the wolves devouring the ascetics is not inherent; and we have given reasons for believing so. Again, in the face of the fact that the *yati*-s praise Indra, as noted above [18], there can be no doubt that the eating of the *yati*-s by the wolves, though it appeared to be terrible, was customary for the *yati*-s themselves. In this connection it will be interesting to know that, among a sect of Jains, the dead were given to the jackals; and different superstitions were based on the direction in which the body was carried by the beasts. If the body was dragged without injuring it, the direction in which it was dragged was believed to offer good prospects for alms and sojourn. If the body was injured while being dragged, it was indicative of famine in that direction. The prediction was applicable only to the bodies of the preceptors; in the case of others no such predictions were made [19].

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12. Soma is described as *sahasra-ṇītir yatiḥ*, « going in thousand paths ».
13. RV X.13.3.
14. *Ibid.*, X.95.15.
15. *Ibid.*, also 14.
16. *Ibid.*, X.95.15, *Sālāvṛkāṇām hṛ́dayāny etâ.*
17. *Ibid.*, 14, *ádhā śáyīta nírṛter upásthe ádhainam vṛ́kā rabhasâso adyúḥ.*
18. *Ibid.*, VIII.6.18, *Yá indra yátayastvā... tuṣṭvúḥ.*
19. S. B. Deo, *History of Jain Monachism*, Poona, 1956, p. 431, where he cites from the *Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya.*

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In another case, a future Śākya Muni is reported to have offered his body, being alive, to a hungry tigress [20]. These instances may be from a later period; and similar other instancs from the Vedic texts may not be available; but their near absence in that period cannot be granted simply because the texts do not record them. In the case of the Vedic *yati*-s, such a custom cannot be said to be improbable. The probability is of its prevalence, the *yati*-s being living and getting emaciated prior to the offring, as a religious duty; or, the bodies might have been offered to the wolves, if they died in their act of a solemn vow.

Another ticklish account, which has dodged the efforts for satisfactory itnerpretation, is where the *vaikhānasa*-s are said to have been killed by a certain Rahasyu called Deva-malimlus. The account has a very restricted occurrence [21]. According to the account in the Jaim. Br., *vaikhānasas* are said to be « seers » (*ṛṣīkāḥ*) and beloved of Indra. The name of the « killer », however, is Rahasyu Mārimlava. Indra desired to see the *Vaikhānasa*-s, and approached Rahasyu. When he asked Rahasyu whether he saw the *vaikhānasa-ṛṣis*, the latter (pointing out to himself) said that « he » (meaning himself) killed them [22]. Indra was glad that Rahasyu owned the guilt. The plea of Rahasyu was that he would have acquired both the sin of killing and falsehood, had he told a lie; now that he had told the truth, he only had the burden of the killing (*sa hovāca anṛtam ca bhrūṇa-batyāñ ca-ud ayāmsam; tad anṛtam evāyāsīt*). The account goes on to say that Rahasyu was asked by Indra to choose a boon, for he spoke the truth. Rahasyu asked for a *brāhmaṇa* as his son. The boon was granted; and it is said, that the progeny of Rahasyu came to be Takṣu-s (or Takṣavas; there are two readings: *takṣavaḥ*; and *taksavāḥ*). The gods questioned Intra, how inspite of him Mārimlava killed the ascetics [23]. Indra thought that the ascetics should be brought to life; hence he composed the *sāman*, which came to be known as Vaikhānasa, as he himself was Vikhanas (*indro ha vai vikhanāḥ*). The Vaikhānasa *sāman* is praised, here, as being a medicine (*bheṣajam*) and also an expiation (*prāyaścittiḥ*). The account at the Pañcavimsa Br. is shorter; and, though it is about the same, certain details are diferent. Apart from the name of the killer appearing as Malimluc, the latter is said to have killed the *vaikhānasa*-s at a placed called Munimaraṇa. The gods knew that the ascetics were dear to Indra; (and, not seeing them) they asked Indra what had happened to them. Indra went in search of the ascetics; but could not find them.

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20. J. HASTINGS, *Encl. Rel. and Ethics*, vol. XII, p. 26, where reference from the *Jātakamālā*, SBE, vol. I, occurs.

21. *Pañcavimśa Br.*, XIV.4.7; *Jaiminīya Br.*, III.190.

22. The expression is, *sa hovāca syo vai bhagavas tān amārayad iti*; also W. CALAND, *The Brāhmaṇa of the Twentyfive Chapters*, Calcutta, 1931, on XIV.4.7, p. 358, note 2, where he refers to the *Jai. Br.*, « It is I who have killed them, O Bhagavan ».

23. *Mārimlavo amīmarat*; the verb is to the taken in the casual sense; cf. *ajījanat*, RV IV.53.2; V.83.10 etc.

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He, then, clarified the worlds by a single unabated effort [24], and found them at (the place called) Muni-maraṇa (« Ascetics-Death »). He revived them by means of the Vaikhānasa laud. That was his sole desire at that time; hence, it is said that the Vaikhānasa laud [25] is the « Desire-fulfilling » laud.

It will be clear that the motive for the employment of the account at the two texts is different, being at one place called the *bheṣaja*, and, at the other, fulfilment of desire. Evenso, the aim is the same viz. activating or setting to motion the ascetics. Nothing further is known about the ascetics; and there is no other appendage to the account to clarify the point. From the mood of Indra reflected in the account, the *yati*-s may be believed to have regained their (divine) life. The *sāman* is a *bheṣaja*; and its application would only prove the same point. There can be little doubt that the legend is ancient and independent of Indra, like the other one studied above (i.e. of the *yati*-s and the wolves). Indra is ushered in as a general emancipator, or hero, as is the case in the earlier account and at other places. Another point to be noted is that the place where the ascetics are said to be killed is named Muni-maraṇa in one account (Pañc.Br.) though the other account is silent about it. The name suggests that the place is so called not because the ascetics were killed there, but because they died there. In the former case, we expect the name to be Muni-māraṇa. Again, the name appears to be indicative of a continued and known pratice, rather than a solitary event [26]. The adjunct of the detail of the ascetics regaining their life (cf. *enān samairayat*, Jai.Br.; and *tān...samairayat*, Pañc.Br.) works two ways. In the first case it indicates the belief that such a death is only temporary, and a step to the next divine birth; and, on the other, it serves as a commendation of Indra and the laud.

Now, about the « killer » Rahasyu Deva-malimluc/Mārimlava. The name Rahasyu occurs at both the places; but there is a difference regarding the other: Deva-malimluc at the Jai.Br., and Mārimlava at the Pañc.Br. Evenso, at both the places the gods appear to be keenly concerned about the death of the *vaikhānamas*; in one they directly ask Indra about the fate of the *vaikhānasas*; and, in the other, they gather

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24. *Ekadhāreṇa*; Sāyaṇa, *ekodyogena*; for CALAND « the exact meaning of the purificatory process by one stream is difficult ». Probably, *eka* has the sense of « mighty » or « excellent »; cf. *śatapatha, Br.* I.16.4.12, *eko vīraḥ*; *Jai. Br.*, II.156 (for Indra), *ayam na 'eko vīro 'bhūt*; also RV I.31.5, *eka-āyuḥ*, said of Agni; also X.103.3, *ekavīraḥ* (Indra); VII.38.5, *ekadhenubhiḥ*; *dhāra* (masc.) may be understood as indicating a unique method, fr. √ *dhṛ*, « to hold »; cf also *dhārapūtāḥ* (Ādityas) at II.27.2; 9; *dhāra-vāka* at V.44.5. The expression *ekadhāreṇa* may also mean « by a sudden torrent of rain », Indra being the rainer.

25. The laud (*sāman*) is on RV VIII.31.17, *nákiṣṭám kármaṇā naśat ná prá yoṣan ná yoṣati*, and has the strain of excellence and non-separation; the latter suits the present context.

26. *munimaraṇe amārayat* and *munimaraṇe avindat*.

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round him to question how, in spite of him, they were killed [27]. The name Devamalimluc is explained by Sāyaṇa thus: « surpassing the gods and rendering them lustreless » [28] where *mali* is taken as a noun, « dirt » or « blackness ». But, the rendering has to be discarded, in view of the other word, *mārimlava* [29]. Both the words are connected with killing, as is clear from the passages [30]. There is no other variation of the name Malimluc in relation to the legend of the *vaikhānasas*; but we have another similar word, Malimluca, which refers to the extra month, which is also called Samsarpa, Sanisrasa and Amhasaspati [31]. The point is, why should the month be called Amhasas-pati, « Lord-of-sin »? The names Saṁsarpa and Sanisrasa (fr. √*sam*+*sṛp* and √*sraṁs* respectively, the latter being the frequentative) indicate swiftness of gait; and the extra month being the thirteenth, and coming once and vanishing for the next three years, is justly described by this epithet. A deeper thought shows that the name « Lord-of-sin » corresponds to the concept behind the word Deva-malimluc, « God-killer ». The month is characterised, technically, by being side-tracked and crossed over by the sun [32], which seems to be the reason why it is characterised as inauspicious (*amhasaspati*); and the epithet « God-killer », probably, is symbolic (as its having thus, avoided-« killed »-the Sun-god?). The surmise gets support from the later tradition, which mentions the ancient name Malimluca for this month, and ordains that no ritual auspicious to the gods or to the manes should he performed in this month; this is because this month is tinged with sorrow. Hence also, a vow named Śoka-vināśana (« Destroyer-of-sorrow ») is enjoined in it [33]. The suggestion of J. Narten, who has studied the word Devamalimluc along with Malimluc and Ma-

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27. *Pañca. Br.* (*loc. cit.*) *tam edvā abruvan kva tarṣayo'bhūvann iti*; *Jai. Br. satas tavo* (= *tava* + *u*).

28. *devān mālinyam mlocayati iti devān atigaḥ.*

29. CALAND, *loc. cit.*, *op. cit.*, does not read Mārimlava, when he provides his translation from the *Jai. Br.* in the note; but only Malimluc. His text and version of the *Jai. Br.* is not indicated.

30. Mārimlava is from Marimlu, the meaning not changing, the suffix (*aṆ*) being *svārthe*. Marimlu and Malimlu have the same root √ *mṛ* ~ *mḷ*, relating to death or injury; the varieties would be Marimṛ, Malimḷ, Malimṛ, Marimḷ. The word *malimḷ* comes with *stena*, and has to be differentiated from the latter; hence, it does not denote only « thief » or « robber », but « dacoit » or « killer ».

31. See A. A. MACDONELL and A. B. KEITH, *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, under *māsa*; *Vājasaneyi-Sam.*, 22.30; 7.30, *Maitrāyaṇī Sam.*, III.12-13; AV V.6.4; *Kāṭhaka Sam.*, 35.10; 38.14. The later texts make a difference between Amhasaspati and Saṁsarpa; see P. V. KANE, *History of Dharmashastra*, vol. V-i, p. 672.

32. Cf. *Skanda Purāṇa*, V.1.60.33 (*sūryeṇa*) *asaṅkrānto yadā māsaḥ*; also KANE, *op. cit.*, p. 671, n. 1053, where he quotes from Laghuhārita, *tam atikramya tu ravir yadā gacchet kathañ cana.* This month is called Puruṣottama, according to certain Purāṇas (KANE, *op. cit.*, p. 672, where he refers only to the *Padma P.*, VI.64); and some mention Puruṣottama as the lord of this month. The idea seems to be to do away with the evils attached to this month; the special ritual at this time requires the worship of Viṣṇu (Puruṣottama) with Lakṣmī; see note 33 below.

33. For this vow see *Skanda P.*, *loc. cit.*, 19-21; 33-38.

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rimlu, that there is an indication of the extra month being regarded as a demon [34], is acceptable. With the traditional belief regarding the Malimluch month, one feels that the Vedic Deva-Malimluc is only a personification of this month; and the name Rahasyu is symbolic of its mysterious behaviour of coming out of the set yearly norm. The later name Malamāsa for this month appear to be a corruption, or it may be a new name. There is no sufficient ground to believe that the original word *mali* (in Malimluc), like *mala*, indicated dirt; and the suggestion that *mali* is only another form of *mala* is unwarranted [35]. The epithet « poisonous » is also added to Malimluca [36], which does not particularly support the suggestion of *mala*, but indicates killing. The belief about the anthropomorphism of the months is already proved by their being addressed in the texts mentioned above. Actually, the extra month was believed to be a vile person from whom the Soma-plant was to be purchased [37]. This reference to a month, called often Malimluca [38], indicates an ancient originally prevalent practice of purchasing the Soma-plant in this particular month [39].

The truth behind the account of the *vaikhānasas* and Rahasyu Malimluc (Mārimlava) appears to be that the *vaikhānasas* believed in giving up their life in the thirteenth month, with the hope of a new divine life. This is clear in the point that Indra brought them to life again; and the

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34. Johanna Narten, *Malimlu-malimluca*, IIJ, IX-iii, 1966, pp. 203-8; *Schaltmonat Dämon.*

35. The name Malamāsa is explained as follows: « They say that it is the dirt of Time », *malam vadanti kālasya*, quoted by Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 671, 1052. Mahīdhara's comment, on Vāj. Sam., XI.78, *malimlūn*, as *malinā bhūtvā mlocanti*, is grammatically unsound; even granting that *mali* (*malin* = *mal*+*in*) is an adjective, it has to be an object of the verbal formation (*kṛdanta*) *mluc*. Actually, the word is *malimlu*, both here and at 79. Kane cites RV X.136.2, *múnayo Vātaraśanā piśáṅgā vasate málā*, *op. cit.*, 671.

36. *Śāṅkhāyana Śr. S.*, VI.12.15, *malimluco'si sagaraḥ.*

37. *Aitareya Br.*, III.1, *tam trayodaśān māsād akrīṇan.*

38. *Kāṭhaka Sam.*, 38.14, *malimluco nāmāsi trayodaśo māsaḥ*; *indrasya śarmāsi.*

39. Why the Soma-plant was purchased in this month is not quite clear; or, at least, why it is associated with the thirteenth month! Probably, the detail could be compared with the status of the Soma-plant in ritual-context. The Soma-shoots are arranged in the shape of a man, prior to their being pressed; and the pressing of the Soma-shoots is seen as the kiling of King Soma; cf. *Śatapatha Br.*, III.9.4.2; 17; *Maitt. Sam.*, IV.7.7; 8.3 etc. The ritual-symbolism in Soma-pressing is of death and re-birth, the latter when the pressed shoots are placed in the Vasatīvarī waters (see Eggeling, *Tr. Śat. Br.*, SBE, 26, p. 244); and it is based on the monthly movement of the moon and the sun. The Sun-Indra is always the « Eater » and Moon-Soma is always the eaten, *Śatapatha Br.*, I.6.4.12 ff. The nature of the thirteenth month as the Amhasaspati and Malimluc (-a) seems to have, in addition, the germ of new birth, taking into account that Indra brings the Vaikhānasas back to life. The killer and the new-birth-giver in one is also the nature of the sun; the same is true of the preceptor in relation to the disciple or the initiate; on this point, see Dange, *Legends in the Mahābhārata*, Delhi, 1969, pp. 171-90. This would show Malimluc(a) in a new light — the beneficent month-demon — and would help the custom of religious suicide in it for a divine fresh birth.

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month is said to be *indrasya śarma*. The two accounts analysed here would have, then, to be taken as the earliest indications of religious suicide, the later forms of which were the *samlekhanā* of the Jains and the *Bhṛgupatana*[40] and other methods of the Hindus. The Aryans following the Vedic sacrificial cult did not follow this method; and though they appear to be rather shocked by this terrible method they had no disrespect for the *yatis* and the *vaikhānasas* who followed the life of the ascetics.

40. *Manusmṛti*, VI.31-32; *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, III.55, and the Mitākṣarā.

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G. V. DEVASTHALI

PRE-FIXATION FERMENTATION OF THE (ṚGVEDA) KRAMA-PĀṬHA

The opening *sūtra*-s of the *Krama-paṭala*[1] and the *K(rama)-H(etu)-P(aṭala)*[2] reveal to us the *K(rama)-P(āṭha)* in its two aspects. The former places before us the mode of forming the *KP.* and also the unit fixed for it. To form the *KP.* of a hemistich — for that is the unit[3] for the formation of the *KP.* — one has to start by taking the opening pair of *pada*-s in it, thus making the first *Krama-varga* (or simply *varga*); and then form the next *varga* by taking the latter *pada* of the first and adding to it the next *pada* from the *Saṁhitā*. In this manner one should go on forming the *varga*-s, one after the other, until all the *pada*-s in the hemistich are exhausted. The *KP.* thus formed is to be rounded up by the *parigraha*[4] of the last *pada* of the unit. The opening *sūtra* of the *KHP* places before us the twofold purpose it is intended to serve. One is to place before the reader or reciter the two (namely, the *Saṁ.*- and the *P*) *pāṭha-s* simultaneously in one text for recital together; and secondly, to do it without any loss — even partial — of the *Saṁhitā*.

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1. *kramo dvābhyām abhikramya pratyādāyottaraṁ tayoḥ /*
uttareṇopasaṁdadhyāt tathārdharcaṁ samāpayet // RV.Prā. X.1. f.
2. *athārṣyalopena yad āha sa kramaḥ /*
samānakālaṁ padasaṁhitaṁ dvayoḥ // RV.Prā. XI.1.
3. This is indicated by *tathārdharcaṁ samāpayet* (s. note 1); *ardharcāntyaṁ ca RV.Prā.* X.9; and *saṁdhir nārdharcayor bhavet RV.Prā.* X. 18; and also *antabhāk* (= the final *pada* of the hemistich) included among the *parigṛhya pada*-s. *RV.Prā.* XI.25. The *Upalekha-sūtra* further tells us that in the case of *ṛks* with three *pāda*-s, generally the first two *pāda*-s constitute the first hemistich; but in the case of 6.48.13; and 18; 7.66.16; 8.4.21; and 10.93.15, the first hemistich is constituted by the first *pāda* only. Naturally the remaining *pāda*-s make the remaining hemistich in all these. Cf. *tripadāsu ṛkṣu pūrvārdharcaṁ dvipadam / uttarārdharcaṁ tu pādam eva // bhardvājāya, dṛter iva, taccakṣur, vṛkṣās' cin me, adhīn nv atra, ity etāsāṁ pañcānāṁ pūrvapāda eva kuryāt // Upalekhasūtra* III.6 f.
4. This is a technical term meaning «repetition of a word with *iti* interpolated» (ABHYANKAR, *Dictionary of Sk. Grammar*). It corresponds to *sthitopasthita* defined in *RV.Prā.* X.14; also see *RV.Prā.* XI.61.

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The idea of the device to combine the two *pāṭha*-s into one, keeping both intact, and thus combine their rewards into one, is as old as — possibly even much older than — the *Ait. Ār.*, where it has been mentioned in quite explicit terms[5], along with the two *pāṭha*-s themselves. We have to note, however, that the names under which these *pāṭha*-s have been mentioned there, are quite differnt from those with which we are familiar. In fact, the names by which these *pāṭha*-s are referred to in the *Ait. Ār.* are quite unfamiliar; and we have to thank the commentator for the explanation[6] he has given us. The familiar terms *Saṁhitā, Pada,* and *Krama* are placed before us by the rather queer terms *Nirbhuja, Pratṛṇṇa,* and *Ubhayam-antareṇa.* They are well and briefly expained by the *vṛttikāra* in a *Kārikā* as follows:

saṁdher vivartanaṁ nirbhujaṁ vadanti /
śauddhākṣaroccāraṇaṁ ca pratṛṇṇam //
ubhayaṁ vyāptam ubhayam-antareṇa /
tathā kāmā anna-nākobhayākhyāḥ //[7]

Here it has been quite explicitly declared that both (*ubhayam* = the *Saṁhitā* and the *Pada- pāṭha*-s) are covered by *ubhayam-antareṇa* (= the *Krama-pāṭha*). From this it is quite clear that the *KP.* (along with the *Saṁ.P.* and the *PP.*) is as old as (if not older than) the *Ait. Ār.* From this it is also clear that the *KP.* is a mode of recitation which combined in itself the other two *pāṭha*-s in their totality. How exactly this was or had been done in those ancient times, we seem to have no means to determine. But, fortunately, we have before us the evidence supplied by the two *paṭala*-s, namely X and XI of the *RV.Prā.*, which appear to place before us, not so much the finished product in the form of the finalised *KP.*, but, what is more important, some indications of the KP in the process of formation. We have here a feeling of being witnesses, as it were, to the diverse stages[8] through which the *KP.* must have gone, and to the various devices which must have come to be invented to overcome the diverse difficulties as they were experienced in the process.

The main aim of the *KP.* is, as is affirmed more than once by the *RV.Prā.*, to combine the two *pāṭha-s*, namely, the *Saṁ.* and the *P. pāṭha*-s, into one. And even here utmost care was taken to achieve *ārṣy-avilopa*[9] (the absence of *vilopa*, that is, complete presentation, of the *ārṣī saṁ-*

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5. Read: *yat saṁdhiṁ vivartayati tan nirbhujasya rūpam atha yac chuddhe akṣare abhivyāharati tat pratṛṇṇasyāgra u evobhayamantareṇobhyaṁ vyāptaṁ bhavati*, where *nirbhuja, pratṛṇṇa,* and *ubhayamantareṇa* stand for *saṁhitā-, pada-,* and *krama- pāṭha*-s respectively.

6. Read SĀYAṆA's comm. on the above cited passage.

7. *Vargadvaya* (*vṛtti*), st. 3 f. and *Vṛtti* on the same.

8. We rather have a feeling of witnessing a fermentation rather than well-marked stages of development.

9. For this see *RV.Prā.* XI.1; 58 f.; etc.

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hitā) along with the *PP*. And the most primitive and probably the earliest step adopted for this purpose seems to have been what is found stated in: *krameta sarvāṇi padāni nirbruvan-n-iti hi smaranti*[10]. Accordingly, while forming the *varga*-s, all the *pada*-s (i.e. the initial *pada* from each *varga*) were to be subjected to *parigraha*. Thus, for example, the *KP* of *ā mandram ā vareṇyam* (9.65.29)[11] will be: *ā mandram / ety ā / mandram ā / mandram iti mandram / ā vareṇyam / ety ā /*, which will go on like this up to the end of the hemistich, to be rounded up with the *parigraha* of the last *pada* (of the hemistich).

A fractional remnant of this concept of *parigraha* may be seen in a later treatment accorded to this very passage in the *RV.Prā.* itself, as explained by Uvaṭa. *RV.Prā.* 10.10[12] has drawn a distinction between *ā* (nasalised *ā*), and *ā* (not nasalised), standing at the end of a *pāda*, or standing anywhere else except at the end. Thus here we have three cases (of *ā*) represented respectively by (i) *gabhīra a ugraputre* (8.67.11), (ii) *tanūṣv ā* (9.65.30), and (iii) *mandram ā vareṇyam* (9.65.29). The difrence in the treatment of *ā* in these cases can easily be grasped by a glance through their respective *KP*.-s, which run as follows:

(i) *gabhīra a ugraputre / ety ā /*, where we have *trikrama* with nasalised *ā* as the *madhyama pada*, and *parigraha* of *ā*, of course, in its unnasalised form;

(ii) *tanūṣv ā / ety ā /*, where we have no *trikrama*, but only the *parigraha* of *ā* (non-nasalised), because it is the last *pada* of the hemistich; and

(iii) *mandram ā vareṇyam*, where we have *trikrama* only, but no *parigraha* (of the non-nasalised *ā*).

Soon, however, it seems, this mode of forming *KP*. was found or felt to be too cumbrous, and laborious, nay, at times even unnecessary or redundant. It appears, therefore, to have fallen into back-ground, though not to have been totally discarded, in favour of some new device. Remnants of this above-noted device, however, appear to have lingered on in a few cases.

One is what, in *RV.Prā.* XI.35, is called *yadṛccopanata*[13] *bahukrama* (= a *varga* of more than two *pada*-s or words, which cannot find sanction in the rules given in *RV.Prā.* X); while the other is where two or more circumstances calling for *trikrama* come in close succession[14]. The

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10. *RV.Prā.* XI.62.
11. The *PP* of this will be: *ā / mandram / ā / vareṇyam /*
12. Read: *nākāraṁ prāg ato 'nunāsikam / RV.Prā.* X. 10; also read *araktasaṁdhyety apavādyate padaṁ punas tad uktvā 'dhyavasāya pūrvavat / RV.Prā.* XI.34.
13. Uvaṭa has explained this term in the following words: *nimittanaimittikaprasaṅgena yo bahukramaḥ kramaśāstreṣu nāmnātaḥ sa yadṛcchopanataḥ*
14. Noticed in *RV.Prā.* XI.17 f.

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former is illustrated[15] by *ā tvetā ni* (1.5.1), which is not covered by ny of the general *Prā.* rules; and seems to call for *bahu-krama.* The PP. of this passage is given as: *ā / tu / ā / ita / ni /*; and the *KP.* as indicated by the *RV.Prā.* (and actually given by Uvaṭa) is: *ā tvetā ni / tvetā ni / etā ni / ita ni /*; the illustration of the other[16], given by the *RV.Prā.* as the view adopted by Gārgya, is the case of *udū ṣu ṇaḥ* (8.70.9), which in *PP* reads: *ut / ū iti / su / naḥ /*. Its *KP.*, in Gārgya's opinion, is: *udū ṣu / ū ṣu ṇaḥ /*. There are, however, two other alterative views held in this connection as stated by the *RV.Prā.* In the very passage cited above, it is stated, the final *pada*, namely *naḥ*, also has to be taken as not being fit to stand at the end of a *varga* (*anavasānīya*); and this makes all the difference. Thus the *Saṁ.*, we take here, will be: *udū ṣu ṇo vaso* (8.70.9); and the *PP.* will be: *ud / ū iti / su / naḥ / vaso iti /*. Here we shall have the KP. with fire *pada*-s[17] as: *udū ṣu ṇo vaso /*. The last alternative is the one adopted by the followers of Śākalya[18]. They treat this as a case of *catuḥ-krama* only; and give the *KP.* as *udū ṣu ṇaḥ.*

As has been already noted above, every *pada* in the *Saṁhitā*, except the first, occurs twice in the *KP.* This leaves scope for ambiguity, in some cases at least, as regards its exact ending (that is, as a *pada*). Take, for example, *tāntvām* (1.49.4), where the first *pada*, if we go merely by *saṁdhi* rules, would appear to be either *tān* or *tām*, and thus remain doubtful. But a reference to the *PP.* will show that it must be *tām* and not *tān.* In such doubtful cases, *parigraha* is the device recommended and adopted by the *RV.Prā.* And hence the *KP.* of this passage would be: *tāntvām / tām iti tām /*[19]. But, it has to be noted that the *Prā.* does not intend to lay it down as an obligatory rule. It is only a permissive statement as is shown by: *adṛṣṭa-varṇe prathame codakaḥ syāt pravartakaḥ / etad iṣṭam //*[20].

Ultimately, however, thinkers in this field appear to have hit upon the idea of, what the author of the *RV.Prā.* has designated by the comprehensive term, *bahukrama.* Ordinarily the *varga* of the *KP.* was to comprise only two *pada*-s. But sometimes it was found inconvenient to

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15. See *RV.Prā.* XI.35.

16. For this read: *anantare trikramakāraṇe yadi tribhiś ca gārgyaḥ punar eva ca tribhiḥ // RV.Prā.* XI.17 and Uvaṭa's com. on it.

17. See *RV.Prā.* XI.18; and Uvaṭa on it.

18. *Catuḥkramas tv ācarito 'tra śākalaiḥ / RV.Prā.* XI.19, and Uvaṭa on it.

19. Read: *adṛṣṭavarṇe prathame codakaḥ syāt pradarśakaḥ / etad iṣṭam // RV.Prā.* X.15; also read *RV.Prā.* XI.27, and Uvaṭa on both.

20. On this Uvaṭa remarks: *etat pradarśanam iṣṭam / kasmād iti na paṭhyate / iṣṭavacanād evāsyānityatvaṁ gamyate //* Also see *RV.Prā.* XI. 27.

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place a *pada* at the end of a *varga*. In such cases the inconvenience was avoided by keeping the inconvenient *pada* intact in its place, and adding after it the next *pada* (from the *Saṁhitā*) as the final *pada* of the *varga*. Thus, in such cases, the *varga* would consist of not only two *pada*-s as usual, but of three *pada*-s. Similarly, at times, two or even three *pada*-s may have to be passed over, and the *pada* serially standing after them in the *Saṁ*. be made to occupy the last place in the *varga*. The *varga* in such cases would naturally comprise four or even five *pada*-s according to the number of *pada-s* passed over in each case. The *varga*-s with three, four, or five *pada-s* in them are designated *tri-*, *catuḥ-*, and *pañca- krama* respectively; while *bahu-krama*[21] came to be used as a common term for all of them.

But why should a *pāda* standing at the end of a *varga* be found inconveneint? Well, we may not enter here into all the intricate details[22] of this question. We shall rather peruse a few cases which may enable us to have some idea of the matter. Take, for example, the *Saṁhitā* text, *mo ṣu ṇaḥ* (1.38.6), which in *PP*. reads: *mo iti / su / naḥ /*[23]. Now looking to the two *pāṭha-s* and comparing them, we see that the *pada*-s *su* and *naḥ* are cerebralised in the *Śaṁ.P.*; and that is because of the influence in each case of the preceding *pada*. Thus *mo* is the cause of the cerebralisation (*nati*) of *su*; and this *su*, thus cerebralised into *ṣu*, becomes the cause of the *nati* of *naḥ* into *ṇaḥ*. In the *PP*, each *pada*, being a separate unit by itelf, stands uninfluenced by the *pada* preceding or succeeding it. Hence no problem arises regarding the changes caused in some *pada*-s by a *pada* preceding or succeeding them. But in the *Saṁ*. as also in the *KP*, the *pada*-s cannot stand so isolated and uninfluenced. They are bound to be influenced by one another. And for an accurate view of these texts or *pāṭhas-*, it is quite necessary that the influenced and the inflencing *pada*-s should go together in one and the same *varga*. But in the usual method of forming the *varga*-s, as we have already seen, every *pada* ordinarily has to stand at the end in one *varga*, and also at the beginning in the next *varga*. This means that ordinarily every *pada* has to (is expected to) stand at the end and the beginning of two successive *varga-s* respectively. But in cases like the one under consideration, this is found inconvenient, because, as a general

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21. This term has been used in *RV.Prā*. XI.20, 25 and 35 to signify a (*krama-*)*varga* containing *bahu* (i.e. three or more) *pada*-s. In the *RV. KP*. we get *tri-*, *catuḥ-*, and *pañca-krama* only, beside the usual *dvikrama*.

22. For these see *RV.Prā*. X.3-4; XI.3-5; etc. and Uvaṭa on these.

23. For this see *RV.Prā*. X.8. Also see *RV.Prā*. XI.4. Elsewhere Uvaṭa has taken for illustration *ud ū ṣu ṇaḥ* (8.70.9) and pointed out how this has been treated differently by different authorities. For this see *RV.Prā*. XI.17-19.

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rule[24], the influencing *pada* cannot be separated from the influenced one; for, that would prevent the influenced *pada* from retaining its influenced or altered form; and thus the very purpose of the *KP* will be defeated. To turn to our present instance, if *mo* is removed from *ṣu* to another *varga*, the *ṣu* will inevitably be reduced to its original form, *su*; and if *ṣu* is reduced to *su*, it will lose its cerebralising influence, with the result that *naḥ* coming after it will not be cerebralised; and will remain *naḥ* only, as it is. Thus would crop up the loss of the *Saṁ.P.* or the *ārṣī saṁhitā* as it is very often called in the *RV.Prā.*

To avoid this difficulty, it has been decided by the designers of the *KP* that such *pada*-s will not stand at the end of a *varga*[25]. In other words this means that the influencing *pada* and the influenced one shall not be separated. The *RV.Prā.* XI.22 has clearly laid down that if there is no influence exercised by one *pada* over the other, one should follow the previously given (= the general) rule as given in *RV.Prā.* X.1 and XI.1. Otherwise, however, *bahukrama* will have to be adopted.

Let us take another illustration: *uṣā āvar tamaḥ* (1.92.4), which in the *PP.* reads: *uṣāḥ / āvar ity āvaḥ / tamaḥ /*. Here, why the *visarga* of *āvaḥ* is changed to *r*, is not clear; and because of this doubt about this rhotacism of *visarga*, *āvaḥ* is prevented from standing at the end of a *varga*. Hence ultimately the *KP* of this passage has to be given as: *uṣā āvar tamaḥ / (āvar ity āvaḥ) /*.

There are, indeed, many such circumstances which require adoption of *bahu-krama*. But the general principle behind them all is the same, somuch so that no further illustrations need be added[26].

Let us now pass on to some cases of a contrary nature, such as *yad ado pito ajagan* (1.187.7), *so cin nu na marāti* (1.191.10), *uṣar vasūyavaḥ* (1.49.4), and *nīcā taṁ dhakṣi* (4.4.4)[27]. In the case of these passages noticed by the *RV.Prā.*, it may be observed that they also contain the words *ado*, *so*, *uṣar*, *dhakṣi* and *dhukṣi*, which are similar to those which have been delcared to be *anavasānīya*. Then, why is it that they are not prevented from standing at the end of a *varga*? Why are they treated like other ordinary *pada*-s, and allowed to stand at the end of a *varga*? The *RV.Prā.* appears to have given no answer to

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24. The rule is given in *RV.Prā.* XI.22 as: *ayāvane pūrvavidhānam ācaret*; and is explained by Uvaṭa in the following words: *yatra krame vacanaprāptābhyāṁ padābhyāṁ pūrvapadaṁ nimittaṁ na bhavati tatrety uktaṁ bhavati* / He further states the purport of this rule as: *yatra yatra yāvanaṁ tatra tatra bahukramam ācaret* / Uvaṭa explains *ayāvana* to mean *amiśraṇa*, absence of close juxta-position (of a modifying *pada* with the modified *pada*). In the absence of such *yāvana*, one should follow the *pūrva-vidhāna* (that is, the general rule stated before) and resort to *dvikrama* only.

25. Cf. *āvar tamaḥ*, *RV.Prā.* X.3, also *tamaḥparaṁ rephanimittasaṁśayāt tathāvar ity etad apodyate padam* / *RV.Prā.* XI.7; and Uvaṭa on them both.

26. For these see *RV.Prā.* X.3, etc.; and corresponding *sūtras* in *RV.Prā.* XI.

27. For these see, *RV.Prā.* XI.8, and Uvaṭa on it.

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this question. It is only *Uvaṭa*[28] who points out that these cases have not been noticed in the *anavasānīya* section of the *RV.Prā.* X. This, he means to say, is indication enough of their not being *anavasānīya.* This would mean that by the time when the *RV.Prā.*, or perhaps its *tenth paṭala*, was composed, the practical aspect of the *KP* was almost settled, though there were certain section in which optional practice in some respects was found to prevail without any possibility of reconciliation; and, therefore, had to be accepted as such[29].

It is equally interesting to see how several of the rules about the *anavasānīya pada*-s, and the consequent phenomenon of *bahu-krama* itself, were not uniformly accepted in practice. Thus, for example[30], *parīto ṣiñcata* (9.107.1) is considered to be a case of *trikrama*, because the preceding (*pada*), *pari*, is admitted as cerebralising the initial letter of the following *pada*, *siñcata*, even though these two *pada*-s are intervened by the (*pada*) *ito*. But at the same time there were others[31], who thought that the *okāra* of the immediately preceding *ito* is the cause of *ṣatva* in *ṣiñcati*. Hence, they argued, there is no scope for *trikrama* in this case. Thus the *KP* of this passage under consideration should be: *parītaḥ / ito ṣiñcata /*, though those who see here a case for *trikrama*, will give the *KP* as *parīto ṣiñcata /*, this latter being perhaps more acceptable, as it has been accepted in *RV.Prā.* X.3.

Similarly in the case of *vīrāsa etana maryāsaḥ* (5.61.4), *cit kambhanena skabhīyān* (10.111.5), and *yonim āraig apa* (1.124.8), we have instances of *trikrama* according to one view[32], but only *dvikrama* according to the other[33]. This option should be available in the case of *uṣā āvar tamaḥ* (1.92.4) and *yam ī garbham* (9.102.6) also. But *dvyabhikrama* is not admitted in the case of these passages, one does not know why? Why should *trirama* alone be adopted in the case of these passages? This question is left unanswered[34].

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28. *RV.Prā.* XI.8 has only asked the question *ado pito so cid uṣar vasūyavo na dhakṣi dhukṣīty api cātiyanti kim /*. But has supplied no answer to it. Only Uvaṭa appears to have supplied the answer in the following words: *itīmāni padāni — kiṁ kāraṇaṁ nātiyanti / imāny api hi tena tulyāni / satyam / kramaśāstre 'navasānīye 'nanugṛhītānīmāni / tasmān nātiyanti / tatra gṛhītānām iha hetur ucyate //*

29. This is but one of the several instances, which show the absence of unanimity (among Vedic *Paṇḍita*-s of the time) as regards the rules for the formation of the KP. Hence, we find *RV.Prā.* giving a general direction such as *ācaritaṁ tu notkramet / kramasya vartma smṛtisambhavau bruvan samādhim asyānv itarāṇi kīrtayet // RV.Prā.* XI.63, and Uvaṭa thereon.

30. See *RV.Prā.* X.3; and XI.5.

31. Read: *tato' pare sandhyam avekṣya kāraṇaṁ tadarthajaṁ dvikramam atra kurvate // RV.Prā.* X.6; and Uvaṭa on it. *RV.Prā.* X.3, however, favours *trikrama* in this case, not *dvikrama*. Also see *RV.Prā.* XI.5.

32. See *RV.Prā.* X.3.

33. See *RV.Prā.* X.4; XI.10; and Uvaṭa on the same.

34. See *RV.Prā.* XI.12; and Uvaṭa thereon.

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It may be thus seen that universally applicable rules regarding the acceptance of *dvikrama* or *bahukrama* had not as yet been fixed up. At least such appears to be the state of things reflected in the *RV.Prā.* XI.

Another instance of such diversity in the practice of the *KP.* may be found in what are known as the *anānupūrvya-saṁhitā*-s, which have been noted together in *RV.Prā.* II.78: *śunścic chepaṁ niditam*[35], *narā vā śaṁsaṁ pūṣaṇam*[36] / *narā cā śaṁsaṁ daivyam*[37] *tā anānupūrvya-sandhi* of *pada*-s proper is not clearly observable, because in them the *pada*-s themselves are intersected by a *pada* foreign to them. Hence to regularise matters we we have to resort to *trikrama*[38]. So the *KP.* of these should be: *śunścchicchepaṁ niditam* (*trikrama*) and so on. But this again is not accepted by all. There are some who hold that in these cases we do see the (*varṇa*)*saṁdhi* among the *pada*-s; and hence, they argue, only *dvikrama*[39] should be adopted and not *trikrama.*

Yet another factor to be considered with reference to *KP.* it what is technically called *parigraha*[40]. We have already seen that, while preparing the *KP.*, some of the *pada*-s of the *Saṁ.* are not allowed to stand at the end of a *varga.* Such *pada*-s, because they stand between the first and the last *pada*-s, are designated *madhyagata pada*-s[41]. This clearly shows that they occur in the *KP.* only once; and cannot show the *saṁ.* and the *pada* forms both, which the *KP.* is expected to do. Only *Saṁ.* form being presented by these *pada*-s, something has to be done to put up their *pada* form. For, otherwise, the *KP.* will be defective to that extent. It is to supply this lacuna that the device called *parigraha* was invented by our Vedic *Paṇḍita*-s of ancient India. *RV.Prā.* X.7-10 state which *pada*-s are to be shown by *parigraha*[42].

A perusal of the cases of *parigraha* shows that it is a device to bring out clearly the *pada* form of a word, which in its absence is left unrepresented in the *KP.* Thus in such cases ordinarily the usual *krama* (part) will be made with the *Saṁ.* form of the word; and then the *parigraha* will be utilised to show its *pada* form. Take, for example, the word *purohitam* (in *RV* 1.1.1) which in the *PP.* is given as *puraḥ-hitam.* In *KP.*, the *varga* beginning with *purohitam* will read: *purohitam yajñasya.* But if we stop at this, only the *Saṁ.* form *purohitam* will be exhibited; and the *pada* form will go unrepresented. Hence we have to add the *parigraha* of this *pada,* which will be *purohitam iti puraḥ-hitam.*

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35. 5.2.7.
36. 10.64.3.
37. 9.86.42.
38. See *RV.Prā.* XI.13; and Uvaṭa on it.
39. See *RV.Prā.* XI.14; and Uvaṭa on it.
40. See *RV.Prā.* III.20 where Uvaṭa has explained the distinction between *veṣṭka* and *parigraha*; also see *RV.Prā.* X. 20; XI.32, 36; and 45.
41. This is only another significant name for the *anavasānīya pada*-s. Cf. *bahukrame madhyagatāni* (*RV.Prā.* XI.25) and *bahumadhyagatāni* (*RV.Prā.* X.8).
42. Also see *RV.Prā.* XI.25; 27; 31-33.

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Here we see the need for adding the *parigraha* in the case of a compound expression. And what is true of a compound *pada* is also true in all cases where *parigraha* has been enjoined.

Parigraha, as we know, is used in many other cases also. Thus, for example, it is prescribed in the case of a *bahukama varga*. In [43] all such cases the *RV.Prā.* lays down that the *varga* may be formed with three or even more *pada*-s as may be necessary, and then may be given the *parigraha* of each of the *madhyama pada*-s, wathever their number. Thus *vīrāsa etana maryāsaḥ* (5.61.4) will yield the *KP.* as *vīrāsa etana maryāsaḥ / itanetītana //*. Similarly, *cit kambhanena skabhīyān* (10.111.5) in *KP.* will read: *cit kambhanena skabhīyān / skambhaneneti skambhanena //*. Similar is the case with *yonim āraig apa* (1.124.8), of which the *KP.* will be: *yonim āraik apa / araig ity araik //*. Here we have to observe that we adopt *trikrama* giving the *madhyagata pada* in the *Sam.* form; and then how its *pada* form by means of *parigraha* in both of its parts.

It may, however, be observed that there is a triple option to this rule. In the first, the *KP.* of these passages is given in the usual *dvikrama varga*-s, both exhibiting the *Saṁ.* form only, of the *pada*-s which have been treated above as *madhya-gata pada*-s; and then showing their *pada* form by means of *parigraha* in both of its parts. The other two alternatives agree in avoiding *parigraha* altogether, and giving the *KP.* in two *dvikrama varga*-s only; and exhibiting both the *pada* and the *Saṁ.* forms within the *varga*-s themselves. Here two alternatives crop up owing to the fact that the maker or the reciter of the *KP.* is given the liberty to place the forms in either of the two *varga*-s according to his choice. Thus the alternative *KP*-s of *vīrāsa etana maryāsaḥ* can be given as: (i) *vīrāsa etana / etana maryāsaḥ / itanetītana //*; (ii) *vīrāsa etana / itana maryasaḥ //*; and (iii) *vīrāsa itana / etana maryāsaḥ //*. This is enough to show how in such passages we are given first the choice of *trikrama* or *dvikrama*; and further, if we choose *dvikrama*, we are left free to use *parigraha* or dispence with it altogether; and finally, if we choose to do away with the *parigraha*, we are pemitted to put the two forms in the two *varga*-s alternately according to our choice [44].

Similar appears to be the case with the peculiar *saṁdhi*-s of the final *n* of a *pada*, resulting in: (i) *nakāralopa* (loss of *n*), (ii) *ūṣma-bhāva*, and (iii) *ra-bhāva* respectively. In these cases [45], the *saṁdhi*-s are retained in the actual *varga*; but are reduced to their *apetarāgā prakṛti* (unmodified original form) in the *parigraha*. This can be illustrated respectively as follows:

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43. See *RV.Prā.* X.3; XI.10; also see XI.25.
44. For all these read: *RV.Prā.* XI.33; and Uvaṭa on it.
45. *RV.Prā.* XI.36 and Uvaṭa on it.

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(i) *nakāra-lopa*:
asmaasma it (4.32.4) will in *KP.* be: *asmaasma it / asmānasmān ity asmān-asmān //*

(ii) *nakārasyoṣmabhāvaḥ*:
svatavāḥ pāyuḥ (4.2.6) will in KP. be: *svatavāḥ pāyuḥ / svatavān iti sva-tavān*

(iii) *nakārasya rabhāvaḥ*:
abhīśūriva sārathiḥ (6.57.6) in *KP.* will be: *abhīśūriva sārathiḥ / abhīśūnivety abhāśūn-iva //*

In all these cases we see that in both the parts of the *parigraha*, the *saṁdhi*-s are removed and the words are reduced to their original forms. Similar is the case with other varieties of *saṁdhi* such as *nati*, *pluta*, and *upācarita*. Even in all these cases, however, an option is permitted by *RV.Prā.* XI. 45, by which the *Saṁdhi* is retained in the first part of the *parigraha*, but removed in the latter part of it. Thus the alternative *KP.* of the illustrations given above will be: *asmāasmā it / asmāasmā ity asmān-asmān //*; *svatavaḥ pāyuḥ / svatava iti sva-tavān //* and *abhīśūriva sārathiḥ / abhīśūr ivety abhīśūn-iva //*

It may be thus seen that in the *RV.Prā.* XI, which purports to supply the *hetu* (the reasoning) behind the particular rules (or rather practices observed) of the *KP.* has, in the course of its discussion and illustrations, placed before us as it were the varied details in the practice of the *KP.*, every time supplying the reasoning behind them. *RV.Prā.* X, on the other hand, appears to have (if we go by Uvaṭa's commentary) rejected several of these rules, though even the author of the *RV.Prā.* appears to have been compelled to admit alternative practice in some cases at least, obviously because he must have found them prevailing in his day.

Arṣyavilopa[46] appears to have been the main aim of the devisers of the *KP.*; and to achieve this aim, as we have seen, they have invented several devices. But what is exactly meant by this *arṣyavilopa*? Literally it means not losing, not allowing the loss of, any part of the text derived from the *ṛṣi*-s, the seers of it. This naturally includes the idea of complete preservation of the original work of the *ṛṣi*-s as handed down by (oral) tradition. And this included the idea of the preservation of the *PP.* also, which appears to have been assigned equal sanctity.

It may be interesting to note that *RV.Prā.* has noticed two different views about this matter. There we find the rather roundabout expression, *anārṣyavilopa*[47], which is explained by the simple word *ārṣivilopa*, which clearly signifies *vilopa* (loss) of the *ārṣī saṁhitā*, that is, the text as visualised by the *ṛṣi*-s, the inspired seers. To avoid this, one must

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46. For *ārṣyavilopa* see *RV.Prā.* XI. 58; 59; also see *RV.Prā.* XI.1 where we find *ārṣyalopa* (which means the same thing).

47. (*svaravarṇasaṁhitayor*) *anārṣyavilopa ucyate* / XI.58. This is explained by Uvaṭa as: *kim idam anārṣyavilopaḥ / ārṣīvilopa ityarthaḥ /*

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know how this *vilopa* (or loss of the *ārṣī*) comes about. The *RV.Prā.* has given us two views about it.

According to one view [48], and this appears to be more strict and hence possibly the earlier one — the *arṣī saṁhitā* has two aspects, namely the *varṇasaṁhitā* (coalescence of letters), and *svarasaṁhitā* (coalescence of accents). So, for a thorough preservation (*avilopa* in the strict sense of the term), retention intact of both the types of *saṁhitā* was absoltuely necessary. Loss of either would amount to loss of the *ārṣī saṁhitā.*

But, as we already know, Vedic literature has at a very early (we may say even ancient) period tended to get loose in the matter of accent and ultimately a major portion of it has totally lost it. This slackness towards accentuation appears to have become particularly marked even before the day of *RV.Prā.*, as can be seen from the fact that it has noted an alternative view about *anārṣyavilopa* (of course, pertaining to *krama*). This is seen in the words *krameṣv anārṣaṁ buvate'pare svaram* (XI.58). From this we know that though there must have been a period when strict preservation of the *varṇa-* as well as the *svara- saṁhitā* was strictly preserved even in the *KP.*, the next period had already started during which strict preservation of the *svara- saṁhitā* was not scrupulously cared for. It is, however, interesting to find that the *RV.Prā.* bears witness to both these aspects of the *ārṣisaṁhitā* and consequently of *aṇārṣyavilopa* (= *ārṣīvilopa*) [49].

Of these two types of *anārṣyavilopa*, Uvaṭa has given us good illustrations: *prá ṇa indo mahé* (9.44.1) in *KP.* will be: *prá ṇaḥ / na indo / indo mahé /*. Here we find that the first *varga* agrees exactly with the *Saṁ.* in letters as also in accentuation. So in it there is no loss (*lopa*) of either *svara-* or *varṇa-* (*saṁhitā*). But as we go further we see a different picture. In the following *varga*-s we notice the loss of accent in *indo*. For, in the *Saṁ.* its accent is *pracaya* (*anudātta* standing after *svarita*); but in the *KP.*, it has not been preserved. It is replaced by *anudātta*. So here the *ārṣi saṁhitā*, in the strict sense of the term, has not been preserved [50].

But if we follow the other view which does not require the preservation of the *svara-saṁhitā*, provided that the *varṇa-saṁhitā* has been preserved all right, there is no loss of *ārṣī saṁ.* The *ārṣī saṁ.* is said to be well preserved.

Another aspect of this question is only slightly different. In the former the *lopa* is caused by the absence of the requisite *varṇa* or *svara*, or both. Here it is caused by the presence of something extraneous to, or not existing in, the original *Saṁhitā*. Thus *imáṁ me gaṅge*

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48. See *RV.Prā.* XI.58 abc.
49. For these and the whole discussion on this topic see *RV.Prā.* XI.58-59. Also see *RV.Prā.* XI.47-58 for all cases of *ārṣīvilopa* in the absence of *bahukrama.*
50. See *RV.Prā.* XI.58 (Uvaṭa).

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yamune sarasvati śutudri stómam (10.75.5), in the usual mode of (*dvi-krama*) *KP.*, would cause loss of the existing accentuation of these *pada*-s and bring in also some accentuation not existing the original. This is the other vairety of *ārṣīvilopa.* In such cases the *KP.* will have to be formed with *varga*-s having a large number of *pada-s*, sven *pada*-s, for example, in the above passage [51].

Similarly in some cases a *pada* may not show its *svara*; and a *padānta* may not show its correct *avasāna* in the *KP.*: as, for example, *tè'vadan* (10.109.1) and *nû itthâ* (1.132.4) would in the *KP.* read *tè' vadan* and *nû itthâ*; and not show the proper *svara* of *te* and the proper ending of *nu* unless it is shown by *parigraha.* Hence the *KP.* in these cases has to be *tè' vadan / tá íti té /* and *nû itthâ / nvíti nú /* respectively [52].

Again in cases like *āraik panthām* (1.113.16), *mo ṣū ṇaḥ* (1.173.12), and *prātaḥ somam* (7.41.1) to exhibit the exact form and accent of the *pada*-s, the device of *parigraha* has to be used [53]. And some have even gone to the extreme course of recommending the use of *nirvacana* (= *sthitopasthita,* or *parigraha*) of each and every *pada* [54], though the author of the *RV.Prā.* has recommended that what is generaly practiced should not be set aside [55].

We are further told what (*Pāñcāla*), the son of *Babhru* [56], has said in this connection. *Pāñcāla,* the first propounder of *krama* (i.e. *KP.*), has declared that the *Krama-śāstra* as it has been taught in the beginning or at first (= in *Paṭala* X ?), should be considered to be correct or authentic (*sādhuvat*); what has been stated later again with a diversity of view (= in *Paṭala* XI ?) should not be so regarded [57]. The names given to these two *paṭala*-s also would seem to indicate their respective nature. Even after granting the position of the tenth *paṭala* vis-à-vis the eleventh *paṭala,* the fact remains that even the tenth *paṭala* appears to have noticed divergent practices in some cases at least. And if we

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51. Read: *sa kāraṇāny ārṣyavilopavikramaḥ krameṇa yukto'pi bahūni saṁdadhat // RV.Prā.* XI.59 and Uvaṭa's commentary on it.

52. For these see Uvaṭa on *RV.Prā.* XI.60.

53. For these see Uvaṭa on *RV.Prā.* XI.61.

54. *krameta sarvāṇi padāni nirbruvann iti hi smaranti / RV.Prā.* XI.62.

55. *ācaritaṁ tu notkramet kramasya vartma smṛtisambhavau bruvan / samādhim asyānv itarāṇi kīrtayet // RV.Prā.* XI.63. The words *ācaritaṁ tu notkramet* seem to give an impression that the mode of *KP* had been already fixed and was well in practice also; and further that the reciter of the *KP* is exhorted not to swerve from the established norm that was in practice. Are we then to suppose that the *Krama-paṭala* gives us this norm? If so, what about the optional practices referred to in it? Tradition prevailing today, we are told, is absolutely unanimous! It has no cases of option at all.

56. Cf. *RV.Prā.* XI.65.

57. The general direction regarding this point is: *samādhim asyānv itarāṇi kīrtayet.* (Other points or cases should be decided in keeping with the teaching of the *krama-paṭala*). See *RV.Prā.* XI.63 and Uvaṭa's commentary giving its twofold interpretation.

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stand by the authority of this *paṭala*, there are bound to be some variant *KP*-s in some cases at least, howsoever small they may be in number.

But our living tradition obtaining at the present day is so thoroughly unanimous, that there is no optional *KP.* at all in the whole of the *RV.* How shall we reconcile these two facts which stand directly opposed to one another? That there must have been divergent practices cannot be denied. That the *KP.* of the living tradition [58] today is uniform throughout the length and breadth of *Bharata* (India) is vouched for by our traditional *paṇḍita*-s. Therefore, the only conclusion which one may arrive at here can probably be that there must have been a great or extensive fermentation before the final fixation of the *KP.* of the *RV.*; and that this fermentation in its varied aspects we find reflected — whether wholly or partially we are not sure — in the *RV.Prā.* XI, which is known as the *Kramahetupaṭala.* We cannot say, in the present state of our knowledge, when the traditional *KP.* obtaining today came to be fixed, with a thorough rejection of all the optional cases or suggestions [59].

The last interesting point to note as regards the *KP.* is the discussion and establishment of the utility of the *KP.* found towards the end of the *RV.Prā.* XI. The prima facie view in this respect starts with a frank and bold statement that *Krama* is of no use (*krameṇa nārthaḥ*) to one who is conversant with the *Saṁ.*- and the *Pada- pāṭha*-s. Other objections also are raised. But finally all the objections are refuted and the utility of the *KP.* is established in the concluding verses of the *kramahetu-paṭala* [60]. All this, together with the glimpses of the fermentation before the final fixation of the *KP.*, seems to give an impression that there was a period when the *KP.* had not been unanimously accepted as being particularly authentic. But there can be no doubt as regards the important purpose served by it. On the one hand it unites into one work the two *pāṭha*-s of the *ṚV.* and serves as an efficient means for the preservation of the *ṚV Saṁhitā* and also the *PP.* But more important still is the fact that it serves as the basis of the so-called *vikṛti*-s which have greatly helped the thorough preservation of the Veda through ages, a fact which, though unbelievably wonderful, has yet to be admitted on the basis of the strict unanimity which is reportedly noticeable in the traditional recitation throughout the length and the breadth of Bhārata even today [61].

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58. For this information I am obliged to Vedamūrti Vināyak Bhaṭṭa Ghaisas (of Poona), popularly known as Ghaisas Gurujī.

59. It may, however, be noted that the *Upalekhasūtra*, which is of the nature of a manual of the *RV.KP.*, appears to be wholly free from variant practices. This work, however, cannot be a work of high antiquity. See Abhyankar, Devasthali: *Vedavikṛtilakṣaṇa-saṁgraha*, BORI, 1978, Intr. p. XIV f. and foot-notes 3-5.

60. Read: *RV.Prā.* XI.66-71.

61. All unspecified references in this paper are to the *Ṛgveda-Saṁhitā.*

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M. K. DHAVALIKAR

ANTIQUITY OF GAṆEŚA - THE NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE

There is little doubt that the very title of the present paper will sound rather odd for the simple reason that every student of Indian numismatics knows that there is no representation of Gaṇeśa — the elephant-headed god — on any coin of ancient India and it is also equally well known that the coin type of Huviska with the legend Gaṇeśa actually has on it the figure of Śiva, who was the « Lord of *gaṇas* ». But there is nevertheless some evidence to show that the representation of elephant on some of the early Indian coins, more especially those from the Gandhara region in the northwest of the sub-continent, is in some way or other connected with the elephant-headed god. The present paper is therefore an attempt at studying the representations of elephant on early Indian coins, more particularly those of the Indo-Greeks and finding out if they are relevant to the problem of the evolution of the elephant-headed divinity — Gaṇeśa.

Elephant is one of the most conspicuous motifs on Indo-Greek coins. Although it appears on the earlier punch-marked coins, it is depicted most realistically on the coinage of Indo-Greeks. It is one of the few truly Indian motifs which is represented on the coinage of foreigners who ruled in the early period. The elephant, as is well known, is one of the sacred animals to the Hindus and the Buddhists as well, and it was so even in the remotest past as its representations on Indus seals would show. But it is difficult to hazard any guess regarding the religious affiliation of the elephant that is to be seen on Indo-Greek coins. Nonetheless, it is equally clear that its representation on coinage must have certainly satisfied both the Hindu and the Buddhist populations in the northwestern India.

The most realistic and the full-bodied representation of elephant occurs on the coins of Apollodotus. These are squarish pieces of silver on which we have, on the obverse, a standing elephant facing left with the legend in Greek while on the reverse is shown a standing bull facing

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and with the legend in Kharoshthi. This coin type, which marks a distinct deviation in the Indo-Greek coinage, has been taken to have definite religious significance, for in this case the bust of the king on the obverse and the usual Greek divinities on the reverse have been replaced by animals which are characteristically Indian. Even the bull is of the typical *Bos indicus* — the humped variety. The elephant is also equally Indian. Another Indian religious symbol is the *nandipāda* which occurs on the reverse, above the hump of the bull and the other on the elephant on the obverse [1], and the conjunction of these two types is imitated by subsequent kings who ruled in the northwestern parts of the subcontinent viz., Heliocles and the Śakas — Maues, Azes and Azilizes. The fact that Apollodotus' « humped » bull and elephant' type became a regular type of the Śaka kings also shows that it had a considerable local significance. The full bodied elephant occurs on the coins of Antimachus I and II [2], Menander [3], Heliocles, Lysias, Archebius, Azes and Azilises. On some of the coins of Demetrius (I), Menander, and Maues, the elephant is shown wth a bell round its neck while on some issues of Apollodotus the animal is adorned with a band round its body [4]. On some issues of Antimachus II the elephant is shown striding with its trunk upraised [5].

On the square copper coins of Antialkidas we find the elephant holding a wreath in its upraised trunk [6] and the same motif is copied by Maues on some of his square copper coins where, however, the animal is shown running [7]. The latter type has become somewhat controversail, for it has on the obverse a human figure seated cross-legged on a cushion. Gardner [8] is of the opinion that the figure is that of the king whereas Tarn identifies it as that of the Buddha. He observes that « the elephant is not running; he has both his forefeet high in the air and any Indian Greek knew well enough that elephants do not run like that. The creature is dancing, dancing on its hind legs and offering a wreath to the seated figure » [9].

On a bronze issue of Zoilus we have on the obverse Apollo clad in chalmys and boots, holding bow and arrow in his hands and quiver at the back; and near him on left is a small elephant [10]. This association

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1. Percy Gardner, *Coins of Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum*, Chicago, 1966, new print, pl. 34, n. 10 (this work is hereinafter referred to as BMC).
2. A. N. Lahiri, *Corpus of Indo-Greek Coins*, Calcutta, 1965, p. 88, pl. VI, 7.
3. BMC, p. 169, pl. XXXI, 4.
4. BMC, pl. IX, 8, 9.
5. Lahiri, *op. cit.*, pl. VI, 9.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 87, pl. VI, 18.
7. BMC, p. 70, pl. XVII,5.
8. *Ibid.*
9. W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, Cambridge, 1951, 2nd ed., pp. 401-2.
10. BMC, p. 53, pl. XII, 12.

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of elephant with Apollo is indeed significant. As we shall see later, it is the divine character of the elephant which forced the Greek rulers to associate the animal with their own gods.

Elephant head is also shown on some coin types. On bronze issues of Demetrius, who was the son and successor of Euthydemos, we find the elephant head on right with bell round his neck shown on the obverse while the reverse has caduceus [11]. This was later copied by Maues. On a bronze square coin of Menander also we find on the obverse an elephant head on right, with bell round its neck while on the reverse is the club. Similarly on a bronze round coin of Maues is shown the head of elephant with bell round its neck on obverse while on reverse is the caduceus [12].

Tarn is inclined to identify the elephant that we see on these coin types with that of Taxila. He states that, « There is a story which may bear on the elephant of Taxila. It is known that Philostratus when he wrote on the life of Apollonius he had before him a pretty accurate description of Parthian Taxila by some one who had visited it, and he says that at Taxila there was a very old elephant, once belonging to Porus whom Alexander had dedicated in the temple of the Sun and had named Aias, and whom the people used to annoint with myrrh and adorn with fillets (*Life of Apollonius*, II, 20). Philostratus attributes many things to Alexander and Porus, but the story might really be evidence for the existence at Taxila of a sacred elephant, the elephant of the coins; the bell round the elephant's neck on the elephant head coin type of Demetrius, Menander and Maues would support this » [13]. However, J. N. Banerjea is inclined to identify the elephant with the elephant diety of Kapiśā. He states: « On the basis of our main hypothesis, it will be possible for us to suggest that the device " elephant's head " with a bell round his neck' used by Demetrius on some of his copper coins and other Indo-Greek and the Śaka rulers like Menander and Maues was associated with this elephant deity, peculiar to Kapiśā and its environs. We are not certain whether the elephant used as a device on so many coins of these kings is in any way connected with it; but if any connection between two could be proved, then one could demonstrate the extreme popularity of the device » [14].

The representation of elephant on a coin type of Antialkidas is extremely interesting and is certainly not without significance. These coins are of silver and are round in shape [15]. On the obverse they have the bust of the king while on the reverse is shown Zeus sitting on throne, holding Nike in his right hand, who in her turn, bears wreath

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11. *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid.*, pl. XVI.
13. *Op. cit.*, p. 164.
14. « Indian Elements on Coin Devices of Foreign Rulers of India », *IHQ*, vol. XIV, 1938, pp. 300-1.
15. BMC, p. 25, pl. VII, 9-14.

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and palm; on left is the forepart of an elephant. He has a bell round the neck and he has raised his trunk. It appears as if Nike is garlanding the elephant who is accepting the wreath with his upraised trunk. The same motif is copied by the Śaka king Maues on the reverse of his bronze square coins [16]. Here Zeus, the greatest of the Greek divinities, seems to be paying his respects to the elephant who then can be said to be not a mere animal, who was of great use as it served as the veritable tank in the army, but seems to have been accorded equal position with Greek deities.

Of this coin type we can distinguish four different varieties which were all issued by Antialcidas. On the obverse of all the varieties the bust of the king is depicted. On the reverse of one variety (silver, round) is shown « Zeus seated on throne left; holds in right Nike who bears wreath and palm; in left, long sceptre; in field left forepart of elephant with bell round neck who raises his trunk [17]. The same device was also used by Maues on the reverse of his square bronze coins [18].

On one variety there is Zeus seated on left on throne; holding in right hand palm and wreath; in the left is sceptre; to the left is a small elephant upwards, who grasps the wreath in his trunk [19]. But here Nike is absent. On yet another coin there is on the reverse « Zeus seated on throne left; holding in right hand Nike and in left the sceptre; the left is the forepart of an elephant who carries off the wreath of Nike » [20].

On one copper coin of Antialcidas, which is squarish in shape, there is the bust of the king on the obverse and on the reverse is depicted elephant to right, holding wreath in its upraised trunk [21]. Since this is an issue of Antialcidas, there should be little doubt that it can also be grouped with the preceding varieties with the only difference that Zeus with Nike is absent in this case. Similar device is also used on a square bronze coin of Maues. Here, however, it is on the obverse that we find elephant running right and holding in his trunk wreath in square of fillet pattern while on the reverse is the king seated cross legged [22].

To the same series may also be added yet another coin type of Antialcidas. Here we have on the obverse the bust of the king to the left thrusting javelin while on the reverse is shown elephant walking left with Nike on his head and the radiate, sceptred Zeus by his side [23].

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16. *Ibid.*, p. 70 (not illustrated).
17. BMC, p. 25, pl. VII, 9.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 70 (not illustrated).
19. *Ibid.*, p. 25, pl. VII, 10.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 25, pl. VII, 14.
21. Lahiri, *op. cit.*, p. 87, pl. V, 18.
22. BMC, p. 70, pl. XVII, 5.
23. Lahiri, *op. cit.*, p. 85, pl. V, 13.

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The most interesting coin type is the well-known Kapiśā coin [24]. The type has been described as follows:

Obv. Diademed bust of king to right, wearing helmet. Greek legend — *Basileos Megalou Eukratidou.*

Rev. A deity wearing a mural crown, seated on throne to front, holds wreath and palm; to right of throne forepart of elephant to right, and to left, a pilos (?) Kharosthi legend — *Kavi(pi)-śiye nagara devatā.*

This coin has been discussed at great length by several numismatists. Charles Mason, the first discoverer of the coin, found one at Begram which has been identified with the ancient Kapiśā. He identified the enthroned figure as a female deity [25]. But E. Thomas suggested that the deity might be identical with Zeus of Antialcidas' coin [26]. Cunningham, however, straightway called the deity Zeus [27]. Many later scholars followed Cunningham in his description of the coin [28]. Tarn also accepted it and has given reasons for the identification of the deity as Zeus [29]. Whitehead, however, came across a beautiful specimen of this type in the British Museum. He observed that, «The divinity in so many words called a city deity, wears a mural crown, carries a palm but not a sceptre, in fact she is a city goddess. She precisely resembles the city Tyche on the copper coin of Hippostratus [30]. A. K. Narain, who has examined all the five specimens in the British Museum and a few more in private collections, is also convinced that the divinity wears « a mural crown and carries a palm but not a sceptre ». He feels that it may rather be compared with the city fortune on a copper coin of Hippostratus, on a silver coin of Maues and on a copper coin of Azilizes; on certain specimens the figure seems certainly female. Further, two other points observed by Whitehead are also quite pertinent: the legend itself precisely calls it the city deity of Kapiśā, and that the deity cannot be Zeus on the coins of Maues and Azilizes, since in each case he appears on the reverse of the coin [31].

The coin has thus become the subject of much discussion. Moreover, the enthroned figure on the coin has also been variously interpreted. Some sholars would like to connect the elephant on the coin with Buddhism [32]. The most interesting interpretation has been given by J. N. Banerjea. He identifies the enthroned figure as that of Indra who

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24. *Ibid.*, pp. 126-27, pl. XVII, 2.
25. JASB, 1834, p. 164, pl. VIII, 11.
26. Cited by Lahiri, *op. cit.*, p. 127.
27. *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1869, p. 225, n. 21, pl. (c) VI, 6.
28. BMC, p. 19, pl. VI, 8.
29. Tarn, *op. cit.*, p. 138.
30. *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1947, p. 30, fig. 1.
31. A. K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks*, Oxford, 1957, p. 63.
32. JRAS, 1941, pp. 63-4; MASI, n. 46, pp. 28-32.

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was also knonwn as the *yakṣa* of Indrapura in the *Mahāmāyurī*. According to him the place *Si-pi-to-fa-la-tzu* referred to by Yuan Chwang, that is, Śvetavatālaya, the abode of Indra, who incidentally was also known as Śvetavat. He further states that, « It is possible to identify the central device of the coin as 'Indra enthroned with the partial representation of his mount Airāvata (the White Elephant) before him ». Śvetasvatālaya, according to the description of Yuan Chwang, was a suburb of Kapiśā in the seventh century A.D., and its very name indicates that it had Indra as its tutelary deity. Banerjea concludes: « So in the Indo-Bactrian money, enthroned Zeus and *devarāja* Indra are often confused and it will be better to describe those figures as Indra where he is accompanied by an elephant or partial representation of an elephant » [33].

It thus becomes apparent that the enthroned deity on the coin is not Zeus but the city deity of Kapiśā. But whether it is a male or a female is doubtful. It has been taken to be a female because of its resemblance with city Tyche on the copper coin of Hippostratus. It should, however, be borne in mind that a majority of scholars identified the figure as that of Zeus because they took it to be a male figure. It is possible that she can be taken to be a female because a majorty of city deities were females such as the city goddess of Puṣkarāvati. Here we should take into consideration the identification of the coin by Rapson. Of the two symbols viz., the elephant head and the mountain, Rapson identifies for former as the mountain Pilusāra and the other as the elephant god, of the mountain as also the city of Kapiśā. Rapson was the first to connect the two symbols and the legend recorded by Yuan Chwang regarding the tutelary deity of Kapiśā [34]. The celebrated Chinese traveller visited India during 629-645 A.D. In 630 A.D. he travelled through Afghanistan where he spent considerable time visiting Buddhist establishments and spent a whole summer in Kapiśā. He has recorded a very curious and interesting legend regarding the tutelary deity of the city of Kapiśā. We can do no better than quote the words of the pilgrim:

> « To the southwest of the capital (Kapiśā) was *Pi-lo-sho-lo* mountain. This name was given to the mountain from its presiding genius who had the form of an elephant and was therefore called *Pi-lo-sho-lo* » [35].

Yuan Chwang's testimony amply demonstrates that in the seventh century Pilusāra was the tutelary deity of Kapiśā which had the form

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33. « Indian Elements on Coin Devices of Foreign Rulers of India », *IHQ*, vol. XIV, 1938, pp. 299-300.
34. E. J. Rapson, *The Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, Cambridge, 1922, pp. 555-56.
35. Thomas Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Delhi, 1961, first Indian edn., vol. I, p. 129.

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of an elephant. It seems that the tradition had great antiquity for the deity, as pointed out by Rapson, was depicted on an early Indo-Greek coin of second century B.C. The scholars who tried to identify the enthroned deity on the coin as Zeus or Indra as also those who take it to be a female deity have overlooked the guardian deity of Kapiśā which is portrayed on the coin and is also specified by the legend. That the guardian deity was the elephant genuis has been clearly testified by Yuan Chwang. Whether the deity is male or female is immaterial, for the mint masters were here facing a curious problem of depicting a sacred animal. It was the problem of the therianthropomorphic representation that they faced. What they did was to portray the deity enthroned and show the forepart of an elephant by its side; they could not possibly think of the combination of the thriomorphic and the anthropomorphic representation of the diety. This would also show that they never bothered about the male or the female character of the deity. But this ultimately has caused a controversy among scholars. However, in the light of the discussion in the preceding pages it should become clear that the coin depicts the anthropomorphic form of the tutelary deity of Kapiśā enthroned; but that it was in the form of an elephant is clear from the forepart of the beast and its abode in the mountain into the south-west of the city is shown by pilos on the coin.

The most interesting representation of elephant on some of the Indo-Greek coins is that in the form of a scalp, which crowns the king's headgear [36]. Demetrius, the son and successor of Euthydemos was the first king to be depicted with elephant's scalp on his silver coins and also on some of his bronze coins. The same device was later borrowed by Agothocles and Lisias who are shown on their coins in the same way. It is said that even Alandander and Ptolemy had issued certain coins on which they were shown wearing elephant scalp on their helmet. We do not know whether these coins were issued to commemorate Alexande's conquest of India. But this would then be a strange way of symbolising a conquest. If at all it means something, then it certainly shows the reverence of the issuing authorities for elephant. As Whitehead has observed in the case of Lysias, it can be interpreted « to mean that he (the issuing king) regarded himself as under the protection of the elephant god of Kapiśā » [37]. In this connection it should be noted that Alexander had great regard for the elephant of Taxila whose story has already been narrated. We should agree with Tarn according to whom this story might really be the evidence for the existence at Taxila of a sacred elephant, the elephant of the coins, with the bell round his neck [38]. This sacred elephant becomes the commonest device on the coins of Taxila. In fact the elephant head with bell around his neck

36. BMC, pl. II, 9-12.
37. R. B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of the coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore*, vol. I, Oxford, 1914, p. 326, n. 4.
38. Tarn, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

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has been identified by scholars with the sacred elephant of Taxila [39].

The next logical step was to produce a therionthropomorphic representation of the elephant-headed deity. It takes place in the time of the last Indo-Greek ruler Hermaeus, on one of whose coin types we have a clear representation of Gaṇeśa. The coin has recently been noticed by A. K. Narain in the old collections in the British Museum. « If this is accepted », observes A. K. Narain, « surely this would be the earliest representation of Gaṇeśa and a veritable specimen of syncretic tendencies which started operting from the time of the Indo-Greeks and resulted in the formation of many new gods and goddesses. This is also an example of how a local deity was transformed or, if you may like to say, elevated to the respectable status » [40].

The foregoing account of the elephant motif on the coins of foreign rulers, more particularly of the Indo-Greeks, shows that the animal which was sacred to the Hindus was also held in reverence by the foreign rulers who wanted to win over the population to their side. It may be interesting to note in this connection the fact that there are quite a good number of places in Panjab, more appropriately the ancient Gandhara which are associated with elephant in their names, To begin with Kapiśā, the name signifies that the place was « endowed with elephant ». So also is the case of Puṣkarāvātī, for *puṣkara* means elephant. It is also significant that the ancient site Hastanagar is named after king Hastin, the hero of the eponymous tribe. It was a city of elephants like the Hastināpura of the Kauravas and Vāraṇavata of the Pandavas. We have already narrated the story of the sacred elephant of Taxila. Cunningham identified the ancient site at Palo-dheri which was the ancient township of Polusa [41], referred to by Yuan Chwang. According to him to the north-east of the town rose the hill of Dantaloka, with a cave, in which Prince Sudana, and his wife had taken refuge. This is about forty miles from Potali. Very probably the association of elephant with several places in the Gandhara region may be due to its being the habitat of the tribe of the Hastikas. The historians of Alexander mention of a king named Astes (Hasti) as ruling over a people called Astakenoi (Hastikas) living in the region of Puṣkarāvatī. Arrian states that when Alexander's army, together with the local chiefs, reached the Indus, they carried out all orders of Alexander. But Astes, the ruler of the land of Peucelaotis (Puṣkarāvati), rose in revolt which both ruined himself and brought ruin also upon the city which he fled for refuge. Hephastion, the general of Alexander, captured it after a seige of thirty days and Astes himself was killed [42].

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39. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, IHQ, vol. XIV, 1938, pp. 330-33.

40. Presidential Address, JNSI, vol. XXXVI, 1974, p. 190.

41. S. Majumdar Sastri (ed.), *Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India*, Calcutta, 1924, p. 60.

42. R. C. Majumdar, *Classical Accounts of India*, Calcutta, 1960, p. 257.

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Strabo also in his Geography describes that after the Cophes (the Kabul river) followed Indus, and the region between these rivers was occupied by Astacenoi (Hastikas), Masiani, Myaai, and Hispacii [43]. Pliny records that « They (many writers) include also the Astaceni, in whose country the vine grows abundantly and the laurel and boxwood and every kind of fruit tree found in Greece » [44].

The accounts of classical writers thus show that there lived in fourth century B.C. in the Kabul valley the valiant tribe of Hastikas who were ruled, at the time of Alexander's invasion by a king named Hasti. The tribe was there even in 6th-5th cent. B.C. as Pāṇini refers to the Hastināyanas as occupying the area near the confluence of the Swat and the Kabul, with their capital at Puṣkarāvatī [45]. The Hastināyanas of Panini are in all probability the Hastikas of the classical accounts. The region occupied by the Hastikas formed in ancient times a part of the Gandhara country which in its turn was an integral part of India from the earliest epoch of Indo-Aryan civilization. It is unique among the countries of India in that its history can be traced in unbroken continuity right from the Rigvedic times to the present day.

We do not know about the Hastikas beyond what has been recorded by classical writers and Pāṇini. However, they appear to be quite a valiant people. The name of their king — Hasti — and their capital and other places in their country were all associated with elephant. It is therefore not unlikely that the elephant was extremely sacred to them; it might have been their totem as well. After conquering them the Indo-Greek rulers possibly introduced elephant on their coins to win over the loyalty of the Hastikas.

Last but not the least important is the name of the guardian deity of Kapiśā which Yuan Chwang has given as Piluśāra. This name can be favourably compared with *Pillaiyar* which is the Dravidian name for Gaṇeśa and is still current in south India. The present name is no doubt a corrupt form of his ancient title and is obviously derived from the Dravidian words *paḷḷu* or *peḷḷa*, both signifying tooth, that is, the tusk of the elephant although in the present form there is no meaning of « tusk ». *Piḷḷa* is the Tamil word for child, and Piḷḷaiyār means a noble child, but *piḷḷa* originally meant the « young of an elephant ». However, from the similarity between the names it seems that Piḷḷaiyār is derived from Piluśāra for when Sanskrit words were borrowed into Tamil, Sk. *sa* or *śa* was sometimes changed into *ya* [46]. The ancient name of Gaṇeśa thus survives in south India where many of the Hindu traditions still continue in an unadultrated form.

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43. *Ibid.*
44. *Ibid.*, p. 345.
45. V. S. Agrawala, *India as known to Panini*, Lucknow, 1953, pp. 453-54.
46. M. R. Rajagopala Iyengar, « Phonetic changes in Tamil words borrowed from Classical Sanskrit », *Jr. of Oriental Research*, vol. XVI, 1940, p. 57.

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MARIANGELA D'ONZA CHIODO - EMANUELA PANATTONI

KUḌḌA-RĀJAN AND ALLIED TERMS: A SET OF DRAVIDIAN LOAN-WORDS IN PĀLI *

In the *Pāli-English Dictionary* (*PED*) the word *kuṭṭa-rājan* — to be found under the entry *kuṭṭa*[2] — is given the meaning « subordinate prince, wattle and daub prince ». Nevertheless the *PED* considers also a possible variant spelling *kuḍḍa-rājan* and favours in this case a connection of it with the entry *kuḍḍa* « a wall built of wattle and daub ». But *PED*'s treatment does not seem on the whole satisfactory as it proposes different etymologies for the same term, which is unnecessarily entered in separate items. Besides there is no clear distinction between the two entries and their origin and form. In our opinion, the *PED* is inconsistent in regarding the origin of *kuṭṭa*[2] as doubtful and in assuming it, at the same time, essentially as a variant form of *kuḍḍa*, which is connected with *kṣud-*. Moreover the same or very similar meaning is ascribed to both entries.

We propose now to offer a different etymology common to both and wish first of all to reconsider the translation given by the *PED* and most scholars. The compound *kuḍḍa-rājan* will be examined in consequence.

Let us go into details. It is possible from the following contexts to gain some idea of the use of *kuḍḍa* as a simplex which, in our opinion, does not mean but « wall » and precisely « surrounding wall ». The passages are as follows:

Vin. II, 105 ... *kuḍḍe kāyaṃ ugghaṃsenti*... [1].
Vin. II, 117 ... *kuḍḍe pi thambe pi kaṭhinaṃ ussāpetvā*... [2].

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* In the present paper Prof. D'Onza Chiodo is to be held responsible for pp. 147-154, and Prof. Panattoni for pp. 155-162.

1. See translations in *Vinaya Texts*, III, p. 67; *The Book of the Discipline*, part 5, p. 142.

2. See translations in *Vinaya Texts*, III, p. 98; *The Book of the Discipline*, part 5, p. 161.

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Vin. II, 133 ... *nakhaṃ chindanti kuḍḍe*[3] *pi nighaṃsanti...*[4]
Vin. II, 159 ... *cikkhallaṃ madditvā iṭṭhakāyo cinitvā kuḍḍe uṭṭhāpesi...*[5].
Vin. III, 65 ... *attano vihārassa kuḍḍam upatthambhesi...*[6].
Vin. III, 188 ... *paṭicchannaṃ nāma āsanaṃ kuḍḍena vā kavāṭena...*[7].

In all these contexts the rendering of *kuḍḍa* as « wattle and daub wall »[8] is to be regarded as unnecessary, because there is nothing to indicate this peculiar meaning instead of the simpler one which is, for instance, mostly adopted in the translations of the following passages:

Vin. II, 172 ... *kuḍḍalepanamattena pi navakammaṃ denti...*[9].
Vin. III, 81 ... *bhikkhū vihārassa kuḍḍam uṭṭhāpenti...*[10].
SN. II, 99 ... *kuḍḍañce*[11] *nissāya tiṭṭheyya ye kuḍḍanissitā pāṇā te naṃ khādeyyuṃ...*[12].
Vin. IV, 266 ... *kuḍḍo nāma tayo kuḍḍā iṭṭhakā-kuḍḍo sīla-kuḍḍo dāru-kuḍḍo...*[13].

In the last passage, in particular, the context makes it fairly clear that *kuḍḍa* denotes merely « a wall », since three different kinds of it are mentioned (wall of bricks, wall of stones, wall of wood)[14].

In the *Buddhavaṃsa* the word occurs in its twofold reading and in its unquestionably non-specific meaning:

BV. 12 ... *kuḍḍa kavāṭā selā...*
BV. 36 ... *kuṭṭākavāṭā bhitti...*

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3. *vv.ll. AC kuṭṭe*, B *kuḍḍena*. We may note here that the *PED* is wrong in stating *kuṭṭa* to be present only in compounds.
4. See translations in *Vinaya Texts*, III, p. 137; *The Book of the Discipline*, part 5, p. 185.
5. See translations in *Vinaya Texts*, III, p. 190; *The Book of the Discipline*, part 5, p. 223.
6. See *The Book of the Discipline*, part 1, p. 109.
7. Similar passages in *Vin.* III, 192; IV, 96, 269, 270. See *The Book of the Discipline*, part 1, p. 332.
8. Cp. Horner's translations in *The Book of the Discipline*, part 1, p. 332; part 5, pp. 185 and 223.
9. See translations in *Vinaya Texts*, III, p. 213; *The Book of the Discipline*, part 5, p. 241.
10. See translation in *The Book of the Discipline*, part 1, p. 140 and n. 2.
11. *vv.ll.* B *kuṭṭa°*, C *kuṭa°*.
12. See translation in *The Book of the Kindred Sayings*, II, p. 79.
13. See translation in *The Book of the Discipline*, part 3, p. 258.
14. Mention may be made in this connexion of another term, *pākāra*, denoting a fence or a rampart in general, for which the same three kinds of building materials are mentioned; cp. *Vin.* II, 121.

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Instances of the same general meaning are also supplied by some passages where the diminutive form *kuḍḍaka* is found:

Vin. II, 152 *Anujānāmi... aḍḍhakuḍḍakan ti. Aḍḍhakuḍḍakā uparito olokenti* [15].
Ja. I, 92, 24 *... ekakuḍḍaka dvikuḍḍaka...* [16].

Other examples in which *kuḍḍa* occurs as an element of a compound provide further information about the literal meaning of the word:

Vin. II, 120 *... jantāgharassa kuḍḍapādo jīrati...* [17].
Vin. II, 152 *... vihārassa kuḍḍapādo jīrati... vihārassa kuḍḍo ovassati...* [18].

Most of the translations (where *kuḍḍa-pāda* is rendered as « the lower part of the lath and plaster wall ») [19] must be regarded as having been altered by the connection with a questionable etymology — as will be illustrated later on — according to which the rather general significance of the word has once more been improperly enriched with descriptive details [20]. The next passages are worth quoting in this connection:

Vin. IV, 265, 11 *... tirokuḍḍe chaḍḍentī...* [21].
Vin. IV, 265, 33 *... tirokuḍḍe vā tiropākāre vā...* [22].
Vin. IV, 266 *... tirokuḍḍe'ti kuḍḍassa parato...* [23].
AN. IV, 55 *... tirokuḍḍaṃ* [24] *vā tiropākāraṃ vā...* [25].
DN. I, 78 *... avibhāvaṃ tirobhāvaṃ tirokuḍḍaṃ tiropākāraṃ...* [26].
Ja. IV, 411, 6* *Tirokuḍḍam* [27] *tiroselaṃ samatiggayha...* [28].

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15. See translations in *Vinaya Texts*, III, p. 173; *The Book of the Discipline*, part 5, p. 213.
16. *PED*: « having single or double walls ».
17. See translations in *Vinaya Texts*, III, p. 107 and n. 1; *The Book of the Discipline*, part 5, p. 165 and n. 12.
18. See translations in *Vinaya Texts*, III, p. 174; *The Book of the Discipline*, part 5, p. 214.
19. *E.g.* Horner's translation in *The Book of the Discipline*, part 5, p. 165; Rhys Davids and Oldenberg's translations in *Vinaya Texts*, III, pp. 107 and 174.
20. Buddhaghosa's commentary to the last passage gives *bhitti* as a synonym of *kuṭṭa*. Cp. *Vin.* II, 321.
21. A similar passage in *Vin.* IV, 265, 27. Cp. *The Book of the Discipline*, part 3, p. 257.
22. Cp. *op. cit.*, part 3, p. 258.
23. Cp. *op. cit.*, part 3, p. 258.
24. *v.l.* MPh. *kuṭaṃ* or *kuṭṭaṃ*.
25. See translation in *The Book of the Gradual Sayings*, IV, p. 31.
26. See translation in *Dialogues of the Buddha*, I, p. 88. Similar passages in *DN.* I, 212; III, 112; *MN.* I, 34, 69, 494; II, 18; III, 11, 98; *SN.* II, 121, 212 (*v.l.* B °*kuṭaṃ*); V, 264 (*v.l.* B °*kuṭaṃ*), 274, 275; *AN.* I, 170, 255; III, 17, 280; V, 199; *Paṭis* 111, 207, 208, 227. In this connexion *Vism* 332 (Harvard Oriental Series, 41) explains *kuḍḍa* as *geha-bhittiyā adhivacanaṃ*.
27. *v.l.* B[d] *-kuṭam*.
28. Cp. translation in *The Jataka*, VI, p. 256. The same verse in *Ja.* IV, 412, 1*.

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Ja. IV, 470, 25*	*Tirokuḍḍamhi gāyitvā...* [29].
Khp. 6	*Tirokuḍḍesu tiṭṭhanti...*
Pv. 4-5	*Tirokuḍḍesu tiṭṭhanti...*
Ja. II, 431, 10	*... So anātho hutvā parakuḍḍaṃ* [30] *nissāya, kālaṃ akāsi* [31].

As regards *parakuḍḍaṃ nissāya* in the last quotation, *PED*'s attempt to interpret it as « near another man's wall » seems to be very question-from the fact that the commentary to *Ja.* IV, 411, 6, quoted above, gives for this expression [32]. A better idea of its meaning can perhaps be got from the fact that the commentary to *Ja.* IV, 411, 6, quoted above, gives *parakuḍḍaṃ* as an equivalent of *tirokuḍḍam* [33]. Moreover the commentary to *Khp.* 6 explains *tirokuḍḍā* as *kuḍḍānaṃ parabhāgā* [34] and the commentary to *PV.* 4-5 as *kuḍḍānaṃ parato* [35].

A passage in *DhA.* I, 405, 22 ff. reads:

... parakuḍḍe vā parasele vā paracakkavāḷe vā pana nisīda... [36].

The combination of all these elements would seem to indicate fairly clearly that *parakuḍḍaṃ nissāya* means « close to the outer part of the wall » and no more. Let us consider now the following passage:

Vin. III, 15 *... aññataraṃ kuḍḍamūlam nissāya paribhuñjati..* [37].

Horner translates: « [S.] was eating... in the room provided for the purpose » [38]. This peculiar rendering is explained by Horner herself: she remarks that in VA. 209 *kuḍḍa-mūla* is explained as « seats prepared in special rooms in the houses of the large householders where those going for alms sat down and ate the gruel offered to them » [39]. On the contrary, the *PED* gives, in this precise connection, a separate entry for *kuḍḍa-mūla* and proposes the quite unsuitable rendering « a sort of root », which cannot possibly be guessed from the context. Moreover

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29. Cp. translation in *The Jataka*, IV, p. 292; Ct. 472, 8': *... tirokuḍḍamhîti sayanagabbhakuḍḍassa bahi.*

30. *vv.ll.* B[1] *-kuṭam*, B[d] *-kuṭṭaṃ*, S *kuḍḍhaṃ*(?).

31. Cp. translation in *The Jataka*, II, p. 294. The same passage in *Ja.*, II, 432, 10.

32. R. Chalmers translates: « The fellow was helpless, and fell down by a side wall and died ».

33. Ct. IV, 411, 11' ff.

34. *KhpA.* 206: *tirokuḍḍā ti kuḍḍānaṃ parabhāgā vuccanti.*

35. *PvA.* 24.

36. Burlingame translates: « You may sit... beyond a wall » (*Buddhist Legends*, II, p. 74).

37. An analogous passage in *Vin.* III, 16.

38. See translation in *The Book of the Discipline*, part 1, p. 27. The same passage in *SN.* III, 238 (*v.l.* B *kuṭṭa-*).

39. *Op. cit.*, p. 27, n. 5.

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the same compound occurs in other passages where there is no trace of the meaning given by the *PED*:

Thag. 1056 ... *kuḍḍamūlañ*[40] *ca nissāya ālopan taṃ abhuñjisaṃ...*[41].

Mrs. Rhys Davids translates: « leaning against a wall I ate my share »[42]. Much more close is, in our opinion, Norman's rendering: « near the foot of a wall I ate my portion »[43]. Besides in the *ThagA* the commentator Dhammapāla seems to be consistent in explaining *kuḍḍamūlaṃ nissāya* as *ghara-bhitti-samīpe nisiditvā*, where the equation *kuḍḍa=bhitti* provides a further evidence of the general meaning of the word in question.

A special case in which *kuḍḍa* occurs as a simplex is found in:

MN. II, 62 ... *Raṭṭhapālo... aññataraṃ kuḍḍam*[44] *nissāya paribhuñjati*[45].

Horner's rendering is: « R. was eating... in a room provided for the purpose »[46]. Not even here the context is such as to allow this specific meaning to be deduced, but Horner's translation is clearly based on the *varia lectio*, the parallel passages quoted above and their commentaries.

Our concern now is with a more detailed treatment of a passage which illustrates the use of *kuḍḍa* in a compound the translators have rendered somewhat inaccurately. The passage in *DN.* II, 146 is well-known:

Mā bhante Bhagavā imasmiṃ kuḍḍa-nagarake[47] *ujjaṅgala-nagarake sākha-nagarake parinibbāyatu*[48].

T. W. Rhys Davids translates: « Let not the Blessed One die in this little wattel and daub town, in this town in the midst of the jungle, in this branch township »[49]. It is to be observed that he is rather hesitant about the meaning of *kuḍḍa-nagaraka*: he is inclined to desagree with Buddhaghosa's *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*[50] according to which *kuḍḍa* should

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40. *vv.ll. A kuṭṭamūlaṃ*, C *kaṭṭham°*, B *kaṭṭum°*.

41. The same verse in *Miln.* 395, for which see Horner, *Milinda's Questions*, II, p. 272, n. 3: « sitting near a wall of a large house used as a place where recluses could eat their meals ».

42. Cp. translation in *Psalms of the Early Buddhists*, II, p. 362.

43. Cp. *The Elders' Verses*, I, p. 97.

44. *v.l.* B^{ms} *kuṭṭamūlaṃ*.

45. A similar passage in *SN.* 238, with a *v.l.* B *kuṭṭa*(or *kuṭṭu?*)*mūlaṃ*. Woodward translates: « leaning against a certain wall » (*The Book of the Kindred Sayings*, III, p. 190).

46. Cp. *The Middle Length Sayings*, II, p. 256.

47. *vv.ll.* S^{e} *kuḍḍha*; B^{ms} K *khuddaka*.

48. The same passage in *DN.* II, 169; quoted in *Ja.* I, 391, 26, 29, where the form *khuddaka* only occurs.

49. Cp. *Buddhist Suttas*, p. 99.

50. *Kuḍḍa-nagarake ti patirūpake sambādhe khuddaka-nagarake: ujjaṅgala-nagarake ti vīsama-nagarake.*

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be merely an old and unusual form for *kṣudra* and the Burmese correction into *khudda* unnecessary. On the contrary he thinks it is more likely to be the same as Skr. *kuḍya* meaning « a wall built of mud and sticks » [51].

We propose now to offer a different explanation of the compound. Rhys Davids interpretation does not seem adequate to the text; in fact a survey of the whole material, as observed above, shows that Rhys Davids proposes too narrow a sphere of meaning to apply to the word. A simpler interpretation of *kuḍḍa-nagaraka* is, in our opinion, preferable. Not even in this context, indeed, there is any reason for developing a particular sense from the general one, as elicited from the manifold passages quoted above. Now, if it is conceded that the primary and main meaning « wall » is to be sought in the word *kuḍḍa*, a considerable change of rendering must be proposed here. That is to say the compound should denote a walled *nagaraka*, a little town provided with walls. This interpretation may be supported by further evidence. It is interesting to note that both the other two words, *ujjaṅgala* and *sākhā*, which are combined, like *kuḍḍa*, with the term *nagaraka*, specify different types of defences the town was provided with. Hence, if two of the words occurring together with *nagaraka* mean some sort of defence, it is quite reasonable that *kuḍḍa* also means something of the same kind. Besides we may assert that any alternative explanation of *kuḍḍa* by means of adjectives like *khuddaka* or *khudda* [52] is rather improbable, because that element, as well as the other two, is a substantive with an attributive function: in this case a gramatical affinity can be supposed in addition to the semantic relationship. Therefore most of the translations of the passage in question are to be rejected, as they apply a depreciatory connotation to the nouns qualifying *nagaraka* and put only them in sharp contrast with the word *mahānagara* occurring later on in the text. On the contrary, we suggest that *nagaraka*, used as diminutive of *nagara* in the meaning « small town », is the only term to be opposed to *mahānagara* in the meaning « big town ». Our theory seems to be further strengthened when we look at the word *nagara* in itself, which, as Narendra Wagle has pointed out, in some cases clearly means a fortress rather than a city [53]. Kusināra in particular was a town with a fort or a fortified enclosure. In *DN*. II, 170 the Buddha himself narrates the former glory of Kusāvatī, which was surrounded by seven ramparts

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51. Cp. *Buddhist Suttas*, p. 99, n.

52. So in the *paccupannavatthu* of *Ja*. I, 391, 26, 29, the only form *khuddaka* is perhaps to be regarded as a *lectio facilior* of the word *kuḍḍa*. As to *khuddaka-rājan* occurring in *Ja*. V, 37, 26-27, together with *mahā-rājan*, it does not indicate « an inferior king », as in *PED*'s rendering, but simply a kind of kidney beans! Cp. Francis' translation in *The Jataka*, V, p. 21.

53. Cp. N. Wagle, *Society at the Time of the Buddha*, Bombay, 1966, pp. 24 ff. Such fortresses are described in *DN*. II, 83, *AN*. V, 194-95.

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(sattahi pākārehi parikkhittā ahosi) [54]. Confirmation comes from the Tibetan version of the same episode, which introduces the term *mkhar* « fort » in the description of Kusināra [55]. The corresponding passage of the Sanskrit version has been reconstructed:

... *ku*[*nagarake kuṃjakalake koṭṭe śākhāna*]*garake*... (*MPS.* 33, 2) [56]

with the insertion of the word *koṭṭa* « fortress, stronghold », that is parallel to the above mentioned *mkhar* of the Tibetan text.

We now turn to the starting point of our discussion, the compound *kuḍḍa-rājan*, the meaning of which may be more precisely determined by all the evidence till now produced. Other individual passages may be quoted to confirm a particular connotation of *kuḍḍa-rājan* and to show that by this term the Pāli texts understood something rather different from the renderings given by the translators and by the *PED.* In fact *PED*'s « subordinate prince » seems to be closely associated with the depreciative meaning « wattle and daub prince » which springs from the aforesaid misinterpretation of the element *kuḍḍa*; that is to say *kuḍḍa-rājan* comes to bear an odd resemblance to the so-called King Log, or Giusti's Re Travicello. The following may serve as illustrations:

SN. III, 156 ... *ye keci kuḍḍarājāno* [57] *sabbe ti rañño cakkavattissa anuyantā bhavanti.*

F. L. Woodward translates: « just as all petty princes whatsoever are subject to a universal monarch » [58]. The same phrase occurs in *SN.* V, 44, with an unusual *varia lectio* [59], and in *AN.* V, 22 [60]; in both cases the compound is rendered by Woodward as « petty princes » [61].

Another relevant passage is *Ja.* V, 102, 24*:

... *raṭṭhasmiṃ kuḍḍarājassa* [62] *bahu adhammiko jano*... [63].

H. T. Francis translates: « Lewd folks abound within the realm, when evil kings bear sway » [64].

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54. Cp. B. C. Law, *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, Delhi, 1974, p. 103.
55. Cp. E. Waldschmidt, *Das Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, Berlin, 1950, p. 305.
56. *Op. cit.*, p. 304 ff. A similar passage in *MPS.* 33. On this subject see also A. Bareau, *Recherches sur la biographie du Buddha dans les* Sūtrapiṭaka *et les* Vinayapiṭaka *anciens*, II, Paris, 1971, p. 75; J. Przyluski, *Le Parinirvāṇa et les funerailles du Buddha*, in « Journal Asiatique », 1918-20, pp.
57. *vv.ll.* S1 *khuḍḍha°*, B *kuṭṭarājāne.*
58. *The Book of the Kindred Sayings*, III, p. 133.
59. *v.l.* S1-3 *kujja°*. The Commentary explains *kuṭṭa-* as *kuḍḍa-*, which, in Woodward's opinion, refers to a preferable reading *khudda.* See *op. cit.*, V, p. 35, n. 3.
60. *vv.ll.* M.Ph. *kuṭa°*, Mg. (Com.) *kuḍḍaka°*.
61. See F. L. Woodward, *op. cit.*, V, p. 35 and *The Book of the Gradual Sayings*, V, p. 17.
62. *vv.ll.* B[d] *kuṭa-*, B[s] *kūṭa-*.
63. The same verse in *Ja.* 104, 5*, 27* (*v.l.* B[d] *kuṭa-*); 105, 24* (*v.l.* B[d] *kuṭa-*); 106, 20* (*v.l.* B[d] *kuṭa-*).
64. *The Jataka*, V, p. 56.

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Here the translator's rendering of *kuḍḍa-rājan* is clearly based on the commentary which, in supplying *ad hoc* a meaning suitable to the context, explains the compound as *pāpa-rājan* [65]. This has induced the translator to render *kuḍḍa-rājan* as « evil king ». But, though his interpretation seems adequately to suit the implicit sense of the passage, the literal meaning of the context here is different. The verse refers to vassals, or minor kings, or subordinated princes, which in the aforesaid examples are mentioned in connection with and in contradistinction from a *cakkavattin* and in this case a *dhammika rājan.* As things are and since there is no trace of an intrinsic depreciatory significance in the word *kuḍḍa*, as we have tried to demonstrate, it is most likely that also here the compound is used literally in the sense of the previous quotations.

On the other hand, it is worth while looking at the corresponding *koṭṭa-rājan* (or *koṭa°*, or *koḍḍa°*) well attested in Buddhist Sanskrit and always used in the meaning « commander of a fort, fort-ruler ». It sometimes clearly indicates a chief of a minor and independent potentate; in other cases one of the king's retinue or at least a direct dependent of his, apparently an officer. As we intend to bring out the full relevance of this particular problem at a later date, we will not pursue here the investigation of all te context in which *koṭṭa-rājan* occurs and where it is possible to take the word as meaning « vassal prince ». We merely refer, for the present, to the very exhaustive treatment of the term in Edgerton's *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary* [66]. We will only observe here the fairly interesting political attitude of the compiler of the *Gaṇḍatindu-jātaka*, who implicitly identifies a vassal with an *adhammika* king. In fact he associates the concept of unrighteous rule with the idea of a subordinate king, that is to say, a mere vassal cannot be a *dhammika rājan.* To this particular subject we shall return later [67].

Turning again to the passage of *SN.* III, 156 quoted above, it must be noticed that there are two parallel phrases:

MN. III, 173 ... *paṭirājāno... rañño cakkavattissa anuyuttā bhavanti.*
Sn. 553 ... *bhoja-rājāno anuyuttā bhavanti...* [68]

whence we can deduce that the three compounds *kuḍḍa-rājan*, *bhoja-rājan* and *paṭi-rājan* have the same or very similar meaning, as they appear in an identical context.

To return to the etymological question which has been till now left undiscussed: the connexion with *kṣud-* proposed by the *PED* which must be regarded as far from certain. Apart from the fact that the meaning of this root does not agree with the meaning of *kuḍḍa*, as

65. *Ja.* V, 103, 3'.
66. Cp. F. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*, Delhi, 1970, *sub voce.*
67. See n. 79 below.
68. An identical verse in *Th.* 823.

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elicited from the manifold passages quoted above, there is no example to support the phonetic change of *kṣ* to *k* in initial position [69]. Geiger distinguishes *kuḍḍa* « wall », which he connects with Skt. *kuḍya*, from a *kuḍḍa* « small » which he identifies with *khudda* = Skt. *kṣudra* and explains its de-aspiration as unetymological [70]. Pischel equates *kuḍḍa* to Skt. *kuḍya* [71]. Turner's etymological connexion do not seem satisfactory, mostly as regards his separated treatments of the compounds [72].

On the contrary we propose to provide a Dravidian etymology which seems much more satisfactory both from the phonetic and the semantic point of view. In the first place we will present a Dravidian root which seems to have a particular weight since it has a very extensive series of derivatives in most languages of that family:

> Ta. *kuṭa* « curved, bent », *kuṭakkam* « bend, curve, crookedness », *kuṭakki* « that which is crooked », *kuṭaṅkar* « hut, cottage », *kuṭantam* « rotundity, anything round », *kuṭantai* « curve », *kuṭam* « house, hall, town, village, globe, sphericity », *kuṭampai* « nest, egg », *kuṭavu* « to be crooked, bent, curved » (n.) « bend, curve », *kuṭā* « bend, curve, cavity, hollow », *kuṭi* « family, house, home, mansion, town, village », *kuṭikai* « hut, temple », *kuṭical* « hut », *kuṭicai*, *kuṭiñai* « small hut, cottage, village », *kuṭil* « hut, shed, movable conoidal roof, abode, dwelling place », *kuṭilam* « bend, crook, curve, flexure, circle, roundness », *kuṭīram* « hut, cottage », *kūṭam* « cow-stall, house, hall, open room, temple tower, palace tower », *kūṭāram* « tent, pavilion, conical covering for a bed », *kūṭu* « nest, cage, receptacle for grain, sheath, cocoon, shell, envelope, dome, cupola », *koṭu* « curved, bent, crooked », *koṭumai* « crookedness, obliquity, flexure », *koṭku* « to whirl round, move in an orbit, revolve, roam, wander », *koṭṭakam*, *koṭṭakai* « shed, cow-stall, marriage-pandal », *koṭṭakāram* « store-room, granary », *koṭṭaṭi*, *koṭṭaṟai* « room, store-room, cattle-shed, prisoner's cell », *koṭṭam* « cattle-shed, cow-stall », *koṭṭāram* « granary, palace », *koṭṭi* « gate », *koṭṭil* « cow-stall, shed, hut », *koṭṭu* « granary », *koṭṭai* « large rounded form, rolls of cotton prepared for spinning, small round pillow », *koṭpu* « whirling, revolving, curve, bend, circle, circuit, circular movement, tower », *kōṭam* « curve, border, limit, hut, stronghold, fortress », *kōṭal* « bending, curving », *kōṭu* « to bend, be crooked, deviate », (n.) « crookedness, obliquity, flexure, coil of hair, line, diagram, figure, as a square, circle etc., ridge, border, limit, room, stronghold, fortified place »,

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69. Unetymological de-aspiration of this sound-group in medial position appears in the form *ikka* (for **ikkha*), corresponding to Skt. *ṛkṣa*, of which the regular representation is however *accha*. Cp. *Ja.* VI, 538, 1* (ct. = *accha*).

70. Cp. W. Geiger, *Pāli Literature and Language*, Delhi, 1968², pp. 96 and 105.

71. Cp. R. Pischel, *Comparative Grammar of the Prākṛit Language*, Delhi, 1965², p. 197.

72. Cp. R. L. Turner, *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages*, London, 1966, nos. 3237, 3238, 3251, 3252.

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kōṭi « bend, curve, limit, bounds », *kōṭṭam* « bend, curve, crookedness, line, figure, diagram, room, enclosure, garden, temple, prison, town, city, district, province », *kōṭṭu* « to bend, crook, cause to stoop », *kōṭṭai* « fort, castle, stronghold, fortified town, halo ».
Ma. *kuṭi* « house, hut », *kuṭiññil* « hut, thatch », *kuṭil* « hut », *kuṭilam*, « crooked, tortuous », *kuṭīram* « hut », *kūṭa* « hut », *kūṭāram* « tent, camp », *kūṭu* « nest, receptacle, store-house », *koṭṭāram*, *koṭṭakāram* « stable, outhouse, palace, etc. », *koṭṭil* « cow-house, shed, house, barn », *kōṭuka* « to be crooked, twisted, awry, warp », *kōṭṭuka* « to bend », *kōṭṭam* « crookedness, distortion », *kōṭṭal* « what is crooked, turn, way of escape », *kōṭu* « fort », *kōṭṭa* « fort, residence ».
Ka. *kuḍu*, *kuḍa*, *kuḍi* « state of being crooked, hooked or tortuous », *koṭṭage*, *koṭige*, *koṭṭige* « stall, outhouse, barn, room », *kōṭe* « fort, rampart », *guḍasu* « anything round », *gūḍāra*, *guḍāre*, *guṇḍāra* « tent », *guḍi* « circle, halo, house, temple », *guḍil*, *guḍalu*, *guḍisalu*, *guḍasalu*, *guḍasala* etc. « hut with a thatched roof », *guḍḍu*, *guḍḍi* « eyeball, egg », *gūḍu* « nest, cage, pit of the stomach », *gōḍe* « wall ».
Te. *koṭika* « hamlet, small village », *kōṭa* « fort », *koṭṭăm u* «stable for cattle or horses », *koṭṭāyi* « thatched shed », *koḍavali*, *koḍvali*, *koḍali*, *koḍēli* « sickle », *gūḍāramu*, *guḍāru* « tent », *guḍi* « halo round the sun or moon, temple », *guḍise* « hut, cottage, hovel », *gūḍu* « nest, cage, sheath », *guḍusu* « circle, round », *g(r)uḍḍu* «eyeball, egg », *goḍḍa* « cylindrical stone », *gōḍa* « wall », *gōḍi-vaḍu* « to bend », *gōḍi-veṭṭu* « to bend ».
To. *kuṛy* « temple », *kuṣ* « room », *kūḍ* « nest », *kwāṭ* « bungalow », *kwïṛ fōḷ* « billhook », *kwïṛ magoy* « elbow », *kwïṣ* « shed for small calves ».
Ko. *kuḍḷ* « front room of house », *kuṛjl* « shed, bathroom », *kuṛḷ* « hut », *kōṭ* « castle, palatial mansion », *kōṇḍ* « bend », *kōṇṭ gīr* « rainbow », *guṛy* « temple », *gūṛ* (obl. *gūṭ-*) « nest, large hollow, belly », *gōṛ* (obl. *gōṭ-*) « wall ».
Koḍ. *kuḍi* « family of servants living in one hut », *koṭṭï* « shed », *koṭṭï katti* « billhook », *kōṭe* « palace », *guḍï* « nest, pen ».
Tu. *koṭya* « shed, stall », *koṭṭa* « hut, dwellings of Koragars », *kōṭè* « fort », *guḍāra* « tent », *guḍi* « small pagoda or shrine », *guḍisaḷu*, *guḍisiḷu*, *guḍsiḷu*, *guḍicilu* « hut, shed », *guḍke* « crooked man », *gūḍu* « nest, cocoon, cage », *gōḍè* « wall ».
Kol. *koḍval*, *koṛva* « sickle », *koṛka*, *korkā* « cow-shed », *guḍī* « temple », *goḍā* « wall ».
Pa. *kūḍaṅgey* « elbow », *koḍka* « billhook », *guḍi* « temple, village resthouse », *gūḍa* « nest ».
Nk. *koṛka* « cow-shed », *koṛval* « sickle ».
Ga. (Oll.): *konḍke* « billhook », *guḍi* « temple », *gūḍe* « nest ».
Konḍa: *guḍu* « egg », *velgu gōḍa*, *madru gōḍa* « compound wall ».
Kui: *kīṛenji* « cage », *konḍori*, *konḍoni* « bent, winding, zigzag », *kōnḍa* « to curl, be curly, bent, twisted », *guḍi* « central room of

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house, living room », *gōṭoṛi, gōṭoni* « hooked, bent like a hook ».
Br.: *kōnḍō* « bent double ».
Go.: *kunamkai, kunagay* « elbow », *koṭa, koṭam* « cow-shed », *koṭka* « shed », *guḍi, guḍḍī, guṛi* « temple », *gūḍā* « nest ».
Malt.: *koṭa* « hamlet » [73].
Kuwi: *kūda* « cage ».

In dealing with these words mention may also be made of other series of Dravidian words which present a semantic affinity with them and are characterized by the internal consonants *-r̲-* and *-t-* (simple or geminate) instead of *-ṭ-* or *-ṭṭ-*. This being the case, it seems possible to connect these sets of words with those quoted above. The various forms point to an alternation *-ṭṭ-* / *-r̲r̲-* / *-tt-* (or *-ṭ-* / *-r̲-* / *-t-*) to which we have already briefly drawn attention elsewhere [74]:

1) Ta. *kuṛaṇṭu* « to be crooked or bent, be convulsed, have spasm, coil up as a reptile », *kuṛicci* « hamlet, village, small town », *kuṛumpaṉ* « mischief-maker », *kuṛumpar* « petty chieftains », *kuṛumpu* « village, town, stronghold, fort, petty chieftains, wickedness, mischief », *kuṛuppu* « chief », *kūṛṛam* « division of a country in ancient times », *kōṛai* « defect, blemish, hole, cavity, hollow as in a tooth ».
Ma. *kuṛuppu* « fort, manor », *kuṛumpu* « haughtiness, insolence ».
Ka. *kuṛike* « village », *kuṛumba* « man belonging to a fort », *kuṛumpu, kuṛumpi* « stubbornness, foolishness ».

2) Ta. *kutampai* « ear-rings, rolls of palmyra leaves or cloths worn in the ear-lobe to widen the perforation », *kutir* « circular earthen receptacle for storing grain », *kotumpu* « coco-nut fibre or husk », *kottam* (or *koṛṛam*) [75] « limit, boundary », *kottaḷam* « bastion, part of a rampart », *kōttai* « cariousness, defect, incompleteness, blemish, fibrous rising on cloth, scab, scale », *kōtam* « fault », *kōtu* « deviation, deflection, fault, blemish, defect, error, empty kernels of grain, fibre, covering, capsule, pod ».
Ma. *kutir* « small mounds of earth in ricefields », *kotumpu, kotumpil* « husk of corn, covering of coco-nut blossoms », *kottaḷam, kontaḷam* « bulwark, bastion ».

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73. Br. *kuḍī, kuḍḍī* « hut, small house » is reborrowed from Indo-Aryan, as also are Kur. *kuṛyā* « small shed or outhouse » and Malt. *kuṛya* « hut ». Cp. T. Burrow, *Dravidian Studies III*, in « Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies » (BSOAS), XI, 1943-46, p. 137.

74. Cp. M. D'Onza Chiodo-E. Panattoni, *On a rare word in Pāli and its Dravidian etymology*, in « Ṛtam », 1980, pp. 811-818. A consideration of several Dravidian series of words points to an alternation *-ṭṭ-* / *-r̲r̲-* / *-tt-* (or *-ṭ-* / *-r̲-* / *-t-*) on the part of the consonant group. As a consequence, these series, each joined by a common meaning, may be regarded as etymologically connected.

75. Cp. M. Winslow, *A Comprehensive Tamil and English Dictionary of High and Low Tamil*, Madras, 1862, *sub voce kottam*.

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Ka. *kudir* « receptacle for grain, granary », *kottaḷa, kottala* « bulwark, bastion ».
Te. *krottaḷamu, k(r)oṭṭaḍamu* « bastion ».
Tu. *kottaḷa, kottala* « bulwark, bastion », *kodumbu, kudumbu* « cymbiform sheath of a bunch of coco-nuts ».

In the second place we may note three other series of Dravidian words which show a close phonetic and semantic similarity with those listed above and present the same phenomenon of alternation. If we consider their initial consonant *c-* as an instance of a recognized fluctuation of the initial *k-*[76], then we may posit a common origin for them and all the terms previously taken into consideration.

1) Ta. *cūṭakam, cūṭā* « bracelet », *cūṭu* « to become bent or warped, surround, envelope, wear », *cūṭṭu* « to adorn, as with garlands, « chain-ornaments, wear », (n.) « casemate in a fortress », *coṭi* « to shrink », *coṭṭu* « defect, blemish, insinuation », *coṭṭai* « crookedness, bend, crooked club or sword, dent, excavation, furrow, cavity », *cōṭṭā* « club with a curved end ».
Ma. *caṭṭu* « lameness », *caṭattuka* « to limp », *coṭṭa* « crooked sword ».
Ka. *coṭṭa, coṭṭi, coṭṭu, soṭṭa, soṭṭu* « crookedness, crooked », *sūḍaga, sūḍiga* « bracelet ».
Te. *sūḍigamu* « bracelet », *coṭṭa, soṭṭa* « lame, crippled, crooked, withered », (n.) « lameness, crookedness, dent, depression, dimple, small pit or hollow », *soḍḍu* « defect, fault, blame, imputation ».
Tu. *cūḍa, cūḍaga* « bracelet », *coṭṭa, coṭṭu, coṭṭe* « handless, maimed or deformed in the hand ».
Ga. (Oll.): *soṭaṭoṇḍ* (m.), *soṭiṭe* (f. and n.) « lame ».
Pe. *coṭa* « lame ».
Konda: *soṭa* « deformed man ».
Kuwi: *sōti, sotta, soto, soṭā* « lame ».

2) Ta. *curṟu* « to revolve, circulate, turn around, whirl, wind about, spin, take a circuitous course, wander about, move here and there, be coiled, lie encircling; go round, circle, enwrap, entwine, embrace, encompass, surround, wear round, coil up, roll up, circumvent », (n.) « moving round, revolving, passing round in an orbit, rolling, circumference, bounding space, circuit, compass, roundabout way, periphery, limit, surroundings, regions on the border, coil, roll, envelope, surrounding wall, fortification »[77], *cūṟu* « to sorround, encompass », *cūṟai, cūṟāvaḷi, cūṟāvāri* « whirlwind ».

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76. Cp. T. P. MEENAKSHISUNDARAN, *A History of Tamil Language*, Poona, 1965, p. 26; K. ZVELEBIL, *Dravidian Comparative Phonology*, The Hague, 1970, p. 90.

77. In particular the following compounds may be noted: *curṟu-c-cuvar curṟāral* « surrounding wall », *curṟu-matil* « surrounding wall » and also « tower, fortress », and *curṟu-k-kōṭṭai* « circular fortification ».

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Ma.: *cuṟa* « circle, coil », *cuṟappu* « tortuosity », *cuṟayuka* « to turn round, wriggle », *cuṟekka* « to roll up, wind up, tie round », *cuṟṟam* « what is round about », *cuṟṟu* « what is circular, circumference, ring », *cuṟṟuka* « to be about, go about, roll round, wrap, put on », *coṟṟa* « worm-eaten, as sugar cane, etc. ».
Ka. *cuṭṭa, cuṭṭi* « a thing rolled up », *suttal* « round about, state of being round about », *suttisu* « to cause to go round, etc. », *suttu* « to surround, encompass, wrap round, wind, roll up, go round, circumambulate », (n.) « that surrounds, enclosure, state of being enclosed, circumference, compass, coil, coiled ring, walk round, turn » *suttuvike* « turning round, etc. ».
Te. *cuṭṭ* « roll, coil, ring », *cuṭṭu* « to roll, pass round, wrap, wind, encircle, encompass, go round, circumambulate », (n.) « round, circuit, going round, ring, roundabout », (adv.) « all-around, on all sides ».
Ko. *cut-* « to wander, wrap around, coil, twirl ».
To. *tüt-* « tc wander around, wind, whirl, wear », *tudpy* « circle, round place ».
Kod. *cutt-* « to wind around, wander about ».
Tu. *sutta* « circumference, circuit », *suttāvuni* « to cause to wind », *suttuni* « to wind, roll, wrap, surround », *sunduni* « to wind, roll », *tuttu* « dressing », *tuttuni* « to dress, wear, clothe ».
Kol. *suṭ* « to wind » (< Te.).
Nk. *suṭṭ* « to wind ».
Pa. *cutt-* « to wind round ».
Ga. *cuṭṭ-* « to roll up ».
Kuwi: *sūtali* « to roll up », *sūtū* « around ».

3) Ta. *cūttai* « that which is decayed, as tooth, fruits, etc. », *cotti* « lameness, crippledom, deformity », *cottai* « defect as in limbs, teeth, fruits, etc.; being ruined in circumstances or character ».
Ma. *cotta* « worm-eaten, as sugar-cane, etc. », *cotti-kai* « withered hand ».
Ko. *cot* « deep depression on the arm where rope or chain has been tied ».
Ka. *cotta, sotta* « male with crooked, crippled limbs », *cottu, sottu* « crookedness, crooked ».

Taking into consideration the manifold senses of all the words listed above, we may remark an evident development of meaning from the basic notion of « crookedness, obliquity, bend, curve » to that of « stronghold, fort », passing through the intermediate semantic stages « line, diagram, figure as a square, circle etc. » and « wall, room, hut, house, town » [78]. The semantic thread linking the concepts « bend, curve,

78. Note the conceptual proximity of « enclosure » on the one hand and « peel, husk, scale, capsule » on the other, as the common idea of « envelope » is involved here.

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crookedness », « line, figure, diagram », « enclosure, garden, room, prison, temple, town, city » and finally « district, province » is clearly found in the Tamil term *kōṭṭam* [79]. This development can fairly be seen also in *kōṭu*, while in *kōṭṭai* the specialized signification « fort » has survived at the expense of the general meaning and its connexion with the primary sense of the root is only shown by an intermediate « halo » [80]. The specific notion of « wall » is evidenced only by some languages, namely Kannaḍa (*gōḍe*), Telugu (*gōḍa*), Kota (*gōr*, obl. *gōṭ-*), Tulu (*gōḍè*), Kolami (*goḍā*). Note that this particular meaning is attested in Tamil merely in the alternative form beginning with *c-*, *cuṟṟu*.

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79. Therefore, in our opinion, the *Tamil Lexicon* is unconvincing in giving a separate entry and a different etymology for *kōṭṭam* in the meaning « room, enclosure, temple, prison, etc. ». For the sake of completeness, a further point should be made about *kōṭṭam* and its allied term *kūṟṟam*, which seem to have a particular weight, both from the historical and from the linguistic point of view. It is well-known that in the Caṅkam age the Tamil country was divided into small administrative units called *kōṭṭam* and *kūṟṟam*, comparable to the districts of the present day. A few administrative divisions were made to meet certain military and police exigencies. It was on such considerations, for example, that a fort was made the nucleus of the division which comprised the region surrounding it. It is not possible to determine with absolute certainty the exact connotation of *kōṭṭam* and *kūṟṟam*. Nevertheless we venture to suggest that these terms, evidently connected from the semantic point of view, would correspond also phonetically and each of them could be considered as a variant of the other one. The equation is to be based on the Dravidian alternation to which we have already drawn attention in this paper. Hence there is no serious objection to them being in origin one and the same. It is worth while looking at certain words indicating a district, province, administrative division of Southern India, which, as well as *kōṭṭam* and *kūṟṟam*, have originally the basic meaning « circularity, enclosure », whence « enclosure of a town or village, fence, wall, edge, etc ». See for instance: *maṇḍala*, *vaḷanāḍu*, *vaḷita*, *bāḍa*, etc. If it is accepted that *kūṟṟam* is a variant form of *kōṭṭam*, there is no longer reason to consider further the proposal of most Tamil dictionaries to seek its origin in the root *kuṟu*. The Tamil *kuṟumpu* « stronghold, fort » may also be traced to the same root. One might see in it a semantic development parallel to that of *kōṭṭam* and *kōṭṭai*. Moreover the idea of « enclosure » is suggested also by the other meanings « hamlet, village, town », provided for *kuṟumpu*. In their *Dravidian Etymological Dictionary* Burrow and Emeneau treat in a different group of etyma (no. 1530) some words which, in our opinion, are closely connected with *kuṟumpu*, namely Ta. *kuṟumpar* and *kuṟumpu*, both in the meaning « petty chieftains », and Ma. *kuṟuppu* « chief ». There seems to be no formal or basic semantic reason for this separation, all the more that they put Ka. *kuṟumpa* « a man belonging to a fort » under the same entry (no. 1542) as *kuṟumpu* « fort ». It is interesting to observe in this connexion that N. Subrahmanian (*Pre-Pallavan Tamil Index*, Madras, 1966, p. 307) translates *kuṟumpu* also as « insubordinate feudatories », whence he deduces the popular word for insubordination and mischief. Note also that the *Tamil Lexicon* renders *kuṟumpiṉmai* as « freedom from petty troublesome chieftains as promoting the prosperity of a state ». May we postulate a corrispondence between these definitions and the equation *kuḍḍa-rājan* = *pāpa-rājan* referred to above (p. 154)? On the historical questions see N. Subrahmanian, *Saṅgam Polity*, London, 1966, p. 113; T. V. Mahalingam, *South Indian Polity*, Madras, 1967, pp. 310-14; T. V. Mahalingam, *Administration and Social Life under Vijayanagar*, part I, Madras, 1969, pp. 186-87; K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Colas*, Madras, 1975, p. 465.

80. Cp. *Tamil Lexicon*, *sub voce*.

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We may now return to the Pāli word *kuḍḍa* above discussed and its compound *kuḍḍa-rājan*. The connexion of *kuḍḍa* with the aforesaid Dravidian forms can easily be seen when attention is drawn to their phonetic correspondance and, at the same time, to their almost identical range of meaning. As previously pointed out, *kuḍḍa* indicates a surrounding or enclosure wall, a fence, a stronghold. It seems better hence to regard this term as being of non-Aryan origin, connected with the above series of Dravidian words.

In Sanskrit too the influence of the same Dravidian root may plausibly be found [81]. A certain number of Sanskrit words, which are only attested in the lexicographers or in late or Buddhist texts [82], may be traced to this source:

> *kuṭati* « to become crooked or curved, bend, curve, curl », *kuṭika* « bent, crooked », *kuṭila(ka)* « bent, crooked, curved, round, curled », *koṭaka* « curving, bending », *kuṭī* « curve, hut, hall », *kuṭikā, kuṭaka, kuṭīra* « hut », *kuṭaṅgaka, kuṭuṅgaka* « hut, cottage, granary, storeroom », *kuṭaru* « tent », *koṭa* « curvature, diagram, hut, fort, stronghold », *kūṭa* « fort, stronghold », *koṭṭa* « fort, stronghold » (with its already mentioned compound *koṭṭa-rājan*), *koṭṭāra* « stronghold, fortified town », *kūḍyă, kuḍyaka* « wall ».

In this series it is worth while looking in particular at *koṭa*, which preserves the same semantic extension observed in the Dravidian languages. Moreover another such word needs a little further examination: *kūḍyă* — the only term meaning « wall » in the list — shows the voiced cerebral with semi-vowel (*-ḍy-*), which appears to be an anomalous and peculiar feature in comparison with all the other Sanskrit words, where the Dravidian form of the root is retained. But this term can be easily explained on the assumption that the original Dravidian forms gave rise directly to Pāli *kuḍḍa*, and that *kūḍyă* is a false sanskritization of this, an artificial reconstruction based on the corrispondence *-ḍḍ-* = *-ḍy-* of MIA and Sanskrit, i.e. the Dravidian loan-word may have

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81. Cp. R. CALDWELL, *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages*, New Delhi, 1rst Indian ed. 1974, pp. 569, 570 and 617; F. KITTEL, *A Kannada-English Dictionary*, Mangalore 1889, pp. XXX-XXXI, nos. 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 228, and p. XXXIX, no. 360; H. GUNDERT, *Die dravidischen Elemente im Sanskrit*, in «Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft», XXIII, 1869, pp. 520-22. They are, however, wrong in connecting Skt. *kuṭi* and related words meaning « hut, house, etc. » with the Dravidian root *kuṭ* « to come together, to be together ». Cp. also T. BURROW, *Some Dravidian Words in Sanskrit*, in « Transaction of the Philological Society » (TPS), 1945, pp. 94-5; T. BURROW, *Loanwords in Sanskrit*, in TPS, 1946, p. 8; T. BURROW, *Dravidian Studies III*, in BSOAS, XI, 1943-46, p. 137; T. BURROW, *Dravidian Studies VII*, in BSOAS, XII, 1948, p. 376, no. 106; A. N. UPADHYE, *Kanarese Words in Deśi Lexicons*, in « Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute », XII, 1931, p. 281.

82. The meaning « house » proposed for *kuṭa* in *RV*. 1, 46, 4, has proved on closer scrutiny by the Vedic scholars of the Istituto di Glottologia, University of Pisa, as quite improbable.

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passed to the Sanskrit through an intermediate Pāli form, as it often happens that a Sanskrit word goes back to a Dravidian one *via* Prakrit.

In effect the same Dravidian root has originated in Pāli an equally considerable set of derivatives, in addition to those already dealt with in this paper:

> *kuṭaka* « cheat », *kuṭava* « nest », *kuṭikā* « little hut », *kuṭila* « bent, crooked », *kuṭilatā* « crookedness », *kuṭī* « hut, shed, cot, cabin » and its compounds, *kūṭa* « falsehood, deceit », *kūṭeyya* « fraud, deceit », *koṭilla* « crookedness ».

The existence of the same root in all the Finno-Ugrian tongues provides additional evidence for the conclusion that it was not borrowed by the Dravidian languages from the Sanskrit. Compare the Finno-Ugrian root **kota* and its derivatives [83].

It may not be profitless to mention here an article by Przyluski, where he remarks that in Indonesia many names indicating inhabited places end in *-kuta* « fortress, town, village ». He produces also a list of Munda words that go back, in his opinion, to an old form **kātu* « village » and connects both these Austro-asiatic forms with a number of verbs meaning « to enclose, surround, fence, mostly by a wall » [84]. Contrary to what was generally accepted, Przyluski proposed these forms as the original ones from which Skt. *kuṭa* and allied terms are to be derived, but the main weight of evidence is against his hypothesis, as this paper has aimed to show. We should thus conclude that the Dravidian root must be regarded as native and that its derivatives have had a very wide currency not only in Pāli and Sanskrit, but outside India too, in Austro-asiatic languages as far as Indonesia [85].

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83. Fi. *kota* « conic cooking-hut, hut, tent, womb », *koti*, *koto* « house, dwelling, abide », *kotelo* « sheath, case, envelope », *kodus*, *kotus*, *kotos* « hut, shed »; Kr.-Ol. *koda* « hut, womb »; Vote *keta* « room, kitchen »; Est. *koda* « hut, house, room »; Lv. *kʷodà* « building, house »; LpN. *goatte* « Lappish tent, hut »; MdE. *kudo* M. *kud* « house, room »; Ch. *kuo* « Cheremis summerhut »; East. *kuo* « cooking-hut, womb »; Vty. *kwa*, *kwaka* « summerhut », *-ko*: *vu-ko* « water-mill », *-ka*: *kor-ka* « house »; Zyr. *kola* « primitive hut », *-ka*: *ker-ka* « house », *-ko*, *-ke*, *-ku*: *vit'ś-ko* « church »; Os. *Xot*, *kat* « hut, house, tent »; Hu. *ház* « house, room, abide ». Cp. A. J. Joki, *Uralier und Indogermanen*, Helsinki, 1973, pp. 272-73; B. Collinder, *Fenno-Ugric Vocabulary*, Stockholm, 1955, pp. 130-31; S. A. Tyler, *Dravidian and Uralian: the Lexical Evidence*, in « Language », 44, 1968, pp. 802 ff.; O. Schrader, *Dravidisch und Uralisch*, in « Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik », 3, 1925, p. 88; R. Caldwell, *op. cit.*, p. 569.

84. Cp. J. Przyluski, *Noms de villes indiennes dans la* Géographie *de Ptolémée*, in « Bulletin de la Societé Linguistique de Paris », 27, 1927, pp. 224-25.

85. Cp. A. Anjaneyulu, *Tamil Words in Indonesian and Malayan Languages*, in « Tamil Culture », IX, 1, 1961, p. 50.

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PAUL DUNDAS

PRĀKRIT AVVO

Although interjections and exclamations occupy an understandably minor place in the study of Middle Indo-Aryan dialects, they are not without their difficulties. For not only is there often uncertainty about their precise semantic significance but, in addition, the interdependence and mutual conditioning of these words can make an accurate unravelling of their etymology and relationship to each other extremely awkward [1]. Tempting though it is to regard all exclamations as basically onomatopoeic, Thieme has shown that for at least one Indo-Aryan example a cogent derivation can be made [2]. This short paper has been prompted by one such word, the Prākrit exclamation *avvo*.

The grammarian Vararuci glosses *avvo* at *Prākṛtaprakāśa* [3] 9.10 stating that it is used « in the sense of distress, indication or reflection » (*duḥkhasūcanāsaṃbhāvaneṣu*). Hemacandra in his Prākrit grammar [4] 2.204 expands this considerably: « *avvo* is used in the sense of indicating, distress, (in) conversation, (with regard to) an offence, (in the sense of) astonishment, joy, respect, fear, vexation, depression or repentance » (*avvo sūcanāduḥkhasaṃbhāṣaṇāparādhavismayānandādarabhayakhedaviṣādapaścāttāpe*). The tenth-century lexicographer Dhanapāla in his *Pāiyalacchī* [5] verse 275 glosses *avvo* by *kheyāisu*, « in the sense of vexation etc. » while the glossary (s.v.) states « interject. ho. ». The *Pāiasaddamahaṇṇavo* [6] (s.v.) repeats Hemacandra's gloss while Ratnachandraji,

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1. Collette Caillat, *Pour une Nouvelle Grammaire du Pāli*, Torino, 1970, pp. 18-9.
2. Paul Thieme, *Der Fremdling im ṚgVeda*, Leipzig, 1938, pp. 3-6, for observations on *are* and *re*.
3. Ed. P. L. Vaidya, Poona, 1931.
4. Ed. R. Pischel, Halle, 1877.
5. Ed. G. Bühler, Göttingen, 1879.
6. Ed. Hargovind Das T. Sheth, Varanasi, 1963.

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Ardha-Māgadhī Dictionary[7] (s.v.) states that the word occurs in the *Supārśvanāthacarita* as « a particle expressing sorrow ».

avvo is not infrequent in Prākrit literature, although it is often only possible to assign meaning to it on the basis of the context of the passages in which it occurs. A verse in the *Vasudevahiṇḍi*[8] describes eight Jaina monks sitting at the bottom of a *kapistha* tree and being struck by falling fruit: *avvo 'tti vāharanti hasanti ca sīsā*, « they said *avvo* and their pupils laughed at them ». The *Sattasaī*[9] contains several examples of *avvo* (verses 273, 306, 475, 536, 581, 746, 748 corrupt: *abbo*, 821, 892 and 910), all occurring in verses in which the speaker refers to a (generally unhappy) love affair, with the exception of verse 821 which I quote:

avvo ṇa āmi chettaṃ khajjau sālī vi kīraṇivahehiṃ
jāṇaṃtā avi pahiā pucchaṃti puṇo puṇo maggaṃ
« *avvo!* I'm not going to the field! Let the rice be eaten by the swarms of insects! The travellers, although they know it, continually ask me the way ».

The commentators on the *Sattasaī* gloss the occurrences of *avvo* in the anthology variously: *duḥkhasūcanāyām, āścaryacamatkāre, kaṣṭe, sambuddhiduḥkhayoḥ, khede.*

The word also occurs in Koūhala's (9th century?) Māhārāṣṭrī *kāvya*, the *Līlāvaī*[10], verse 464: *pariciṃtiy' amhi avvo katto sā mayaṇabānataviyaṃgī*, « I thought, "*avvo!* where is she, tormented by love's arrows?" » Jayasiṃhasūri (9th century), in a version of the well-known story of Mūladeva contained in his *Dharmopadeśamālāvivaraṇa*[11] employs *avvo* several times. On being dragged from under the courtesan Devadattā's bed by his rival Ayala, Mūladeva tells him to do as he wishes to which Ayala replies (p. 103, line 22): *avvo, mahaṇubhāvo eso*, « *avvo*, this is a noble man ». After being released by Ayala, Mūladeva reflects (p. 103, line 28): *avvo kahaṃ appaṇaṃ paccoggayaayasakalaṃkiyaṃ nāyarayāṇaṃ dāyemi*, « *avvo!* how can I show myself, stained by my present shame, to the city people? ». When, before entering the forest, he sees a *ḍhakka* brahman, Mūladeva says (p. 103, line 31): *avvo imassa sambalen' āhaṃ pi mahāḍaviṃ laṃghissāmi*, « *avvo!* I will get through the forest by means of this mans provisions ». At the end of the journey, Mūladeva, who has not received any food from the brahman, exclaims (p. 104, line 3-4): *avvo eyassa mahāṇubhāvassa āsāe mae aḍavī volīṇā*, « *avvo!* I crossed the forest hoping (to get something) from this generous man ». When he sees a Jaina monk, Mūladeva says (p. 104, lines 7-8): *avvo bahupunnapāvaṇijjo esa mahappā visesao māsapāraṇae*, « *avvo!* the

7. Ajmer, 1923.
8. Quoted by J. C. Jain, *The Vasudevahiṇḍi, an Authentic Jaina Version of the Bṛhatkathā*, Ahmedabad, 1977, p. 215.
9. Ed. A. Weber, Leipzig, 1881.
10. Ed. A. N. Upadhye, Bombay, 1966.
11. Ed. L. B. Gandhi, Bombay, 1949.

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noble man is full of holiness, especially at the end of a month-long fast ». Finally, meeting Ayala again, Mūladeva thinks (p. 105, line 24): *avvo katth' ittha Ayalo*, « *avvo!* how is Ayala here? ».

avvo is also found in Apabhraṃśa. The tenth-century writer Puṣpadanta employs it in his *Nāyakumāracariu* [12] while it also occurs in Somaprabha's *Kumārapālapratibodha* [13]. No doubt other occurrences of the form could be adduced.

The interlocking relationship of Middle Indo-Aryan exclamations dictates that *avvo* cannot be considered in isolation from other forms of a similar nature. The ending *-o* is found in exclamations such as *āmo*, *ambho*, *hambho*, and *bho* [14] and is presumably derived from *-aḥ* [15]. However, a simple comparison with *āmo*, *ambho* etc. cannot provide a full explanation for the origin of *avvo*. According to the Critical Pāli Dictionary (s.v.), *ambho* is « a particle of exclamation (1) used to attract attention, (2) in the sense of reproach, rejection or warning, (3) sometimes expressive of appreciation or admiration ». I take this form to be an expansion of *āma/āmo*, « an interjection of assent or recollection, " yes ", " indeed " » [16], the equivalent of Sanskrit *ām*, « an interjection of assent or recollection » [17]. While it might be possible to derive *avvo* from *āmo* if a development of *-m->-v-* [18] with compensatory gemination was assumed, the word has a broader field of semantic significance than mere « affirmation or assent », as an examination of the grammarian's glosses and the examples given above will show.

It seems worthwhile to broaden this consideration of exclamation to include a form similar to *āma/āmo* but clearly different in meaning, namely, *ammo*. Charpentier, commenting on *Uttarajjhayaṇasutta* 19.10 [19], mentions Pischel's view that *ammo* contains the particle *u* but himself suggests that the « curious vocative » is an old dual **ammāu*, « father and mother ». In fact, a cursory examination of a few examples demonstrates that *ammo* is a vocative with the sense of « O mother! », the ending *-o* no doubt occurring by analogy with other Middle Indo-Aryan exclamations. In the *Uvāsagadasāo* [20], a man addresses his mother (pp. 78-9): *evaṃ khalv ammo ṇa jāṇāmi*, « truly, mother, I do not know ». In the

12. Ed. Hiralal Jain, Berar, 1937, glossary (s.v.).
13. Ed. Ludwig Alsdorf, Hamburg, 1928, p. 141. Cf. the latish Kathākośa ed. I. Hoffman, Munich, 1974, p. 11, for the same verse.
14. Note also Māgadhī *haṃgho* discussed by G. Roth, *Beiträge zur Indienforschung*, Berlin, 1977, pp. 424-30, and Pāli *abbhu*, the opposite of *bho* and « an interjection expressive of " aversion " » (Critical Pāli Dictionary s.v. *abbhuṃ*).
15. *Critical Pāli Dictionary* s.v. *āma* regards *āmo* as an extended form of *āma* and compares the alternations *no* : *na* and *atho* : *atha*.
16. *Critical Pāli Dictionary* s.v.
17. M. Monier-Williams, *Sanskṛt-English Dictionary* s.v.
18. For *-m->-v-* see R. Pischel, *A Comparative Grammar of the Prākṛt Languages*, 1965, paragraph 251.
19. The *Uttarādhyayanasūtra* ed. Jarl Charpentier, Upssala, 1922, p. 348.
20. Ed. R. Hoernle, Calcutta, 1890.

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Vasudevahiṇḍi [21], a boy addresses his mother (p. 11, line 17): *ammo ajuttaṃ bhe jāṇamāṇehiṃ kayaṃ ti*, « mother, you have acted wrongly in full knowledge »; a cow is spoken to by her calf (p. 13, lines 16-17): *teṇa vaccheṇa māṇusīvāyāe bhaṇiyā gāvī, ammo eso ko vi puriso amejjhalittaṃ se pāyam me uvariṃ phusati*, « the cow was addressed by the calf in human speech, " Mother, this man is rubbing his filthy foot on me " »; a girl addresses her mother (p. 32, lines 9-10): *māyā ya ṇāe bhaṇiyā ammo ānehi tāva alattayam*, « she addressed her mother, " Mother, bring me the lac " ». In one of the *Āvaśyaka* stories [22], a boy speaks to his mother: *kim ammo ruyasi*, « why are you weeping, mother? ». In his *vṛtti* on the *Ākhyānikamaṇikoṣa* [23] of Nemicandra, the twelfth-century write Āmradeva employs the word *ammo* when a daughter is addressing her mother (p. 40, verse 65) [24].

The possibility of a connection between the exclamation *avvo* and the vocative *ammo* is given greater weight by adducing the well-attested Dravidian forms *avva* used in the sense of « mother, grandmother, old woman » [25] and *ammā*, « mother, matron, lady; exclamation of pity, surprise or joy » [26]. Without attempting to delineate in a precise manner the relationship between these forms, it nevertheless seems reasonable to suggest that there was originally a Middle Indo-Aryan vocative **avva* « O mother! » (cf. Pāli *amma*) which was « conditioned », to use Caillat's expression, by the group of interjections *āmo*, *ambho* etc. A development from an original specialised sense of « mother » to the broad spectrum of meaning given by Hemacandra and apparent in our examples may seem unlikely but, in fact, the invoking of one's mother to convey alarm, distress or astonishment is not unknown in other languages. A Supplement to the Oxford English Dictionary Volume II [27] states that « mother » can be used as an exclamation of surprise, dismay etc. Compare also the Italian *mamma mia*, « goodness gracious! » [28].

It might be thought worth considering whether *avvo* ever occurs with the same concrete vocative sense as *ammo*. The *Sattasaī*, which

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21. Ed. Caturvijaya and Puṇyavijaya, Bhāvnagar, 1930.
22. E. LEUMANN, *Die Āvaśyaka Erzählungen*, Leipzig, 1897, p. 13, line 33.
23. Ed. Puṇyavijayajī, Vārānasī, 1962.
24. Note in addition *Vasudevahiṇḍi*, p. 46 line 11: *sā vi ya Sāmadattā oyāriyā rahāto paḍiyā ammopāesuṃ*, « S. was helped down from the chariot and fell at her mother's feet ». It is unclear whether *ammo* here is a genuine stem form or a simple misprint.
25. BURROW and EMENEAU, *Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*, Oxford, 1961, paragraph 232.
26. *Ibid.*, paragraph 154, where a comparison is made with Sanskrit *ambā* and the Prākrit interjection of surprise, *ammo/ammahe* although, according to the *Paiasaddamahaṇṇavo*, the evidence for the latter form seems to derive solely from Hemacandra's grammar and the dramatic Prākrits, a notoriously unreliable source. WEBER, ZDMG 27, 1874, p. 416, mentions some Dravidian parallels in the sense of « father » provided by Stevenson.
27. Oxford, 1976, p. 1048, s.v. mother.
28. *Cambridge Italian Dictionary*, Cambridge, 1962, s.v. *mamma*.

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contains several examples of the word, is a text traditionally associated with the Deccan, the intersecting point of Indo-Aryan and Dravidian culture, and the poets of the anthology might be expected to have been sensitive to the Dravidian word *avva*. Kinship terms are of some importance in the *Sattasaī*, often helping to define the emotional context of a verse [29], and most of the verses in which *avvo* occurs are very similar in tone to those in which a girl addresses her mother or an older, more experienced confidante (the terms of address generally being *māe*, « mother! », *māuā*, « mothers! », *māmi*, « auntie! ») about some problem which is vexing her. However, the occurrence of *avvo* followed by a masculine vocation in verse 273 [30] shows that in one verse at least the word can only be an exclamation. Nevertheless, the chronology and circumstances of the composition of the *Sattasaī* are still fairly obscure and it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that some of the verses preserve the original vocative sense of *avvo*.

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29. Compare especially verses in which the brother-in-law (*deara*) and the mother-in-law (*attā*) are participants.

30. *avvo dukkaraāraa puṇo vi tattiṃ karesi gamaṇassa*
ajja vi ṇa hoṃti saralā veṇīa taraṃgiṇo cihurā
« *avvo!* doer of the difficult! you are preoccupied with going off again. Even on this day, the dishevelled hair of my braid does not become straight ».

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GIORGIO RENATO FRANCI

INDOLOGY AS MAIEUTICS

Some Indian Contributions to a New Image of Man

1. While carrying on researches in Indian metaphysics [1] one cannot but be amazed by the stupendous richness of its illuminations regarding the possibilities of human development. We too, having fallen under the spell of so marvellous a wealth of doctrines, have been trying in the last years to draw an ample comparative synthesis of those traditions, preparing a book where the various paths leading from human condition to its transcendence are put together in a system as coherent as possible. The present paper is devoted to an analysis of only one significant aspect of this really inexhaustible subject: the contribution that Indian thought can give to the shaping of a new image of man [2].

By virtue of its very existence and nature, Indian metaphysics puts a challenge to the *Sitz im Leben* of modern man, to his deeply-rooted immanentism, to his historically-minded way of thinking. But the maieutic function of Indian studies goes far beyond this negative aspect. Although the overcoming of human condition is the avowed goal of Indian metaphysics, its traditions can at least incidentally give positive suggestions for a different and more up-to-date anthropology. It is our established conviction that some of these suggestions are more consistent with the most solid results of scientific research than many ideas still enjoying wide currency in the West.

Not only that: such a new anthropology is badly needed. In our time, natural and human sciences are undergoing an exponential devel-

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1. We use this word to embrace all Indian traditions aiming at reaching freedom from *saṃsāra*. This unitary approach does not imply any disregard for the deep differences existing among Hindus, Buddhists, Jainas, etc., but, in our opinion, these differences cannot obliterate the presence of many common elements.

2. We subscribe to the words of E. Deutsch: « There exists a close relationship between the kind of conception one has of oneself as a human being and the kind of human being one is » (E. Deutsch, *Humanity and Divinity, An Essay in Comparative Metaphysics*, Honolulu, 1970, p. 110).

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opment: important perspectives have emerged, new sciences (semiotics, ethology, etc.) have reached academic recognition... But this exceptional development has not led to the shaping of a new and coherent image of man and of his position in the world. When out of the field of his specialization, almost every scholar, scientist, philosopher — or philosomatist?[3] — falls back into the common man's candid materialism, or rather, into the ancient fault of Virocana.

This ever-increasing gap between science and technology, on one side, and consciousness, on the other, carries along with itself a very serious danger. In a world which, at least in industrialized countries, is generally no longer felt as the manifestation of a divine being or of his creative will, man is left relatively free and dramatically alone. While traditional cultures are flaking off, man generally seems unable to face the need of a new mentality and to link himself with an adequate sense of responsibility to other people and to his environment. So, while petty but threatening feuds explode almost every day, no other reason but a reciprocal fear seems to stop men on the fringe of catastrophe. Besides, material progress itself, with its pollution and exploitation of the natural resources, etc., has become a kind of cancer for earth.

To face this danger palliatives are useless. A new appraisal of the nature, position and aims of man is necessary.

In an Indological Journal, it is superfluous to insist upon the importance that a wider knowledge of Indian spirituality can have to dispel the dangerous conceptions mentioned above. (This, however, is not tantamount to an acknowledgement of Indian metaphysics as a paradigmatic model, as some traditionalists would like to do. If it will ever arise, the future world-culture, like Goethe's God, must be superior, at least in our opinion, to any spatial delimitation, it shall involve a synthesis of Eastern and Western elements, and *much more else*. Only a transcultural work can gather the positive contributions of the individual cultures, inserting them within the frame of a more up-to-date complex. Another and not the least contribution of this work will quite probably be an increased capacity of deconditioning out of the narrow ethnocentric preconceptions of one culture).

Among the large and various fields in which Indian culture can give a useful contribution, there are some, pertaining to the borderlands of psychology[4], which seem to offer an immediate opportunity of success for a strategy of attack, blowing up ancient and unfounded certainties. We are referring here to parapsychology, which we would like to call

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3. Cf. PLATO, *Phaidon*, XIII: «ουκ φιλόσοφος, ἀλλὰ . . . φιλοσωματος»

4. In the same field of psychology useful insights could quite probably be gained from the tāntrik approach to man as a bi-unitary individual (cf. e.g. H. V. GUENTHER, *Yuganaddha*, Varanasi, 1969², pp. 9-13, 23-8, etc.).

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the last, historically, and final, because it deals with the boundaries of psychism, among human sciences.

We do know that parapsychology is still widely discussed [5] and even more widely ignored [6], although it has already made in different countries its way up to University chairs. But this disregard seems to us parapsychologists have elaborated a sophisticated methodology to discover them), there remains, in the past and now, a huge amount of wrong and dangerous: apart from any possible illusion and fraud (and phenomena discouraging any unprejudiced skepticism whatever, provided that a sufficient acquaintance with this matter is reached. And if these phenomena are real, need they not be integrated into a new image of man and of his psychism?

The present paper is interested in outlining the intellectual frame in which these phenomena have been understood and valued rather than in telling facts and feats of which Indian tradition offers such an exceptionally rich treasure. Wishing to do a work as least controversial as possible, we have decided to avoid discussion of such phenomena, whatever their relevance may be, which might be more open to doubts and disputes, like the alleged, and in our opinion sometimes rather impressing, Indian evidence of rebirth [7], etc.

2. The conception of time prevailing in the West among the non-specialists can be suitably described as a succession of moments that run from the past, which is no longer, towards the future, which is not yet, passing through the tangible reality of a single point, the present. This idea has certainly satisfied since long the existential needs of everyday life, but its validity is shaken by, say, a paranormal phenomenon like precognition. Moreover, the irreversibility of time, even if it seems supported by the second law of thermodynamics, appears unable to overcome any serious examination, both on the cosmic scale, as L. Boltzmann already saw at the end of the XIXth century, and on the infinitesimal one [8].

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5. Cf. for instance the volumes of C. E. M. HANSEL, *ESP, A Scientific Evaluation*, New York, 1966, P. ANGELA, *Viaggio nel mondo del paranormale*, Milan, 1978, the monographic issue of « Ulisse » on parapsychology (No. 88, 1980), etc. Parapsychologists have replied many times, with words and works, to these criticisms: in our opinion, on the whole successfully.

6. Here as in so many other fields man is likely to see what he is culturally prepared to see: and our culture, perhaps every culture, is largely based on remotion (in our culture there is a widely spread remotion of paranormal phenomena, of the very idea of possibility and value of ecstasis, etc.).

7. Cf. I. STEVENSON, *Twenty Cases Suggestive of Reincarnation*, ital. transl. (*La reincarnazione: venti casi a favore*), Milan, 1975; etc.

8. That time has now become a problem in our culture is evidenced by the increasing number of books that deal with it either presenting its conceptions (cyclical, etc.) in non-Western cultures, like the well-known studies by M. Eliade, or trying to cope with the difficulties arising from contemporary physics. J. W. Dunne's books on his experiments with time and on the serial universe and J. B. Priestley's *Man and Time* (London, 1964) are only isolated instances of an important line of personal developments on this subject.

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Now, Indian culture as a lot to say in this field, both for what concerns the understanding of time, and for what regards its overcoming (or the exploiting of some of its unusual dimensions), in order to reach paranormal cognitions which, while being erratic occurrences in the West, are frankly recognised as being within the range of human capabilities in India (they are searched after in some traditions, avoided in others, but always faced with proper training). It is therefore to be expected that some Indian doctrines can better than ours meet with the challenge presented by the very existence of precognition and allied phenomena. First of all, this is the case with the doctrine of *satkāryavāda* which looks at effects as inherent in their causes.

Beside these at least apparent exceptions to the unidirectional flowing of time, there are also their counterparts, consisting in getting some sort of knowledge about past events otherwise unknowable, a knowledge obtained through a kind of vision of these events as contemporary ones, or through a perception of being present at the very moment of their taking place. Perhaps some good euristic suggestions concerning the real, *vyāvahārika* nature of time could be gained from Indian doctrines of the gnostic type, like those teaching the existence of multiple levels of reality and the partecipation of the conscious subject in these different planes of being [9], or like the doctrines of Kaśmir Śaivism, according to which time is but one among the cuirasses of the divine Spirit, having the function to divide the manifestations and make them to follow one another. Whoever is able, by an operation of *kālagrāsa*, to transcend this order and its secundary divisions, as so many *siddhas* and saints are said to have done in India, reinstating themselves on the atemporal root of every form of becoming, reaches a dimension where every chronological division is telescoped and, being able to foretell the future and recall the past, can freely roam as a supreme *haṃsa* in the realms of eternity and time [10].

Experiences like the aforesaid one are so far away from the rather fickle and generally short-lived states of clairvoyance in time studied by parapsychologists that one could be tempted to believe that they are of a totally different kind. But unless a convincing demonstration of this ontological difference is produced, it is perhaps more advisable and in any case possible to think that this difference, though an important one, is more of quantity than of quality.

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9. Any reference to classical texts like *Māṇḍūkya-Upaniṣad* and Gauḍapāda's *Kārikā* would be superfluous here. Cf. also R. Guénon, *L'Homme et Son Devenir selon le Vedānta*, Paris, 1952[4th], p. 64: « ... certaines extensions de l'individualité humaine, en dehors de sa modalité corporelle, échappent déjà au temps ».

10. This triumphal condition is fittingly described in the last stanza of Abhinavagupta's *Anubhavanivedana*, where every form of succession is annihilated and even the sounds of the words are collected into the eternal unity of the supertemporal Sound: « *mantraḥ sa pratibhāti varṇaracanā yasmin na saṃlakṣyate* ».

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The Western man's attitude in face of time has been for long one of passive acceptance, of wishful hope or of lamenting despondency, almost always a recognition of its unavoidable rule. Within this general frame it was obviously impossible to reach anything more than fortuitous and incostant experiences of something else. But the new interest in the borderlands of human condition is now leading to significant developments: while some people propound excercises to overcome time [11], it cannot appear surprising that parapsychological researches about real or possible infractions or transcendence of the temporal rule have sometimes led to theories that have an unmistakable Indian flavour: in this context for example the hypotheses put forward by G. Murphy [12] and H. H. Price [13] can be referred to.

3. Generally speaking, the differences between Indian and Western conceptions about dream and deep sleep bear ample testimony to the fact that our civilization, following the ancient rationalistic option of the Greeks, has always been centred, often with excessively unilateral rigour, upon the clear side of man, while Indian culture, like other extra-European ones [14], has paid much more attention to the dark side of psychic experience [15]. In the contemporary Western rediscovery of dream and of the unconscious we are therefore allowed to perceive a sort of correction of an ancient error, a comeback to the forgotten language in which a large part of our life is trying to make itself understood [16].

Freud voiced sometimes his misgivings about Indian spirituality, calling it a « puzzling labyrinth » where he « never felt tempted to

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11. Cf. T. Tulku, *Time, Space and Knowledge*, Emeryville, 1977; etc.

12. According to him precognition, clairvoyance, etc., take place when interpersonal relations prevail and individualities, freed from their limits, sink together into the full and perfect reality.

13. He insisted on man's capability of transcending physical limitations provided that he is able to stop the working of his brain, which acts as a kind of filter between man and the almost infinite amount of messages arriving from the collective unconscious.

14. The importance of dreams, e.g. for Australian aborigines, as founding archetypically the human world, is well-known from the works of Rohéim, Elkin, etc.

15. Cf. AA. VV., *Il Sogno e le Civiltà Umane*, Bari, 1966. For a synthetic view of the values recognized to dream in Indian culture, cf. e.g. A. Wayman, *Significance of Dreams in India and Tibet*, HR, 7 (1967), pp. 1-12.

16. For the ancient Indian conception of the unconscious, cf. J. Filliozat, *L'Inconscient dans la Psychologie Indienne*, « Proceedings of the Xth Intern. Congress of Philosophy », Amsterdam, 1948, repr. in Id., *Laghu-Prabandhāḥ*, Leiden, 1974, pp. 167-169; H. G. Singh, *Psychotherapy in India from Vedic to Modern Times*, Agra, 1977; I. P. Sachdeva, *Yoga and Depth Psychology, with Special Reference to the Integration of Personality*, Delhi, 1978; cf. also C. T. Kenghe, *Yoga as Depth-Psychology & Parapsychology*, vol. II, Varanasi, 1976.

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intrude »[17], but had he had the opportunity or the will to yield to such temptation, he would have been richly rewarded[18], because the multi-secular researches of the Indian ascetics can be of great relevance for any analysis of this subject, and also for opening new alleys of ideas, problems, etc., about the possibilities and functions of dreams[19].

But perhaps we are still too much concentrated on the waking state and on dream as its annex: Indian traditions can lead us to suspect that there is something more to discover about the potentialities of that great mystery, deep sleep, which in India has not, at least commonly, been so much stigmatized for its alleged poverty of cognitive contents as it has ben in the West. A scientific study of the noetic values of *suṣupti* is still a desideratum, and we are obviously not prepared to put forward definite proposals. Research in this field seems very difficult as it cannot be carried on with the same methodology as that concerning dreams[20], but scientist have always been ingenious enough to think out new experiments and devices whenever they seemed profitable. Quite probably, a better acquaintance with Indian conceptions about deep sleep, evidencing the values that have been recognized to it in that culture, will lead scientists to an increased attention to this phenomenon

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17. Personal communication to Dr. E. G. Carpani, reproduced in E. G. Carpani, *Psychology of Dream-Phenomena in Vedic Philosophy*, « Studi Internazionali di Scienze e Lettere », Vol. I: 1, 1956, p. 3.

18. Prof. Masson's studies, although in fields differing from those envisaged here, show how fruitful for psychoanalysis an exploration of Indian materials could be: cf. especially M. Masson, *The Oceanic Feeling*, Dordrecht, 1980. F. Story, *Dimensions of Buddhist Thought*, Kandy, 1976, p. 113, has insisted with reason on the limitations of Freudian dream-analysis.

19. Cf. Patañjali, *Yogasūtra*, I, 38; etc. I. K. Taimni, *The Science of Yoga*, ital. transl., Rome, 1970, p. 92, rejects the usual interpretation of this *sūtra* on the ground that a person disturbed by *vikṣepa* and trying to overcome it cannot utilize the chaotic images of the oneiric state: therefore the *sūtra* should be taken as referring, not to what is passing on in the brain during sleep, but to some subtler condition. Whatever may be the real purport of the *sūtra*, no doubt could possibly be entertained that here dreams are regarded as instruments for reaching stability. For an analogous tāntrik technique, cf. *Vijñānabhairavatantra*, *śloka* 55 (and also Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh, *The Book of the Secrets*, pp. 135-56): « pīnāṃ ca dur-balāṃ śaktiṃ dhyātvā dvādaśagocare / praviśya hṛdaye dhyāyan svapnasvātantryam āpnuyāt », etc. This yogic utilization of dreams seems rooted in the most primordial levels of human culture: V. L. Grottanelli, *Ethnologica*, vol. III, Milan, 1966, repr., p. 374, refers to the « autosuggestive directions of dreams » in use among primitives. Of course, in *Yoga* this ability is employed with peculiarly specifical aims. On the other side, one is reminded of the parapsychological technique, studied by H. H. L. Carrington, C. Green and others, of producing lucid dreams (cf. C. Green, *Lucid Dreams*, ital. transl., Turin, 1971), i.e. dreams where the dreaming subject is aware of their being dreams. These dreams produced by means of concentration on a particular scenery before sleeping, are said to have sometimes valid cognitive and even parapsychological contents: cf. C. Tart, in D. S. Rogo (ed.), *Mind Beyond the Body*, ital. transl., Milan, 1979, p. 110.

20. Beside the psychoanalytic enquiry, we are obviously referring to the neuro-physiological approach to dreams on the basis of the registration of REMs by means of the application of encephalographs.

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and to its intellectual potential, thus opening the way to a more integrated understanding of our everyday experience.

4. Meditational techniques and practices have found in India their home of choice. but seem to be, if not a universal constant, at least a widely spread occurrence in human culture. For this very reason the appeal of Indian spirituality from this point of view is obvious; moreover, with the breaking down of other religious and alike traditions in industrialized countries, this appeal is progressively increasing [21]. But this is too well-known: a number of scholars have already been engaged in the study of this phenomenon and in recent years a wider interest has been kindled owing to the diffusion of drugs and other means for producing altered states of consciousness [22], which sometimes seem to trigger in a sudden way the same conditions that are carefully and meticulously prepared by the meditational practices; besides, Indian culture has the invaluable advantage of being capable to offer a wide range of doctrinal descriptions and explanations of these techniques and of their effects.

Along with the diffusion of the study of meditation in the West, more and more the idea is gaining ground that some kind of personal involvement and direct experience on the part of the scolars is extremely useful, and even necessary, for a deeper insight into this practice. Corrado Pensa, a leading Italian scholar in this field, has stressed the reasons for this involvement, laying emphasis on the beneficial results that can accrue on many levels for philosophers, scholars of psychology, students of comparative religion, etc. [23] from this kind of practice united with conceptual analysis.

Meditation can be considered now, following Deikman's intepretation [24], as a technique of de-automatization running against the usual path of perceptive experience and taking its adepts back to that primordial state where the noetic tissue reaches the subject directly, without the selective mediations and constructions that normally take place in any process of cognition [25]. In the meditational path emotions are not alway suppressed; they sometimes, on the contrary, are exalted

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21. Cf. R. Bellah, *Beyond Belief*, New York, 1970; C. Pensa, *L'Incontro fra Oriente e Occidente oggi*, Naples, 1975; M. Bergonzi, *Inchiesta sul nuovo misticismo*, Bari, 1980; etc. A good compendium of studies on meditation is P. Carrington's, *Freedom in Meditation*, New York, 1977, ital. transl., Milan, 1979.

22. Cf. A. Huxley, *The Doors of Perception* and *Heaven and Hell*, New York, 1963; R. C. Zaehner, *Mysticism, Sacred and Profane*, Oxford, 1957; C. Tart, *Altered States of Consciousness*, New York, 1969; F. Staal, *Exploring Mysticism*, Harmondsworth, 1975 (in a polemic vein against Eliade etc., Staal has tried to dispel what looks for him like a dangerous prejudice about the mystical potential of drugs).

23. Cf. C. Pensa, *La meditazione: Interpretazioni, Significati, Valori*, in AA. VV., *Uomo e Società nelle Religioni Asiatiche*, Rome, 1973, pp. 53-65.

24. Cf. A. Deikman, *Deautomatization and the Mystic Experience*, « Psychiatry », XXIX, 1966, pp. 324-38; etc.

25. A somewhat analogous idea was entertained by Bergson, H. H. Price, etc.

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to the highest possible degree, as is the case with *Bhakti* and Tantricism. Maslow's humanistic psychology [26] has rightly stressed the difference between peak-experience, characterized by intensity, emotionalism and brevity, and plateau-experiences, which are more enduring and have a greater epistemic value. This distinction, though useful, is not however to be taken as an irreconcilable incompatibility, and Pensa [27] has aptly called the attention on its overcoming in well-knit Indian metaphysical paths, like Patañjali's *Yoga* and Buddhism, with the last's typical coexistence of *śamatha* and *vipaśyanā*. (A practice of meditation following these paths, more explicitly in the case of Buddhism, but somehow also in the case of classical *Yoga*, *Kevalādvaita Vedānta*, Kaśmir Śaivism, etc., either through the relativization of the Ego-concept or, conversely, through its overcoming, reached by shifting the centre of the individual to the metapersonal *ātman*, can, besides, lead to an attitude of universal openness, also on the emotional sphere [28]).

This field being really inexhaustible, we shall limit ourselves here to these few remarks, which may seem rather random reflections; their meaning is just an insistence on the central position that must be recognized to Yogic practice and teachings if we want to reach a less incomplete and unsatisfactory image of man and of his intellectual capabilities. We wish only to add that *Yoga* seems to have already exercised a kind of seminal function for some of the Western techniques of relax that envisage man as a potentially self-regulating system: for no other reason the autogenic training has been dubbed a Western *Yoga* by its inventor, J. H. Schulz, and his followers [29], and from *Yoga* came the first impulse to create sophrology to Dr. A. Caycedo [30]. Apart from physical exercises, an important role is assigned in both these techniques to practices of the *bhāvanā* kind.

5. But let us proceed further, and turn to the properly parapsychological field. As already pointed out, we are inclined to think that contemporary students of the borderlands of human consciousness are hesitatingly and gropingly putting again together the tassels that constitute the synthetic mosaic of living Indian spirituality. One of the problems with which parapsychologists are confronted is represented by the necessity of suppressing whatever external stimulus in order to

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26. Cf. A. Maslow, *Religions, Values and Peak Experiences*, New York, 1970[3rd].
27. Cf. *Notes on Meditational States in Buddhism and Yoga*, EW, 27 (1977), pp. 335-44.
28. Here could also be found a basis for a new echology, cf. e.g. M. Bergonzi, *op. cit., passim*, and the well-known works of E. F. Schumacher, *Small is Beautiful*, London, 1973, *A Guide for the Perplexed*, London, 1977, etc.
29. Cf. J. H. Schulz, *Autogenic Therapy*, New York, 1969; G. Eberlein, *Gesund durch Autogenes Training*, Düsseldorf und Wien, 1973, ital. transl., Milan, 1975, pp. 5-6; etc.
30. Cf. Y. Davrou, J. C. Macquet, *Le Guide Pratique de la Sophrologie*, ital. transl., Rome, 1979, pp. 19-20.

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reach a state of sensory deprivation which is supposed to lead more easily to ESP experience: to this end the subject may be closed into a dark and acustically isolated room, or immersed into a tub full of water of the same temperature as his body, etc.[31]. But what are these if not external aids (or instruments for cancelling external hindrances) to *pratyāhāra*? Of course, the aim of these parapsychological practices can sometimes be different, sensory deprivation may be provoked in order to produce altered states of consciousness. In both Yogic and parapsychological techniques, however, the annihilation of external noise seems a prerequisite for listening to the subdued voice of the submerged part of the human iceberg.

An increasing number of parapsychologists are now interested in out-of-body experiences (the so-called OBE)[32]. The subjective reality of these feats of bilocation is out of discussion, while their objectivity is being currently tested, with some amount of success. These ecsomatic experiences seem to have some relation to meditation, at least from the physiological point of view: the cerebral waves concerned, mainly alpha waves, appear to follow the same curve, etc.[33]. Thus OBE too could be judged as an erratic and fragmentary pregustation of the *rasa* of *Yoga*. This has been lucidly recognized by some parapsychologists: for instance D. S. Rogo[34] has remarked that the modifications of the rhythm of breath and of the heart-beat and the decrease of mental activity that take place during OBE are quite similar to some outcomes of Yogic practices. (The same scholar supposes, though with some hesitation, that the so-called astral body or projection which is sometimes believed to travel during events of bilocation may be formed from the surrounding atmosphere[35]; may we not suppose that it is formed ouf of *prāṇa*, which knows no real difference whether it is inside or outside of physical bodies?). Another scholar, M. Grosso, while expressedly referring to *Vivekacūḍāmaṇi*[36], traditionally ascribed to Śaṅkara, points out that the seemingly paradoxical statement so frequent in India about the erroneous nature of the identification of man with his body may have some credibility in the light of OBE and connected transfer of consciousness. If this may sound too far-fetched, we may at least submit that the ecsomatic ex-

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31. Cf. W. Braud, *Tecniche per accrescere le facoltà paranormali*, « Il mondo della Parapsicologia », I, 1, febbraio 1980, pp. 38-43. An attenuated form of sensory deprivation is the so-called *Ganzfeld*, an experiment with the subject comfortably sitting on a chair in front of a light in an isolated room, while having both eyes covered by two halves of plastic spheres. The subject is asked to follow and describe his free associations of ideas, while another subject, in an adjoining room, tries to influence him telepathically.

32. A good reading on this subject is provided by D. S. Rogo (ed.), *op. cit.*

33. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 110-11, and, for meditation, P. Carrington, *op. cit.*, ital. transl., pp. 58-9, 63.

34. *Op. cit.*, p. 165.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 157.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 47.

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periences can probably lead to, and certainly do not invalidate, the conviction « that man is the "Great Amphibian" inhabiting several worlds of awareness »[37], that his consciousness has a multifarious set of possibilities at his disposal, for instance of being in the body, its usual dwelling-place, and also, more rarely, by chance or study, of being somewhere else, « outside ». The already available documentation drawn from studies carried on Indian *Yogins* and *Sādhus*, but also on shamans, sorcerers, medicine-men etc. of people of ethnological level, can testify to the psychological and sometimes gnoseological reality of these facts[38]. In this field, again, the convergence of Indian methaphysics with contemporary research can therefore lead to startling results, dissolving ancient and apparently well-rooted, but really staggering, identifications of man.

6. The physical feats achieved by *Yogins*, *Sādhus*, etc., their insensibility to pain, and even freedom from the visible signs of it, their incombustibility, their apparent control and command on involuntary muscles[39], etc. are too well-known to be recalled here. They should however always be kept in mind, as an indisputable evidence of how crippled is the usual image of man and of the range of his possibilities.

For different but converging reasons, according with the limits we have chosen for ourselves here, it is not possible to deal with other important fields of Indian methaphysical anthropology, like esoteric physiology[40], even if we wonder whether the more complex maps of human dimensions accepted in India are only by chance or through borrowing paralleled by so many striking homologies in the gnostic traditions of the West. We may at least incidentally recall the speculations of some European philosophers and occultists concerning the pineal gland, which has perhaps some relations with *ājñācakra*[41].

7. Many more possible fields of research could be envisaged. Since in man, the cultural animal *par excellence*, there is an obvious interplay of culture and consciousness, among the most fascinating perspectives, but also one of a very controversial nature, would be that opened by

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37. C. T. K. Chari, *From Structuralism to a Mystical Personalism*, in K. S. Murty and K. R. Rao (eds.), *Current Trends in Indian Philosophy*, Waltair, 1972, p. 81.

38. We may limit ourselves to quote the well-known OBE case of Ugema Uzago, reported by Father Trilles and repeatedly studied.

39. While many scholars, yogic practitioners and laymen believed that at least some *Yogins* were able to stop their heart-beats, this pretended ability seems undemonstrated in the light of more sophisticated tests of control; the capacity of slowing down the heart-beats is, in any case, beyond doubt. For this point cf. *Seminar on Yoga, Science and Man*, New Delhi, 1976, p. 293.

40. In other fields the latest developments of science lead to its objective convergence with Indian metaphysics, but here *Yoga* and science remain too far away from each other to allow a fruitful research on the possible contributions of the first to the second.

41. For this, cf. e.g. L. P. Singh, *Tantra, Its Mystic and Scientific Basis*, Delhi, 1976, pp. 74-5.

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an approach along classical Indian lines to our primary cultural instrument, language. B. L. Whorf tried to show how the Indian doctrines of different planes of consciousness, while having a definite bearing on the analysis of language, can lead to a better understanding of man's inner structure. He expressedly remarked that « the road out of illusion for the West lies through a wider understanding of language than Western Indo-European alone can give. This is the "Mantra-Yoga" of the Western consciousness, the next great step, which is now ready to take. It is probably — he added — the most suitable way for Western man to begin that " culture of consciousness " which will lead him to a great illumination » [42]... More modestly, and perhaps less controversially, we may surmise that the vividly burning focus of attention can probably lead to a better understanding of the nuclear semantic seed from which the different meanings of a word arise [43]. Thus by the help of a mantric evocation and of *ekāgratā* a deeper insight into the nature of a given language and by consequence also into the working of human mind could perhaps be reached... [44].

But we cannot expand on this subject and go further into necessary details. Our paper must come to end. Whatever its limits, we hope to have been able to show that Indian culture, even without or before embarking for the metaphysical realms, can be of the utmost relevance for the shaping of a more consistent and less poor image of man.

From some quarters the objection may be raised that the image that we have proposed here is not new, but it is rather a very old one. This may be partly true: after all, Myers' theory of progeneration, i.e. a progressive increase of paranormal phenomena and powers, has been dismissed since long and these phenomena are now often judged as regressive, and even disregarded for their alleged connection with an obscurantist age of our history. This we do not accept. Although we do not believe, as some traditionalists do [45], that three thousand years, or

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42. B. L. Whorf, *Language, Mind, and Reality*, in Id., *Language, Thought, and Reality*, Cambridge, Mass., 1956, p. 263 (this paper was first published in « The Theosophist », Madras, 63, 1942, No. 1, pp. 281-91, No. 2, pp. 25-37). A somewhat analogous idea flashed perhaps into Thoreau's mind: cf. E. Zolla, *Per il Decennale di « Conoscenza Religiosa »*, « Conoscenza Religiosa », 1978, p. 311: « Thoreau tried to build his own Yoga, and even a Tantra based on the English sounds ».

43. For a similar idea, cf. G. R. Franci, *Le Idee Linguistiche di Śrī Aurobindo*, in Id., *Saggi Indologici*, Bologna, 1969, pp. 55-62.

44. This hypothesis has, at least in our opinion, a more limited range than any search along Humboldtian lines after the « innere Form » of a language. Somewhat similar are the penetrating, though sometimes too far-fetched observations spread by H. Nakamura in the initial paraghaphs of the chapters devoted to Indian culture in his *Ways of Thinking of Eastern Peoples*, Honolulu, 1964. For a recent study of « the possibility that different languages embody different forms of understanding » cf. B. A. Scharfstein (ed.), *Philosophy East / Philosophy West*, Oxford, 1978, pp. 11-28 (the line quoted is on page 15).

45. The obvious reference is to R. Guénon, *La Crise du Monde Moderne*, Paris, 1947[2nd], J. Evola, *Rivolta contro il Mondo Moderno*, Rome, 1969[3rd], etc.

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more, of Western civilization are only a parenthesis or a pathological event, we do believe that the ancient thread of integral anthropology must be taken again into our hands, if we do not want to remain passively bound to a set of dangerous conditions where man seems more a lost opportunity than a fully blown reality. (There will be, in any case, something creatively new in such a coming back, achieved and enjoyed by people of deeply different conditions).

Besides, Indology has some added responsibility owing to the spread of a new wave of « mysticism » of Indian origin, which could be considered as a belated and diluted but still recognizable form of Sanskritization. In front of the great interest aroused, which is a clear indication of unmistakable needs, but also in presence of all too evident dangers of misinformation, over-enthusiasm, exploitation, etc., Indology is called to a new and exciting task. In the anthropological field it can, certainly better than many would-be prophets and *gurus*, present the ancient and yet modern Indian image of man as an integrated being, open to the different levels of reality, able to dive into himself to find his essential values and powers there. But, even beyond this or any other contingent occasion, Indology, as we have tried to show, must take part as a member of full right in the project of anthropological research sketched by H. Bender, the German parapsychologist: « To a future doctrine of man... it behoves to organize in its entirety our empirical knowledge of the other side of reality... The integration of the order of the physical world with the other one into a scientific vision of the world... is a task for future research of all sciences »[46]. For such an aim Indian studies, by way of addition, suggestion and correction, have much to say and to give.

46. *Unser Sechster Sinn*, ital. transl., Milan, 1974, p. 155.

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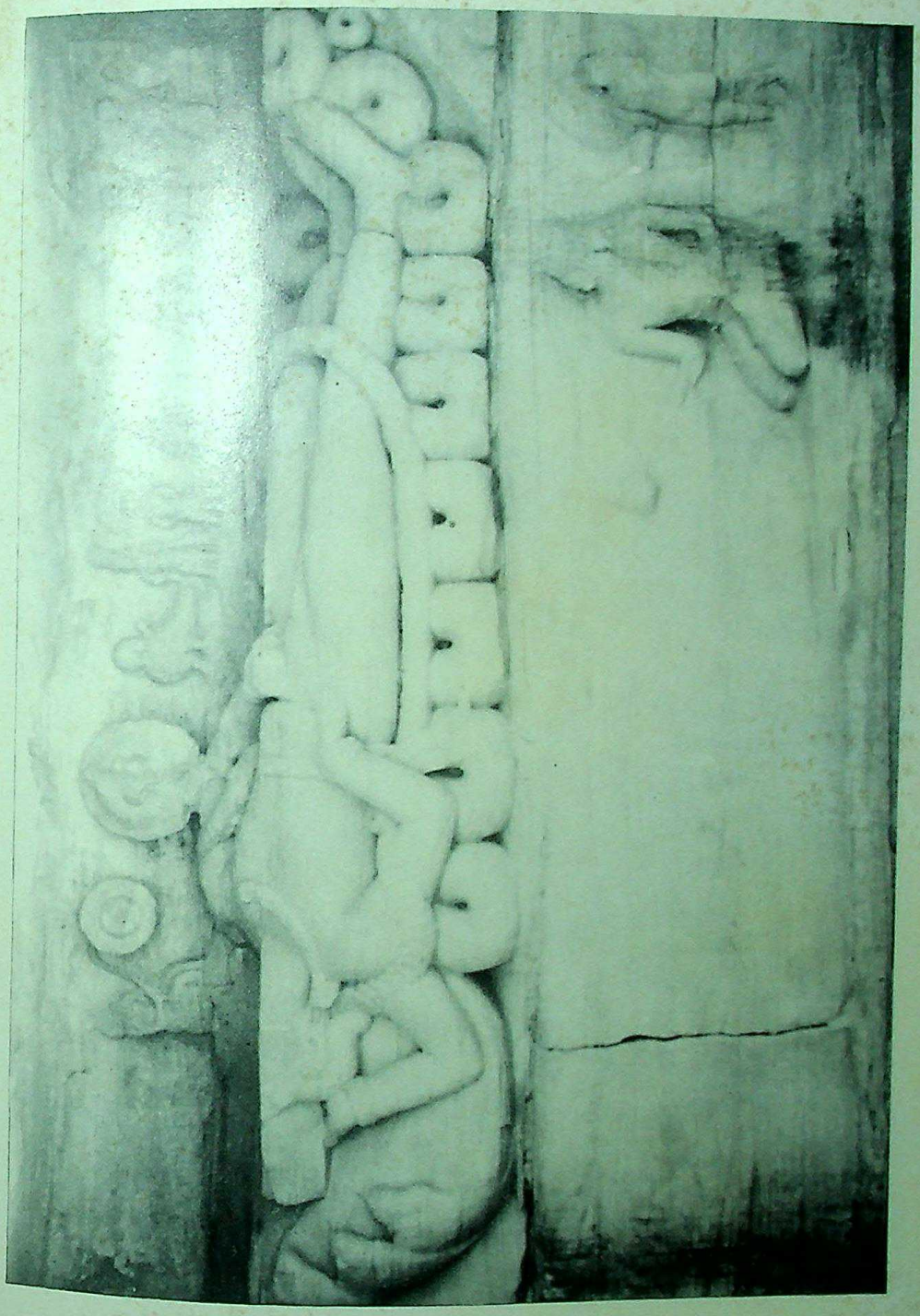

Abb. 1: Viṣṇu Śeṣaśayin in Udayagiri, M.P. (5.Jh.A.D.)

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Abb. 2: Det. von Abb. 1: (von links) Gadādevī, Cakrapuruṣa und Śārṅgastrī

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ADALBERT J. GAIL

ĀYUDHAPURUṢA
DIE ANTHROPOMORPHEN WAFFEN VIṢṆUS IN LITERATUR UND KUNST

Summary — The weapons of Viṣṇu (*Sudarśana-cakra, Pāñcajanya-śaṅkha, Nandakāsi, Kaumodakī-gadā*, and *Sārṅga-dhanus*) originally belong to the Kṛṣṇa cycle of myths. Several epic, purāṇic and *kāvya* sources imagine those weapons as anthropomorphous beings. In art we find *āyudhapuruṣa's* from 401/2 A.D. onwards up to late Medieval Ages (12th cent. A.D.) in North India. The closest connection between testimonies of literature and art reveal Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṃśa* and the so called Bhāsa plays *Dūtavākyam* and *Bālacaritam* on the one hand, the Viṣṇu Śeṣaśayin from Deogaṛh (ca. 500-525 A.D.) depicting the only known *Nandakāsi* and the Viṣṇu Śeṣaśayin from Udayagiri, M. P. (5th cent. A.D.), depicting the recently discovered *Śārṅgastrī* on the other hand. From 7th cent. A.D. onwards the anthropomorphous sword and bow become obsolete in Vaiṣṇava tradition in favour of the four « classical » emblems *padma, cakra, śaṅkha, gadā*. In the light of Indian Art the « Bhāsa » plays might be placed between 400 and 600 A.D.

Die aus der bildlichen Tradition bekannten Embleme/Waffen Viṣṇus stammen ausnahmslos aus dem Erzählkreis Kṛṣṇas. In der Theophanie MBh V, 129, 9 erscheint Kṛṣṇa, Friedensvermittler in der Versammlung der feindlichen Kauravas, mit Schneckentrompete, Wurfscheibe, Keule, Speer, Hornbogen, Pflug und Schwert in den Händen. Der Pflug freilich ist weit häufiger Emblem seines älteren Bruders Balarāma. In Harivaṃśa 81, 61-64 besinnen sich Kṛṣṇa und Balarāma auf ihre alten Waffen, die dann prompt vom Himmel herbeieilen: Rāma kämpft mit dem Pflug Samvartaka in der Rechten, der Mörserkeule Saunanda in der Linken, Kṛṣṇa mit dem Hornbogen Śārṅga in der Rechten, mit der Keule Kaumodakī in der Linken. Die Waffen Kṛṣṇas haben individuelle Namen und zum Teil ihre je eigene mit ihrem Träger verbundene Geschichte. Die Schneckentrompete Pāñcajanya ist geformt aus den Knochen des Dämons Pāñcajana, den Kṛṣṇa auf dem Grund des Ozeans tötete[1]. Die

1. MBh VII, 10, 20; Viṣṇupurāṇa (ViP) V, 21, 26 f.; Brahmapurāṇa (= BrP) 194, 27 f. — Die Bemerkung im Bālacaritam I, 25, Viṣṇu habe *śaṅkha* aus dem Milchozean heraufgeholt, nimmt sich als Viṣṇuisierung der kṛṣṇaitischen Überlieferung aus.

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Wurfscheibe Sudarśana ist ein Geschenk Agnis, die Keule Kaumodakī stammt von Varuṇa[2]. Zu den vorzüglichen Eigenschaften göttlicher Waffen gehört, dass sie nach Gebrauch (Wurf, Abschuss) in die Hand ihres Trägers zurückzukommen vermögen[3].

Nicht selten aber werden die Waffen auch in einer Weise geschildert, als ob sie wie menschliche Wesen handelten bzw. sich in solche zu verwandeln vermöchten. Eindrucksvoll dazu der Abschied der Waffen Kṛṣṇas vor dessen Tod. Wurfscheibe, Keule, Hornbogen, Köcher, Schneckentrompete und Schwert vollziehen eine kultische Umwandlung (*pradakṣiṇa*) und gehen auf der Sonnenbahn davon[4]. In Rāmāyaṇa VII, 99, 7 nehmen verschiedene Pfeile und der Bogen Körperform an und folgen Rāma in menschlicher Gestalt (*puruṣavigrahāḥ*) bei dessen Auszug aus Ayodhyā. Auch Kālidāsa kennt die empfindungsfähigen Waffen, die Viṣṇus Sieg verkünden (Ragh. X, 12 *hetibhiś cetanāvadbhir udīrita-jaya-svanam*). In Raghuvaṃśa X, 60 träumen die Frauen Daśarathas anlässlich ihrer übernatürlichen Empfängnis, wie sie von Zwergen beschützt werden, deren Gestalt mit Schneckenschale (*jalaja=śaṅkha*), Schwert, Keule, Bogen und Wurfscheibe bezeichnet ist. Offensichtlich träumen die Damen Bilder, die sie aus der religiösen Kunst kennen: Āyudhapuruṣas. Die ausführlichsten Zeugnisse für jene als menschliche Wesen redende und agierende Waffen liefern aber wohl die Bhāsa zugeschriebenen Dramen Dūtavākyam und Bālacaritam[5].

Im Dūtavākyam erscheint die Wurfscheibe Sudarśana auf der Bühne, bereit, Suyodhana auf Befehl Kṛṣṇas zu töten. Ein Gewaltakt unterbleibt natürlich, da Kṛṣṇa in Friedensmission bei den Kauravas weilt (s.o. MBh V, 129, 9). Bevor Sudarśana die Bühne wieder verlässt, stellt er noch die Waffen Śārṅga (47), Kaumodakī (48), Pāñcajanya (49) und Nandakāsi (50f.) vor.

Die dramaturgisch-ökonomische Beschränkung auf den Auftritt Sudarśanas als vornehmsten Waffenrepräsentanten wird im Bālacaritam aufgegeben. Als sprechende Schauspieler treten nacheinander Garuḍa (21), Reittier und Diener Viṣṇus, auf gefolgt von Cakra (22), Ṣārṅga (23), Gadā Kaumodakī (24), Śaṅkha (25) und Nandaka (26), und zwar als Waffen Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu-Haris.

Der einzige purāṇische Text, soweit ich sehe, der sich diesen Waffen als dramatis personae an die Seite stellen lässt, findet sich in der Kailāsayātrā des Harivaṃśa (ed. crit. App. No. 31, vss. 908 sqq. und 1029 sqq.), wo die Wurfscheibe Blumen pflückt, die Schneckenschale rundum

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2. MBh I, 216, 21-25. VII, 10, 21.

3. MBh I, 216, 24; A. Gail, *Paraśurāma, Brahmane und Krieger*, Wiesbaden, 1977, p. 145 und passim.

4. ViP V, 37, 47 *cakraṃ tathā gadā śārṅgaṃ tūṇau śaṅkho 'sir eva ca / pradakṣiṇaṃ Harim* (sic. gem. ed. Gitapress; ed. Bibl. Ind. liest *Hariḥ*) *kṛtvā jagmur Āditya-vartmanā*. Cf. BrP ed. Ānandāśrama Skt. Series, Poona, 210, 48 ... *pradakṣiṇaṃ tataḥ kṛtvā*...

5. zitiert nach ed. C. R. Devadhar, *Bhāsanāṭakacakram*, Poona Oriental Series No. 54, Poona, 1962.

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Wache hält, das Schwert Kuśagras schneidet, Keule und Hornbogen als Butler fungieren. Der Text gehört aber, wie die ed. crit. erweist, nicht zum älteren Bestand des Harivaṃśa.

Werfen wir nun einen Blick auf die bildliche Tradition der Āyudhapuruṣas. Während die kuṣānischen Skulpturen Viṣṇus den Gott mit einer mannshohen Keule, mit Wurfscheibe, Schneckenschale sowie *abhayamudrā* abbilden [6], tauchen in Udayagiri, M.P., am Eingang eines inschriftlich im Jahr 82 der Guptaära, d.i. 401/2 A.D., gestifteten Felstempels [7] zum erstenmal die Waffen *gadā* und *cakra* in anthropomorpher Form als *gadādevī* und *cakrapuruṣa* auf [8]. Diese Abbildungsform der Waffen *cakra* und *gadā* macht Schule und lässt sich, neben der gegenständlichen Darstellungsweise, bis weit ins Mittelalter (12. Jh. A.D.) verfolgen [9].

Unter allen bisher bekannt gewordenen Āyudhapuruṣa-Bildnissen sind zwei von herausragendem ikonographischen Interesse.

Viṣṇu Śeṣaśayin an der Südseite des Viṣṇu-Tempels von Deogaṛh (1. Viertel des 6. Jh. A.D.) [10] zeigt im unteren Register von links nach rechts die Dämonen Madhu und Kaiṭabha, gefolgt von den anthropomorphen Waffen Nandaka, Pāñcajanya [11], Sudarśana und Kaumodakī.

Viṣṇu Śeṣaśayin von Udayagiri, M.P. (5. Jh. A.D.) (Abb. 1) [12], zeigt über dem ruhenden Viṣṇu von links nach rechts folgende Reliefs: Lakṣmī, Lotos, Brahmā auf Lotos (*padma*), Garuḍa, Gadādevī, Cakrapuruṣa. Die nächstfolgende Figur (Abb. 2) ist m.W. bisher nicht bestimmt worden [13]. Trotz einiger Schäden lässt sich aber noch ausmachen, dass es sich um das obere Ende eines Bogens handeln muss, der einer vermutlich weiblichen Figur [14] aus dem Kopf herauswächst. Es handelt sich

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6. Cf. N. P. Joshi, *Catalogue of the Brahmanical Sculptures in the State Museum*, Lucknow, 1972, p. 11.

7. J. F. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. III, Calcutta, 1888, pp. 21-5.

8. J. C. Harle, *Gupta Sculpture*, Oxford, 1974, pl. 8.

9. Beispiele bei C. Sivaramamurti, *The Weapons of Viṣṇu*, in: AA, vol. 18, 1955, pls. III-VIII, und W. E. Begley, *Viṣṇu's Flaming Wheel; The Iconography of the Sudarśana-Cakra*, New York, 1973, Figs. 20 sqq.

10. Abbildungen u.a. bei H. Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, vol. 2 (Bollington Series XXXIX), New York, 1955, pl. 111. J. Harle, *op. cit.*, pl. 103. S. Kramrisch, *The Art of India*, London, ³1965, pls. 51-52.

11. Begley, *op. cit.*, Fig. 18, bezeichnet Pāñcajanya fälschlich als *dhanus*. Die Schneckenspiralen sind aber deutlich im Kopfputz zu erkennen.

12. beide Fotos J. Bautze.

13. Cf. Begley, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

14. Im allgemeinen entspricht das Genus der Darstellungsform dem Genus des Waffenbegriffs. Obwohl aber *śārṅga* maskulinum oder neutrum ist, wird er von « Bhāsa » als Frau vorgestellt, da die Rundungen des Bogens eher dem weiblichen Körper entsprechen: Dūtavākyam 47: (*Śārṅgam*) *tanu-mṛdu-lalitāṅgaṃ strīsvabhāvopapannam*... Bālacaritam 23 *Śārṅgo 'smi Viṣṇu-kara-Lagna-suvṛtta-madhyā strī vigrahāt*... T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, vol. I, pt. 2, App. C, p. 78, zitiert einen ikonographischen Text, der den Bogen ebenfalls als Frau ausweist, die die Farbe des roten Lotos hat und einen besaiteten Bogen auf dem Kopf trägt (unserem Relief entsprechend): *dhanus strī padma-raktābhā mūrdhni pūritacāpabhṛt*. Der Text befindet sich aber nicht, wie Rao angibt, im Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa. Woher er stammt, kann ich z.Zt. nicht sagen.

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also um *Śārṅgastrī*. Die folgende Leerstelle macht — wie ich mich mit Studenten vor Ort überzeugen konnte — den Eindruck, als ob die Felsoberfläche abgeplatzt sei. Man darf also folgern, dass hier ein weiterer *āyudhapuruṣa* abgebildet war, Pāñcajanya oder Nandaka. Ob die weiter rechts folgende kniende Figur noch zu den Waffen gehört, muss eher bezweifelt werden. Analoge Darstellungsform voraussetzend müsste man als *āyudhapuruṣa* eine en face stehende Figur erwarten. Ganz rechts stehen Madhu und Kaiṭabha.

Die beiden Śeṣaśayin sind insofern einzigartige Bildnisse, als sie jeweils vier statt der sonst üblichen zwei Āyudhapuruṣa in einem Bild versammeln. Deogaṛh zeigt uns den einzigen erhaltenen Nandaka, Udayagiri den einzigen erhaltenen Śārṅga [15]. Beide Skulpturen gehören in die Gupta-Zeit, in beiden Fällen sind die Āyudhapuruṣas Viṣṇu als Śeṣaśayin zugeordnet.

Welche unserer eingangs betrachteten literarischen Testimonia stehen den beiden bildlichen Viṣṇu Śeṣaśayin am nächsten? Zwei Kriterien gelten: 1. die Idee der Vermenschlichung muss textlich klar ausgedrückt sein, 2. die Waffen müssen sich nicht exklusiv auf Kṛṣṇa beziehen, sondern auf den mit Viṣṇu identifizierten Kṛṣṇa. Man könnte zwar auch die *pradakṣiṇa*-Szene vor Kṛṣṇas Tod aus Viṣṇupurāṇa V, 37 heranziehen (s.o.!) — im Viṣṇupurāṇa ist die Identität Kṛṣṇas mit Viṣṇu ja ausgemacht —, zwingender jedoch sind zweifellos die Kālidāsa-Passagen aus dem Raghuvaṃśa (s.o.!) und als loci classici die Āyudhapuruṣas als dramatis personae im Dūtavākyam und Bālacaritam.

Walter Ruben setzt das Bālacaritam etwa in die Zeit Kālidāsas bzw. zwischen Viṣṇupurāṇa (am Anfang der Guptazeit) und das Bhāgavata-

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15. *Pāñcajanya* bzw. *śaṅkhapuruṣa* ist insbesondere von Pālaskulpturen wohlbekannt. Beispiele: SIVARAMAMURTI, *op. cit.*, pl. VI. BEGLEY, *op. cit.*, Figs. 28, 41. Patna Museum Catalogue of Antiquities, Patna, 1965, p. 96, Nr. 14. C. SIVARAMAMURTI, *op. cit.*, p. 130, will Śārṅgadhanus als « youth with a bow in his hand » an einigen Skulpturen im Lucknow und Mathura Museum erkennen, so auch in seinen pls. III und IV. Diese Auffassung ist falsch. N. P. JOSHI, *op. cit.*, p. 22, bemerkt ausdrücklich: « Among the different weapons *śaṅkha, chakra* and *gadā* (in the female form) are seen with Viṣṇu in and after Gupta period ». Einen *śārṅgapuruṣa* hat JOSHI nicht entdeckt. Siv., *op. cit.*, pl. IV (sitzender Viṣṇu), enthält keine Darstellung des *śārṅga* als *puruṣa*. V. S. AGRAWALA, *A Catalogue of the Brahmanical Images in Mathura Art*, Lucknow, 1951, p. 15, sieht vier kleine Figuren: « They hold Vishnu's attributes: the lotus flower (*padma*), the conch (*śaṅkha*), the wheel (*cakra*), whilst the fourth holds a cobra ». Tatsächlich handelt es sich um Lakṣmī, Pāñcajanya, Sudarśana und Garuḍa. In beiden Abbildungen SIVARAMAMURTI's ist die kleine männliche Figur unten rechts nicht *Śārṅga*, sondern *Garuḍa* mit *nāga*. — In mittelalterlichen Viṣṇuskulpturen vom 7. Jh. an ist *śārṅgapuruṣa* nicht mehr zu erwarten, aus zwei Gründen: 1.-Es haben sich als Hauptembleme Viṣṇus *padma, cakra* (*-puruṣa*), śaṅkha (*-puruṣa*, bes. in Bihar und Bengalen) und *gadā* (*-devī*) durchgesetzt. 2. Der Bogen (*dhanus*) ist das charakteristische Emblem des *Avatāra, Rāmacandra* im *parikarma* einer Viṣṇuskulptur geworden.

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purāṇa [16]. Gemessen an unseren Bildzeugnissen, insbesondere den nach der Guptazeit nicht mehr dargestellten Nandaka und Śārṅga in anthropomorpher Form würden sich Dūtavākyam und Bālacaritam in eine Zeit zwischen 400 und 600 A.D. fügen. Eine Plazierung beider Dramen in kuṣānische oder gar vorkuṣānische Zeit [17] findet aus kunstgeschichtlicher Sicht keine Stütze, eine spätere (ab 7. Jh.) ist ebenfals unwahrscheinlich, da die Waffen Schwert (*asi, Nandaka*) und Bogen (*dhanus, Śārṅga*) für Viṣṇu generell an Bedeutung verloren haben [18].

Abschliessend ein Wort zu der Frage, warum in Indien überhaupt Waffen in menschlicher Form vorgestellt und dargestellt worden sind. Ein erster Hinweis ergibt sich aus dem Umstand, dass Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇus Waffen per se nicht natürlicher Art, sondern übernatürlich, göttlich oder himmlisch sind [19]. Göttlichkeit von Waffen bedeutet aber mehr als untrügliche Treffsicherheit, Unüberwindbarkeit. Das Göttliche ist nach indischer Anschauung entweder rein geistig (*ātman, puruṣa*), unsichtbar (*adṛśya*), materielos (*aprākṛta*), oder aber es manifestiert sich unter den Menschen nach Art der Menschen — *cetanāvat*, wie Kālidāsa sagt, s.o.! — und nimmt dann auch menschliche Gestalt an. Das gilt nicht nur für das ganze Pantheon (*deva*) und Gegenpantheon (*asura, rākṣasa* etc.) mit seinem jeweiligen Gefolge, es gilt für die Fruchtbarkeitsgenien (*yakṣa*), die Schlangengötter (*nāga*), die Baumnymphen (*śālabhañjikā*) und Flüsse (*nadīdevatā*). Alle erscheinen auch in menschlicher Form (*puruṣavat*).

Im besonderen aber hat die Idee und Darstellung des Göttlichen als Menschliches in der viṣṇuitischen *Prādurbhāva-* oder *Avatāra-* Konzeption Ausdruck gefunden. Was Wunder, wenn die Waffen des menschlichsten aller indischen Götter, Kṛṣṇas, zu Menschen geraten!

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16. W. Ruben, *Krishna, Konkordanz und Kommentar der Motive seines Heldenlebens*, Istanbul, 1943, p. 278. Zur Datierung des Bhāgavatapurāṇam cf. A. Gail, *Bhakti im Bhāgavatapurāṇam*, Wiesbaden, 1969, pp. 9-16.

17. Cf. A. D. Pusalker, *Bhāsa - A Study*, Delhi, ²1968, p. 63.

18. Cf. Anm. 15. Der Bedeutungsverlust der Schwert- und Bogenwaffe für Viṣṇu wird besonders deutlich, wenn man Stellen des Viṣṇupurāṇa mit den entsprechenden inhaltlichen Parallelen des Bhāgavatapurāṇa (BhP) vergleicht, z.B. ViP V, 37 mit BhP XI, 30. Zu den Waffen Viṣṇus im BhP zuletzt A. Nayak, *La Méditation dans le Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Paris, 1978, pp. 77-9. Eine charakteristische Beschreibung enthält BhP VIII, 4, 19 *śrīvatsaṃ kaustubhaṃ mālāṃ gadāṃ kaumodakīm mama / Sudarśanaṃ Pāñcajanyaṃ Suparṇam patageśvaram //*

19. e.g. BhP XI, 30, 45 *divyāni Viṣṇu-praharaṇāni.*

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LALLANJI GOPAL

BUDDHAGHOSA ON ARAGHAṬṬA

In his Presidential Address (Medieval India Section) at the Indian History Congress (XXXI session, Varanasi), Prof. Irfan Habib observed that « the case for assigning the introduction of the Persian wheel in India to the period of the Turkish conquests and the centuries immediately following (13th and 14th centuries) would seem unassailable[1] ».

Earlier Indologists[2] had translated the term *araghaṭṭa* appearing in ancient texts and epigraphic records as Persian wheel, without taking the slightest notice of the implications of this usage. D. Sharma[3] and R. Nath[4] have confirmed that the term *araghaṭṭa* signified the Persian wheel of modern usage and have gone on to object to the persistence of the name Persian wheel in view of the earlier occurrence of the water-lifting device in India.

J. Needham[5] has pointed out the difference between noria (wheel carrying pots or buckets fixed on its rim) and *saqiya* (the Persian wheel) and has expressed his reservation about the propriety of using the expression Persian wheel for describing the devices mentioned in ancient Indian sources. The main contribution of Irfan Habib is that through his Presidential Address he has given wide publicity to the need for a caution in the context of Indian study. He has emphasised the distinction between noria and Persian wheel in interpreting the term

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1. *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, XXXI session (Varanasi, 1969), pp. 152-53.

2. Cowell and Thomas, *The Harṣa-carita of Bāṇa*, p. 79; P. Peterson & H. Jacobi, *Upamitibhavaprapañcākathā*, contents, p. lxxx; D. C. Sircar, *Three East Indian Inscriptions of the Early Mediaeval Period*, in « Journal of Ancient Indian History », VI (1973), p. 47.

3. Presidential Address, Ancient India Section, *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, XXIX session (Patiala, 1967), p. 41.

4. *Rehant versus the Persian wheel*, in « Journal of the Asiatic Society », XII (1970), Nos. 1-4, p. 84.

5. *Science and Civilization in China*, IV, 2, pp. 361-62.

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araghaṭṭa and its derivatives. He points out that « one of the principal differences between the noria and the Persian wheel, as far as practical results are concerned, is that the noria can operate on an open surface (stream or reservoir), whereas the Persian wheel can also raise water from deep wells », and that in the case of the noria the wheel carries pots or buckets fixed on its rim, but in the Persian wheel the chain makes it possible to raise water from some dept.

In interpreting the nature of the *araghaṭṭaghaṭīyantra* Irfan Habib relies on its description in the *Samantapāsādikā* of Buddhaghosa, a commentary on the *Vinayapiṭaka*. According to him, it « decisively supports the view that the device was originally the noria and not the Persian wheel »; the passage says that « it is a contrivance consisting of a cartwheel, to whose various spokes (*are are*) earthen pitchers are tied that lift water when the wheel is rotated by one or two men ».

Prof. Habib makes all these observations about *araghaṭṭaghaṭīyantra* on the basis of the information appearing in *A Critical Pali Dictionary* [6]. In view of the importance attaching to the description of the *yantra* we may analyse the original sources. For a proper evaluation of the Pali evidence we are presenting the information as derived from different sources in its correct historical sequence.

The starting point for the information about the water-lifting device is a passage in the *Cullavagga* [7], which forms part of the *Vinayapiṭaka*. The passage records the permission given to the monks by the Buddha to use three water-lifting devices: *tulaṃ*, *karakaṭakaṃ* and *cakkavaṭṭakaṃ*. When the monks submitted that in drawing water many earthen pitchers are broken, the Buddha permitted them to use vessels of iron, wood and leather.

The *Samantapāsādikā*, a commentary on the *Vinayapiṭaka* written by Buddhaghosa in the fifth century A.D., adds some useful information [8]. *Tula* is the pulley like the balance of a merchant for lifting water [9]. *Karakaṭaka* is the device for drawing water by hand or by yoking bulls and with the help of long straps or ropes. *Cakkavaṭṭaka* is the *arahaṭṭaghaṭīyantra*. *Cammakhaṇḍa* is a leather vessel attached to a *tula* or a *karakaṭaka*.

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6. Begun by V. Trenckner and revised by D. Andersen, I (Copenhagen, 1924-48), p. 423.

7. (Nalanda edn.) p. 212, line 1: *Anujānāmi, bhikkhave tulaṃ karakaṭakaṃ cakkavaṭṭakaṃ' ti. Bhājanā bahū bhijjanti... pe... 'Anujānāmi, bhikkhave tayo vārake lohavārakaṃ dāruvārakaṃ cammakhaṇḍaṃ ti.*

8. (Nalanda edn.), vol. III, p. 1290, line 7: *Tulaṃ ti paṇikānaṃ viya udakaubbāhanakamatulaṃ. Karakaṭako vuccati goṇe vā yojetvā gahetvā dīghavaratādīhi ākaḍḍhanayantaṃ. Cakkavaṭṭakaṃ ti. Arahaṭṭaghayiyantaṃ. Cammakhaṇḍaṃ nāma tulāya vā karakaṭake vā yojetabbakaṃ cammabhājanaṃ.*

9. It is popularly known as *ḍhekulī* and probably operates like the weighing balance. It operates with the help of a weight or big stone placed at one end of a pole with a vessel or water bag attached to the other end.

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Here the most significant piece of information supplied by Buddhaghosa is the name *araghaṭṭaghaṭīyantra*. We can explain the appearance of the name in one of the three ways: (a) It existed earlier, but the Buddha gave only one of the names of this water-drawing device, (b) The name was coined later, sometime between the compilation of the *Cullavagga* and the writing of the *Samantapāsādikā*, (c) The *araghaṭṭaghaṭīyantra* was similar in nature to the *cakkavaṭṭaka*, but not identical with it, and Buddhaghosa mentioned it because it was more popular in his times.

We have no means to support our preference for any one of these explanations. On the basis of the reference in the *Samantapāsādikā* we can be sure only about the introduction of the *araghaṭṭaghaṭīyantra* before the times of Buddhaghosa in the fifth century A.D. When we compare the references in the *Cullavagga* and the *Samantapāsādikā*, we notice that, whereas the *Cullavagga* indicates that the device contained a wheel, the *Samantapāsādikā* emphasises the role of pitchers in it. The use of the word *yantra* shows that Buddhaghosa considered it to be a complicated mechanical device when compared with the other two, namely *tula* and *karakaṭaka*. Further, we may note that Buddhaghosa associates *cammakhaṇḍa* with *tula* and *karakaṭaka*, but not with *cakkavaṭṭaka* or *araghaṭṭaghaṭīyantra*. From this we can infer that leather vessels were not used in the *araghaṭṭaghaṭīyantra* and that the *ghaṭīs* were made of iron, wood or clay.

The description of the device [10], which Prof. Habib reproduces, allegedly on the basis of the *Samantapāsādikā*, does not appear in the *Samantapāsādikā*. Actually, it occurs in the *Vaijrabuddhi-ṭīkā* [11] which is a commentary on the *Samantapāsādikā* composed by the Theravādin monk Vajirabuddhi who belonged to the close of the twelfth century. There are actually three commentaries on the *Samantapāsādikā*, namely, the *Sāratthadīpanī*, *Vimativinodanī* or *Vimativicchedanī-Ṭīkā* and *Vajirabuddhi Ṭīkā* or *Vinayagaṇṭhi*. They were all written during the reign of King Parākramabāhu (A.D. 1153 to 1186) of Sri Lanka. His reign is an important landmark in the history of the Pali literature. A Buddhist Council was convened by the renowned Ceylonese monk Mahākassapa, who was a great authority on the *Vinayapiṭaka*. The three commentaries on the *Samantapāsādikā*, which started the fashion for commentaries on the *Aṭṭhakathās*, came into existence. We, however, do not have much information about the authors of the three commentaries [12]. Sāriputta, the author of the *Sāratthadīpanī*, and Mahāvajirabuddhi, the

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10. The original reads: *Arahaṭaghaṭīyantaṃ sakaṭacakkasanthānayantaṃ, tassa are are ghaṭikāni bandhitvā ekena dvīhi vā paribhamiyamānassa udaka-nibbāhanaṃ veditabbaṃ.*

11. C. S. Upasak, *Dictionary of Early Buddhist Monastic Terms* (Varanasi, 1977), p. 85.

12. B. S. Upadhyay, *Pāli Sāhitya Kā Itihāsa* (Allahabad, 1972); R. Sankrityayana, *Pāli Sāhitya Kā Itihāsa* (1st edn.), p. 268.

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author of the *Vajirabuddhi Ṭīkā*, belonged to Sri Lanka. Kassapa Colīya, the author of the *Vimativinodanī*, lived in the Nāgānana *vihāra* in the capital city of the Colas.

There is no significant difference in the information supplied by the three commentaries. We find only minor variations in the form of one or two words being added or dropped here and there [13]. It has to be appreciated that one description need not hold good for all periods and all regions. The geographical peculiarities can cause significant variations. For instance, the level at which water is available in a particular region will be an important consideration for the choice of the type of water-lifting device. Likewise, the possibility of some improvement or change in the device during the long period involved cannot be ruled out. In the case of the three commentaries on the *Samantapāsādikā* it is not unlikely that their authors, who were monks associated with Sri Lanka and the Cola Kingdom, did not have a chance to be acquainted with the water-lifting device of the type of *araghaṭṭa*, resembling a Persian wheel, and hence explained it, on the basis of their own knowledge, in terms of a *ghaṭīyantra* resembling a noria.

Thus, Buddhaghosa gives us one of the earliest references to *araghaṭṭa*. Some other sources [14] imply a device which may have been the *araghaṭṭa* itself, but the term does not occur in any of these [15]. Two other significant early sources recording the name *araghaṭṭa* are the *Pañcatantra* and the *Gāthāsaptaśatī*. The original *Pañcatantra* attributed to Viṣṇuśarman, possibly belonging to the early centuries of the Christian era, is not available. The *Pañcākhyānaka* of Pūrṇabhadra, a derivative version of the *Pañcatantra* which has a reference to *araghaṭṭa* in a well as an essential part of the story of the frog Gaṅgadatta [16], was written in the closing years of the twelfth century. This story, however, does not occur in the *Tantrākhyāyikā*, the earliest available version of the *Pañcatantra* cycle of stories and written about A.D. 300. But another story in the same text relates to a person who used to operate the

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13. The passages have been quoted from the Burmese edition brought out by the Ghaṭṭasaṅgīti Prakashan, Rangoon. Prof. C. S. Upasak of Nalanda has kindly sent the extracts to me. *Sāratthadīpanī Ṭikā*, III, 388: *Arahaṭaghaṭiyantaṃ nāma sakaṭacakkasaṇṭhānaṁ are are bandhitvā ekena dvīhi vā paribbhamiyamānaṁ yantaṁ; Vimativinodanī Ṭīkā*, II, 233: *Arahaṭaghaṭiyantaṁ cakkasaṇṭhānaṁ anekāraṁ are are ghaṭikāni bandhitvā ekena dvīhi vā paribbhamiyamānayantaṁ; Vajirabuddhi Ṭīkā*, 524, is quoted above f.n. 10.

14. *Mṛcchakaṭika*, X, 59; *Kuvalayānanda* (Nirnaya Sagara Press edn. 1955), p. 25; *Amarakoṣa*, II, 20, 27; *Kādambarī* (Ed. M. R. Kale), p. 322: *Kuvalayāvalīrajjubhirgrathyamānāni patraputaghaṭīyantrakāṇi; Harṣacarita* (N.S.P., 1925), p. 254: *Saṁsarantyo naktaṁ divaṁ drāghīyasyo janmajarāmaraṇaghaṭanaghaṭīyantrarājirajjavaḥ*; Mandasor inscription of Yaśodharman (A.D. 532), v. 27 (Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III, pp. 150 ff.).

15. *Araghaṭṭa in early Indian texts*, in « Dr. L. Sternbach Felicitation Volume », being published by Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad, Lucknow.

16. The *Pañcatantra* (*Pañcākhyānaka* of Pūrṇabhadra). Ed. Hertel (Harvard Oriental Series, XI, 1908), Book IV, Tale I, pp. 231-44.

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araghaṭṭa (*araghaṭṭavāhaḥ puruṣaḥ*) [17]. This second story occurs only in one manuscript and hence has not been accepted by the editor as belonging to the original form of the text of *Tantrākhyāyikā*. The verse in the *Gāthāsaptaśatī* employs a simile based on the pitchers in the *rahaṭṭa* (*rahaṭṭaghaḍiya*) [18]. The author of this text is generally identified with king Hāla of the Sātavāhana dynasty, and is thus to be placed in the first century.

We may conclude that the *Samantapāsādika* is one of the earliest texts to use the name *arahaṭṭa*. It leaves no doubt about its being a complicated device (*yantra*) for drawing water. The *ghaṭīs* used in it were possibly made of metal or wood, but not of leather. Whether it resembled a noria or a Persian wheel proper is not indicated in the *Samantapāsādikā*. We would not like to impose on the terms, as used in Buddhaghosa's time, a meaning which we have derived from other sources of the ancient period, because we are conscious of the possibility that, as in modern times in the Arabic and English usage, the same term could have been losely applied to any one of the many similar but slightly differing devices for water-lifting.

17. Ed. J. Hertel (HOS, XIV), Book IV, Tale 3, pp. 142-43.
18. V. 90.

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ALF HILTEBEITEL *

SĪTĀ *VIBHŪṢITĀ*: THE JEWELS FOR HER JOURNEY

The portrayal of Draupadī in the *Mahābhārata* is punctuated by consistent reference to two symbols: her garments and her hair. This was appreciated by the playwright Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa who, in one of the earliest known dramatic « recreations» of the epic story (his *Veṇī-saṃhāra*, probably from the early eighth century A.D.) employs six times the compound *keśāmbarākarṣaṇa* (or a variant) — « the pulling of the garments and the hair » — to evoke the pivotal scene where Draupadī, wearing a single garment bloodstained from her menstrual flow, is dragged by her dishevelled hair into the gambling hall and the attempt is made to disrobe her. I have analyzed these scenes and symbols elsewhere [1], calling attention especially to the themes of purity and impurity, auspiciousness and inauspiciousness [2], and the manner in which Draupadī in her various roles and aspects evokes different Hindu goddesses. Thus, although she is the incarnation of Śrī and a personification of sovereignty, prosperity [3], and auspiciousness, she takes on the character of such destructive and inauspicious figures as Mṛtyu, Kālarātri, and seemingly Kālī, whose dishevelled hair is related symbolically to the *pralaya*, the « unbraiding » of the three *guṇas* at the end of the universe.

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1. See ALF HILTEBEITEL, *Draupadī's Garments*, IIJ, 22 (1980), 97-112; *id.*, *Draupadī's Hair*, *Puruṣārtha* 5 (1981), pp. 179-214.

2. These two axes — purity-impurity and auspiciousness-inauspiciousness — formed the theme of the eleventh annual workshop of the Conference on Religion in South India at George Washington University, May 16-18, 1980, for which the better part of this study was prepared as part of a presentation. I wish to thank Frédérique Marglin for stimulating my research into these two related matters.

3. See ALF HILTEBEITEL, *The Ritual of Battle: Krishna in the Mahābhārata* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1976), pp. 62-8, 96-9, 166-91.

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To appreciate such a portrayal of Draupadī, it has been necessary to look beyond the *Mahābhārata* text itself to various aspects of Hindu culture where these two symbols of garments and hair are similarly treated. But one need not look too far afield to find a figure whose portrayal sheds as much light on Draupadī's as Draupadīs sheds on hers: Sītā, the heroine of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. This essay will study the contrasting depictions of these two heroines throug the use of these two symbols, plus a third: jewels.

In Draupadī's case, jewels play a much less evident role than in Sītā's, but one that is certainly not negligible. On the morning after the night raid, in which Aśvatthāman and the two other remaining Kaurava warriors have terminated the hostilities at Kurukṣetra by brutally killing Draupadī's sleeping sons and brothers, Draupadī vows to sit in the pose of *prāya* (« going forth unto death ») until she receives the « natural born jewel » (*maṇiṃ sarajam*; *Mbh.* 10.11.20; 16.21)[4] from Aśvatthāman's head. Only when she can place it on her head, she says, will she continue to live. The nature of this jewel is never made clear, other than that it is « divine » (*divya*; 16.25), and it is curious that it is never mentioned in the accounts of Aśvatthāman's birth. One wonders, however, whether Draupadī intends to wear it as a *cūḍāmaṇi*, a « crest jewel», about which more will be said. In any case, Draupadī's husbands do succeed in humiliating Aśvatthāman and bringing the jewel to her. But rather surprisingly, when she accepts the jewel she asks that it be placed on Yudhiṣṭhira's head rather than her own. There it shines resplendently like the moon atop a mountain (15.33), probably a reference to its being placed atop his diadem. The passage thus seems to hint at a post-war crowning ritual that might involve the rebraiding of Draupadī's hair, which she seems already in the epic to have worn dishevelled since the episode at the dice match[5]. But no such scene is described, and the jewel is deferred to Yudhiṣṭhira. Quite possibly the poets are suggesting that Draupadī — henceforth barren, her sons and brothers slain — must continue to renounce her auspicious aspect.

In treating the contrasting figure of Sītā, this essay will draw primarily from the Vālmīki *Rāmāyaṇa*. It should be noted, however, that the *Rāmopākhyāna* of the *Mahābhārata* employs these same symbols that we are considering, but occasionally with very different twists. Irrespective of questions of temporal priority, it is perhaps best to regard the *Rāmopākhyāna* simply as the *Mahābhārata* poets' version of the Rāma tale. In a certain sense, it belongs to the *Mahābhārata*. Indeed, Mārkaṇḍeya tells about Sītā in the *Rāmopākhyāna* to emphasize *similarities* between her tribulations and Draupadī's (*Mbh.* 3.257.5-8; 276.9-10). Not surprisingly, therefore, his Sītā is more like Draupadī

4. *Mahābhārata* citations are from the Poona Critical Edition.
5. See Hiltebeitel, *Draupadī's Hair*.

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than Vālmīki's [6]. It is thus Vālmīki whose Sītā is Draupadī's significant counterpart, just as it is his *Rāmāyaṇa* which must be studied thoroughly in its relation to the *Mahābhārata*, each text as a whole. This essay is but a small effort in that direction.

When Sītā prepares to go into the forest with Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, her depiction is much the reverse of Draupadī's at the time of her forest-entry. Whereas Draupadī wears dishevelled hair and a blood-stained garment into a symbolic realm of death (see *Mbh.* 2.71.21), where her dishevelment in particular carries the connotation of widowhood (as the epic indicates, the Pāṇḍavas are symbolically dead to her), Sītā embarks for the forest with all the finery of a *sumaṅgalī*, an « auspicious » married woman. While Draupadī dons bark and other ascetic attire without fanfare (3.226.20; 227.10), such ascetic garb is shown to be utterly inappropriate for Sītā. After Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa remove their courtly garments and don the bark which Kaikeyī insolently hands them, Sītā, still dressed in silk (*kauśeyavāsinī*; *Rām.* 2.33.9 [7]), has to ask Rāma how the forest ascetics put on their bark attire. And after seeing her fumble about vainly trying to put hers on, Rāma helps her fix the bark *over* her silk (33.12)! It is thus no more than a facade. Further, just before their departure, Daśaratha sees to it that she has enough jewels and garments to last her through her fourteen years of banishment; thus he orders Sumantra: « Bring quickly for Vaidehī very costly garments and choice jewels (*vāsāṃsi ca mahārhāṇi bhūṣaṇāni varāṇi ca*), enough for the count of those years » (34.15). And upon Sumantra's quick return, « The well-born (or beautiful) Vaidehī, about to set forth into the forest, adorned her well-born (or beautiful) limbs with those beautiful adornments. Thus beautifully adorned, Vaidehī illuminated the palace as the sun's splendor at the time of its radiant rising illumines the sky » (*sā sujātā sujātāni vaidehī prasthitā vanam / bhūṣayāmāsa gātrāṇi tairvicitrairvibhūṣaṇaiḥ // vyarājayata vaidehī veśma tatsuvibhūṣitā / udvato 'ṃśumataḥ kāle khaṃ prabheva vivasvataḥ*; 34.17-18). Rather than a disrobing, we thus have here what might be called a robing to excess. And this trend is developed further when, during the early part of their forest wanderings, Rāma, Sītā, and Lakṣmaṇa pass through the hermitage of Atri. There the latter's wife Anusūyā bestows upon Sītā more garments and jewels for her to wear in the forest, as well as a garland and perfume, none of which will ever fade or be tarnished (2.110.17-20; 111.11.13). Sītā's flowers garlands, and jewels are the first thing Rāma will see when he begins to look for her after Rāvaṇa abducts her (3.60.16-17 and 24). Indeed, concerning flowers, when she is abducted they fall from her head (*uttamāṅgacyutā*; 3.50.24), and it is suggested by the commentators Govindarāja and Nageśa Bhaṭṭa that

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6. The same rule applies to Bṛhadaśva's Damayantī in the *Mahābhārata*'s *Nalopākhyāna*; like Draupadī, Damayantī assumes the disguise of a Sairandhrī (hair-dresser-chambermaid).

7. *Rāmāyaṇa* citations are from the Baroda Critical Edition.

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Rāma would gather them for Sītā to fix in her hair (3.60.17 and notes; 3.50.24 and notes). This would be a further indication that during their period together in the forest she is in every way a *sumaṅgalī*, identified by these auspicious symbols down to the last and smallest detail. Thus, for instance, when Bharata seeks out Rāma in the forest to return the kingdom to hm, he knows where Sītā has been by the particles of gold (*kanakabindavaḥ*) and threads of silk (*kauśeyatantavaḥ*) which Sītā has left behind on the ground (2.82.13-14).

This idyll is drastically changed when Sītā is abducted by Rāvaṇa. This, of course, occurs while Rāma has been lured away due to Sītā's fascinatioan for a jewelled, multicolored deer! But it should be noted that the symbols of auspiciousness remain relatively constant, though of diminishing quantity. When Rāvaṇa seizes her, it is by the hair — as with Draupadī — and by the thigh (3.47.16; cf. 50.8: a second time by the hair alone). There is of course no seizure of garments, no disrobing, and she is not menstruating. When she is taken off, her saree is described variously, usually as made of yellow silk (*pītakauśeyavāsinī*; 44.12; 50.13-16), though once as red (*raktāmbara*; 47.9). Some of her jewels fall to the ground « flashing like fire », or « with a blaze of light like the Ganges falling from heaven » (50.25-31). But she also uses them to mark the path of her capture, letting some of them drop, along with her « auspicious » (*śubha*) yellow or « goldsheened » upper garment (*uttarīya*; see 5.13.43: *pītaṃ kanakapaṭṭābham... śubham*; 3.52.2: *kauśeyaṃ kanakaprabham*; 3.50.16, etc.), which she drops on Mount Ṛṣyamūka where she sees Sugrīva, Hanumān, and their monkey companions in banishment from the monkey city of Kiṣkindhā. Rāma will of course recognize this *uttarīya* and the « auspicious » (*śubha*) jewels when they are shown to him by Sugrīva at Ṛṣyamūka. Thus his quest for Sītā will be able to continue (4.6.9).

While she is held captive in Lankā, Rāvaṇa several times offers her new robes and jewels to make up for those she has lost (3.53.28; 5.18.9-11). These, of course, she refuses. Finally, when Hanumān locates her there, her pitiful condition is indicated most specifically by the diminution of these auspicious assets. Hanumān sees her essentially « unadorned » (*analaṃkṛtām*; 5.13.37), though he observes some jewelry darkened from long use (*śyāmāni cirayuktatvāt*; 41) still remaining, which Rāma had said would identify her. She is thus, as he puts it most poignantly and ornately, « deprived of the finest jewels, bejewelled solely by her devotion to her husband » (*bhūṣaṇair uttamair hīnāṃ bhartṛvātsalyabhūṣitām*; 5.15.21). And the robe she wears, though still retaining the yellow-gold color of the one she had dropped (13.43), is « exceedingly soiled » (*kliṣṭavattaram*; 13.45; cf. 13.20).

Most significantly, however, Hanumān's visit to Sītā is the occasion for the *exchange* of jewels that lets Sītā know that Rāma knows of her whereabouts, and Rāma know that Sītā has been found. Hanumān gives

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Sītā Rāma's signet ring (5.34.2). Most interesting, however, is the jewel which Sītā gives to Hanumān to take to Rāma. It is apparently alluded to in a scene just before Hanumān descends from the *śiṃśapā* tree to introduce himself to Sītā. Watching her from above, the monkey emissary sees her at her moment of deepest despair. « Burning with grief, reflecting in various ways, Sītā then, having seized the fillet that tied her braid, said: " Having swiftly hung myself with this fillet for my braid, I will go to the presence of Yama " « (*śokābhitaptā bahudhā vicintya / sītātha veṇyudgrathanaṃ gṛhitvā // udbadhya veṇyudgrathanena śīghram / ahaṃ gamiṣyāmi yamasya mūlam*; 5.26.17). But suddenly, as she takes hold of a branch of the *śiṃśapā*, her thoughts turn to Rāma and a rash of auspicious omens overwhelms her, removing her despair (26.18-20 and 27). This braid fillet or cord (*veṇyudgrathanam*) is connected with the jewel which Sītā will hand over to Hanumān for Rāma. This « auspicious » and « divine » (*śubha, śrīman, divya*) jewel is Sītā's *cūḍāmaṇi* (5.36.52; 63.31). It was given to Sītā by her father Janaka when she was Rāma's bride (*vadhūkāle*; 5.64.4), and it had been given to Janaka by Indra once when the god was pleased during a *yajna* (64.5). Discarding all her other jewels, Sītā has kept it « very well protected » (*suparirakṣita*; 38.7) or « carefully protected » (*yatnarakṣita*; 63.21) in her saree (in its waistfold?), from which she « releases » it (*vastragataṃ muktvā*, 36.52; *muktvā vastrād*, 65.30) to give to Hanumān. It is apparently a pearl, for it is « born from the waters » (*vārisaṃbhava*, 63.22; *jalasambhūta*, 64.5). Now, despite Hari Prasad Shastri, whose translation has Sītā wear this *cūḍāmaṇi* on her forehead (where indeed one might think a « crest jewel » would be) [8], Sītā's most treasured ornament is worn at the point where she clasps her hair in back, or better on top, in what would seem to conform for a woman to the *cūḍā* of a man: the single lock at the crown of the head left after the ceremony of tonsure (*cūḍākaraṇa, cūḍākarman*). Thus when Rāma sees the jewel brought back by Hanumān, he recalls how Sītā wore it as a bride « fastened to her head in such a way that it shone » (*baddhaṃ adhikaṃ mūrdhni śobhate*; 64.4). And as Hanumān says with greater precision, recalling the moment of the jewel's transfer: « Having examined each direction, releasing it from her garment, Sītā gave me this excellent jewel fit for being fastened (or, for the fillet) around her braid » (*sābhivīkṣya diśaḥ sarvā veṇyudgrathanamuttamam / muktvā vastrāddadau mahyaṃ maṇimetam mahābala*; 65.30). The « crest jewel » is thus *veṇyudgrathanam*, fit for tying around the *veṇī*, the same term used nominally for the « fillet for her braid » with which she has just considered hanging herself.

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8. Hari Prasad Shastri, trans., *The Ramayana of Valmiki*, 3 vols. (London: Shanti Sadan, 1962-70), vol. 2, p. 500.

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Sītā's trials, however, are not over with the transfer of this jewel. As she tells Hanumān (38.10), and as Hanumān tells Rāma (63.21), once she has given up this *cūḍāmaṇi* she will live but a month. It is thus the last vestige and symbol of her auspiciousness, and more particularly of her status as a *sumaṅgalī*. It is also the link between the two other most prominent symbols of this status: it is hidden in her « exceedingly soiled » but still auspicious yellow saree; and it is the jewel which she fastens at the top of her *veṇī*, her braid. Yet the term « braid » is misleading. During the period that she is held captive by Rāvaṇa, Sītā does not actually « braid » her hair in the conventional sense. Ordinarily a *sumaṅgalī* braids her hair in the three plait style known as the *triveṇī*, or the five-plaited *pañcaveṇī*. But Sītā wears hers in an *ekaveṇī* (5.18.8; 55.7; 57.12, etc.)[9], which one might translate as a single-plait braid. Actually, the *ekaveṇī* is a single mass of hair tied or clasped once in the back of the head and from there left free to flow. It is thus more of a pony tail than a braid. But it is the style of hair stipulated for the *virahiṇī*, the woman separated from her husband, as Sītā is during this period from Rāma. The most important implication of these facts is that the *ekaveṇī* is worn in anticipation of the husband's return, « whereupon the woman would untie the single mass and rearrange the hair properly with appropriate decorations »[10]. One may thus suppose that Sītā has kept this jewel hidden in her saree in the hope that when she reunites with Rāma, she will refix it to her hair-band.

In handing the *cūḍāmaṇi* over to Hanumān with the warning that she will live but a month more without it, Sītā thus indicates that her status as a *sumaṅgalī* has nearly reached its end. Both she and Draupadī thus tell their husbands they will soon die should they not receive certain jewels. Thereby they each spur their husbands to acts of revenge, Draupadī by vowing and Sītā by predicting her demise should the revenge not be exacted. No longer retaining in her saree the jewel with which she hopes to refasten her *veṇī*, Sītā foresees the moment when her hair will be completely loose, no longer that of a *virahiṇī* awaiting her lord's return but a woman facing death, and essentially a widow. Indeed, she anticipates such a moment symbolically when she considers unfastening her *ekaveṇī* and hanging herself with the cord. She thus holds in reserve the image of the dishevelled heroine, the woman like Draupadī. But it is an image which she never actually takes on.

It is thus significant that in the Vālmīki *Rāmāyaṇa*, Sītā must remain an auspicious woman throughout, or at least through the periods

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9. See HILTEBEITEL, *Draupadī's Hair*, nn. 21-23; other heroines of Sanskrit literature who wear an *ekaveṇī* are Kālidāsa's Śakuntalā and the yakṣa's wife in his *Meghadūta*.

10. A. B. Gajendragadkar, trans. and ed., *The Veṇīsaṃhāra of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa* (1933; 3rd. ed. Bombay: New and Second Hand Bookstall, n.d.), Part 3, p. 3.

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of forest banishment and captivity [11]. Here Vālmīki's Sītā is decidedly different from the *Rāmopākhyāna*'s. In the latter text, when Rāma first sees Sītā after he has defeated Rāvaṇa, she is « drawn with grief, all her limbs covered with dirt, her hair matted, wearing a black robe » (*śokakarśitāṃ malopacitasarvāṅgīṃ jaṭilāṃ kṛṣṇavāsasam*; *Mbh.* 3.275.9). For the *Mahābhārata* poets, she is thus like Draupadī [12]. Here, it is upon seeing Sītā in this defiled condition that Rāma repudiates her, thinking she had been touched by Rāvaṇa (10-11). On the contrary, in the Vālmīki *Rāmāyaṇa* when she appears before Rāma at the end of her period of captivity it is, as Rāma demands, only after she has washed her hair and put on her auspicious finery (*Rām.* 6.102.7-13). And he repudiates her only to « test » her. It is as if her auspiciousness is more important to Vālmīki than her purity which, despite the attestation by Agni, is eventually questioned by the populace of Ayodhyā. This is decidedly different from Draupadī, who assumes both inauspicious and impure aspects by choice (in her « vows » and disguises), but whose essential purity — once it has been attested to by the miraculous restoration of her sarees — can never be seriously questioned again [13].

Though it is clearly important to the Vālmīki *Rāmāyaṇa* that Sītā be so consistently and elaborately portrayed as the ideal *sumaṅgalī*, it is unlikely that the interest is simply domestic, decorative, or cosmetic. Like Draupadī, Sītā is depicted in images that represent certain aspects of the Hindu goddess in her iconography, cult, and mythology. Unlike Draupadī, in whom the *Mahābhārata* poets present an image of the goddess in her totality, Sītā is most decisively representative of the auspiciousness of Śrī (with whom she is frequently compared) and of the earth goddess Bhūdevī (from whom she is born and into whom she disappears at death). It is certainly no accident that she thus represents a combination of the two wives of Viṣṇu, of whom Rāma is the epic's primary incarnation. To be sure, Draupadī also personifies Śrī and Bhūdevī in the *Mahābhārata*, but under different aspects. Whereas Sītā remains united with Rāma, the incarnation of Viṣṇu, Draupadī maintains an intriguingly distanced relation with Kṛṣṇa, Viṣṇu's *Mahābhārata* incarnation. She is rather, as representative also of such figures as Mṛtyu, Kālarātri, and Kālī, allied with the destructive role of Śiva [14]. Thus whereas Draupadī's ascetic appearance and particularly her dishevelment are, as I have argued elsewhere, images of the *pralaya*, the dissolution of the three worlds of earth, atmosphere, and heaven, Sītā's

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11. She wears the brownish-red garment (*kāṣāya*) of the widow or renunciant when she enters the earth at her death (7.88.9).

12. Draupadī wears « a single large black very dirty garment » (*vasaśca paridhāyaikiṃ kṛṣṇaṃ sumalinaṃ mahat*; *Mbh.* 4.8.2) when she disguises herself as a Sairandhrī (see n. 6) to enter the city of king Virāṭa.

13. See Hiltebeitel, *Draupadī's Garments*, pp. 97-101.

14. See Hiltebeitel, *Draupadī's Hair*, and *id.*, *Śiva, the Goddess, and the Disguises of the Pāṇḍavas and Draupadī*, HR, 20 (1980), pp. 147-74.

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retention of her *sumangalī* status seems to have an opposed connotation. Indeed, the *cūḍāmaṇi* that she exchanges with Rāma indicates that the tenuous ties between Viṣṇu (Rāma) and the earth (Sītā) are never « dissolved » in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, no matter how separate they may become. In fact, the earth is herself, like Sītā, referred to as *ekaveṇīdharā* (*Harivaṃśa* 2.40.43) [15] — the wearer of an *ekaveṇī* — when, under misrule, she is temporarily unprotected by dharmic kings, and thus separated from them. Accordingly, the siege of Lankā is less a *pralaya*-like battle (like the *Mahābhārata* war) than the overthrow of an otherworldly, indeed non-three-worldly kingdom in which Sītā, the heroine who represents the earth's prosperity, is held captive. The details in the *Rāmāyaṇa* that would sustain such an interpretation must be pursued elsewhere, but it is fitting to note here that Sītā is portrayed remarkably like the Sumerian Inanna and the Akkadian Ishtar in the myths of these goddesses' descents into the nether world. Dispossessed of different jewels and finally of their garments at each of the underworld's seven gates, the two goddesses arrive naked in the nether world while on earth all lies infertile. The first jewel which each loses and the last which each regains on her return journey is the crown [16]. It is likely that Sītā's jewels relate to similar cosmological conceptions, with a major difference. The *cūḍāmaṇi* pearl — born from the water like the goddess Śrī and the earth herself — is, as a symbol of the earth, not only never reliquished, but transmitted by Hanumān (son of Vāyu, the Wind) to the hands of Lord Rāma.

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15. Chitrashala Press Edition, Ramachandra Kinjawadekar, ed.

16. See S. N. Kramer, trans., *Inanna's Descent to the Nether World*, and E. A. Speiser, trans., *Descent of Ishtar to the Nether World*, in James B. Pritchard, ed., *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* (2nd. ed.,; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955), pp. 52-7 and 106-9. Cf. also HILTEBEITEL, *Draupadī's Garments*, p. 104.

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PADMANABH S. JAINI

SVATANTRAVACANĀMṚTA OF KANAKASENA

The single manuscript of this unpublished short Jaina poem is to be found in the collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale of the University of Strasbourg[1]. A brief description of this manuscript (of two palm-leaves) appears in the *Catalogue of the Jaina Manuscripts at Strasbourg*[2], p. 222 and p. 240. As can be seen from the text and the translation produced below, the work belongs to the genre of the *dvātriṃśikās* (« philosophical compositions in thirty-two verses ») popular among the Jainas from the time of Siddhasena Divākara (fourth century) the celebrated author of the *Ekaviṃśati-dvātriṃśikāḥ*[3]. The title of the present composition is not referred to elsewhere and although the name Kanakasena appears at the end of the poem we have no further information on his identiy or his date. Since the name ends in -sena, the author may be said to belong to Senagaṇa[4], a mendicant order of the Digambara sect.

The text can be divided into three parts. The first (vv. 1-9) puts forth views of several of the traditional *darśanas* on the nature of the soul. The second part (vv. 10-24) expounds the Jaina view of the soul, seeking to overcome the apparent contradictions by recourse to the device of *syādvāda*. The third part (vv. 25-31) speaks of the triple path of insight, knowledge and conduct culminating in the state of *mokṣa*. Despite its brevity, the *Svatantravacanāmṛta* can be considered a complete exposition of the Jaina doctrine pertaining to the freedom of the soul from the bonds of karma.

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1. I am grateful to the authorities of the Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire de Strasbourg for their kind permission to publish this manuscript.

2. C. TRIPATHI, *Catalogue of the Jaina Manuscripts at Strasbourg*, Leiden, 1975.

3. A. N. UPADHYE, *Siddhasena's Nyāyāvatāra and Other Works*, Bombay, 1971, pp. 111-69.

4. On the history of Senagaṇa, see V. P. JOHRAPURKAR, *Bhaṭṭāraka-Sampradāya*, Sholapur, 1958, pp. 1-38.

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SVATANTRAVACANĀMṚTA: TEXT AND TRANSLATION

śrī vītarāgāya namaḥ /
jīvājīvaikabhāsāya prāṇair bhāva-tad anyakaiḥ /
kāryakāraṇamuktaṃ taṃ muktātmānam upāsmahe // 1 //

Salutations to the auspicious one who is free from passions!
We venerate that free soul who is emancipated from the cycle of cause and effect [namely the defiled state of bondage] and from the signs of embodiment and vital life and one who illuminates with his knowledge the entire range of the sentient and the insentient (1).

atha mokṣasvabhāvāptir ātmanaḥ karmaṇāṃ kṣayaḥ /
samyagdṛgjñānacāritrair avinābhāvalakṣaṇaih // 2 //

There is the attainment of the true nature of emancipation when there is the total destruction of the karmas accumulated by the soul. And such a state is not to be found without the simultaneous presence of true insight, right knowledge and pure conduct (2).

sati dharmiṇi tad dharmāś cintyante vibudhair iha /
moktrabhāve tataḥ kasya mokṣaḥ syād iti nāstikaḥ // 3 //

Here the nihilist [the Cārvāka] objects: « The wise consider the qualities (dharmas) only when there is a substance (dharmin) indicated; in the absence of a soul who attains emancipation (i.e. whose freedom can be talked about?) (3).

asty ātmā cetano draṣṭā pṛthivyāder ananvayāt /
piśācadarśanādibhyo 'nādiśuddhaḥ sanātanaḥ // 4 //

[The ātmavādin says:] There is a soul. He is sentient and being the perceiver cannot be subsumed under [such substances] as earth, etc. [He must be considered different from the body] on the analogy of perception of goblins, etc., [who do not have gross bodies.] This soul moreover is eternally and forever pure (4).

sa nirlepaḥ kathaṃ saukhyasmarakrodhādikāraṇāt /
dehād evādihetubhyaḥ kartā bhoktā ca neśvaraḥ // 5 //

« The soul cannot however be [totally] free from blemishes because of the presence of such conditions as pleasure, sexual desire, anger, etc., which arise with the body. For these reasons the soul is the agent [of his actions] as well as the enjoyer [of the results]; he certainly is not the lord of himself » (5).

īśvarābhāvatas tasmin na tadvatvaṃ prasiddhyati /
sādhanāsambhavāt so 'pi brūte (?) Yogamati(ī)ṣṭikṛt // 6 //

« In the absence of this lordship he cannot truly be established as endowed with thatness, [namely being the agent and the enjoyer] », so

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says a disciple of the Yoga school, the performer of sacrifices, [namely, a devotee of the Lord] (6).

sat[t]vāt kṣaṇika evāsau tat phalam kasya jāyate /
api durgṛhitam evaitat pratyabhijñādibādhakāt // 7 //

Here the Buddhist says: If the soul is an existent, then it must be momentary. Such being the case, to whom would the result accrue? [The Jaina replies:] Surley this is wrongly perceived since your position is invalidated by recognition, etc. (7).

śruta(i)prāmāṇyataḥ karma kriyate hiṃsādinā yutam /
vṛthety arpaiti(?) na x xxxx sambhavāt // 8 //

Here the Mīmāṃsaka says: Actions are performed mixed with injury to beings as they are prescribed by the revealed scriptures (the Vedas). [The Jaina replies:] Surley that is futile [as injury cannot be the means of salvation] (8).

advaitasādhanaṃ nāsti dvaitāpattis tad anyathā /
nyūnād ity ācchabodhāder dehināṃ iti jainadhīḥ // 9 //

As for the Advaita-Vedānta, if there is only one reality, there can be no means to establish it. And if it is established, duality will result. [Moreover, there must be plurality] because of the deficiencies perceived in the pure (i.e. normal) consciousness of sentient beings. The Jaina view on the soul therefore is (9):

draṣṭā jñātā prabhuḥ kartā bhoktā ceti guṇī ca saḥ /
visrasordhvagatir dhrauvyavyayotpattiyugaṃgamaḥ // 10 //

The soul is the perceiver, the knower, the Lord, the agent, the enjoyer and possessor of qualities. [When freed from the karmas and the conditions of embodiment] the soul is of the nature to rise upwards spontaneously [reaching the summit of the Universe]. [As an existent] the soul is enjoined simultaneously with production [of a new state], loss [of an old state] and the endurance [as a substance with its own qualities] (10).

asti-nāsti-svabhāvo 'sau dharmaiḥ svaparasambhavaiḥ /
guṇāguṇasvarūpaś ca sva-vibhāvaguṇair bhavet // 11 //

The soul is characterized by positive and negative aspects which rise from the assertion of his own qualities and the denial of others' in him. In this way when we look at his innate nature he will be seen as endowed with [perfect] qualities. When his defilements [arising from the contact of karmas] are however perceived he would appear to be deviod of such [perfect] qualities (11).

vyapadeśādibhir bhinnaḥ sukhādibhyo 'paras tathā /
pradeśair bandhato mūrtir amūrtaḥ sa tad anyathā // 12 //

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Although truly speaking, he must be distinct from the states where he is designated [as human, divine, animal, etc.,] he must nevertheless be identical with the [changing] states of happiness, etc. Similarly, he has a form when bound by karmic matters and is formless when he is free from bondage (12).

jātiśakteś ca caitanyād ekaḥ sa syād anekatām /
āpnoti vṛttisadbhāvair nānā jñānātmanā tataḥ // 13 //

The soul can truly be seen as « non-dual » when one perceives his consciousness in its universal aspect [that is when the objects reflected therein are seen as modifications of consciousness and not distinct from it]. But the same consciousness can be described as « manifold » when one perceives its multiple operation in relation to particular souls (13).

kṣaṇikaḥ svaparyayair nityair guṇair akṣaṇikas tathā /
śūnyaḥ karmabhir ānandād aśūnyaḥ sa mataḥ satām // 14 //

The soul is momentary [if one looks only at its modifications]; it is not momentary however if one perceives its eternal qualities. It can be called empty (*śūnya*) since it is devoid of karmas but the wise would call it « non-empty » also as it is filled with bliss (14).

cetanaḥ sopayogatvāt prameyatvād acetanaḥ /
vācyaḥ kramavivakṣāyām avācyo yugapadgiraḥ // 15 //

The soul is sentient because of its cognition but [in a way] it is insentient too since it becomes the object of knowledge. It can be called « describable » if one were to speak of it in a sequential order [asserting certain properties and denying certain others] but it would become «inexpressible » if one were to attempt to express both the positive and negative aspects simultaneously (15).

dravyādyaiḥ svagatair bhāvo 'bhāvaḥ paragataiḥ sadā /
nityaḥ sthiter anityo 'sau vyayotpattiprakārataḥ // 16 //

The soul is existent because of its own substance, etc. It can be called non-existent in as much as it lacks the substance (nature) of others. It is eternal [when one views] its durable substance; non-eternal however, [when viewed purely] from the gain and loss of its modifications (16).

ākuñcanaprasārābhyām aghātebhyas tanupramaḥ /
samudghātaiḥ pradeśaiḥ syāt sa ca sarvagato mataḥ // 17 //

Because of expansion and contraction — which do not however destroys it — the soul is said to be of the same measure as its body. However the same soul can be called « omni-present » when it performs the act of « bursting forth » (*samudghāta*) and extends itself throughout the universe [in order to thin out the karmic matter of the « non-destructive » type (i.e. the *Vedanīya karma*)] (17).

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kartā svaparyayeṇa syāt akartā 'paraparyayaiḥ /
bhoktā pratyātmasamprīter abhoktā 'karaṇāśrayāt // 18 //

The soul is the agent only of its own modifications. It is not the agent of the states of other existents. It can be called « the enjoyer » to the extent that it attaches itself to its own body and senses but it is not the enjoyer [if one perceives the fact that] it is not truly supported by the sense organs (18).

svasaṃvedanabodhena vyakto 'sau kathito jinaiḥ /
avyaktaḥ parabodhena grāhyo grāhako 'py ataḥ // 19 //

The Jinas have declared that the soul is « experienced » only in reference to self-cognition but the same soul can be called « beyond experience » when it becomes the object of others' cognition. For the very same reasons the soul is also described as the cognizer and the cognized (19).

ity anekāntarūpo 'sau dharmair evaṃvidhaiḥ padaiḥ /
jñātavyo 'nantaśaktibhyo svabhāvād api yogibhiḥ // 20 //

Thus the soul indeed is characterized by a manifold nature and it is to be known by [such apparently contradictory] expressions. By the yogins, however, the soul can be known in its own nature [endowed] with its infinite qualities (20).

nayapramāṇabhaṅgībhiḥ sustham etan mataṃ bhavet /
nayā syus tv aṃśagās tatra pramāṇe sakalārthage // 21 //

Through the method of applying the partial and comprehensive means of knowledge [the manifoldness of the soul] is well established. The *nayas* apprehend only portions of realities whereas the two *pramāṇas*, [namely the direct and indirect perceptions] apprehend the totality of knowables (21).

bhūtābhūtanayo mukhyo dravyaparyāyadeśanāt /
tad bhedā naigamādyāḥ syur antabhedās tathāpare // 22 //

The nayas are primarily two-fold referring to the real and the relative, namely, the substantial and the modificational aspects. These are further divided as *naigama-naya*, etc. and each of these is further subdivided (22).

pratyakṣaṃ spaṣṭanirbhāsaṃ parokṣaṃ viśadetaram /
tat parmāṇaṃ vidus tajñāḥ svaparārthaviniścayāt // 23 //

The direct perception (i.e. the omniscient perception) is that which is clear and without blemish. The indirect perception [namely that which is mediated by mind and the senses] is partly clear and partly unclear. Both these are called valid means of knowledge by the wise since they determine the objects inclusive of the self and others (23).

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syād asti-nāsti-yugaṃ syād avaktavyaṃ ca tat trayam /
saptabhaṅgīnayair vastu dravyārthikapurassaraiḥ // 24 //

The object of knowledge is approached by the seven-fold viewpoints expressed as exists, does not exist, both, inexpressible, and the three combinations thereof, all statements qualified by the term *syāt* (in some sense). These seven statements will proceed [with having] in view [either] the substance [or the modes] (24).

nirleśyaṃ nirguṇasthānaṃ sac-cij-jñānasukhātmakam /
ātyantikam avasthānaṃ sa mokṣo 'tra yad ātmanaḥ // 25 //

The emancipation of the soul is that state when the soul becomes free from karmic « colouration », transcends the [fourteen][5] stages of the progress towards perfection, becomes the embodiment of pure being, pure consciousness, infinite knowledge and bliss and endures there eternally (25).

dṛgjñānāvṛtimohākhyavighnāvidyodarānvayāḥ /
karmāṇi dravyamukhyāni kṣayaś caiṣām asau bhavet // 26 //

The emancipation takes place when there is the total annihilation of nescience (*avidyā*) which is also known as the major karmic matter, the obscurer of perception and knowledge and the producer of delusion and obstruction (26).

niṣkiṣṭakāḷakaṃ svarṇaṃ tat syād agniviśeṣataḥ /
tathā rāgakṣayād eṣa kramād bhavati nirmalaḥ // 27 //

Just as a piece of gold by coming into contact with a special kind of fire can become free from all dirt, similarly the soul gradually becomes free from [karmic] dirt by the destruction of attachment (27).

bāhyāntaraṅgasāmagrye paramātmani bhāvanām /
yo 'bhyudety ātmanaḥ samyak [tat] samyagdarśanaṃ matam // 28 //

The true insight is that which arises in the soul when there is the contemplation of the true self in the presence of the totality of the internal and the external efficient causes (28).

svaparicchittipūraṇaṃ yat tat praticchittikāraṇam /
jyotiḥ pradīpavad bhāti samyagjñānaṃ tad īritam // 29 //

The right knowledge is said to be that which shines like flame and is the immediate cause of perceiving the objects as well as discriminating between the self and non-self (29).

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5. On the fourteen *guṇasthānas*, see P. S. JAINI, *The Jaina Path of Purification*, Berkeley, 1979, pp. 257-73.

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tatparyāyasthiratvaṃ vā svāsthyaṃ vā cittavṛttiṣu /
sarvāvasthāsu mādhyasthyaṃ tad vṛttam atha vā smṛtam // 30 //

The pure conduct is described as that which is firmness in that state [of discrimination], the complete stillness of all operations of the mind and the equanimity in all states (30).

etat tritayam evāsya hetuḥ samuditaṃ bhavet /
nānyat kalpitam anyair yad vādibhir yuktibādhitam // 31 //

Only the combination of these three may be considered the proper means of [attaining] this [emancipation] and not those imagined by the disputants whose arguments are opposed to reasoning (31).

itthaṃ Svatantravacanāmṛtam āpibanti
svātmasthiteḥ Kanakasenamukhendusūtam /
ye jivhayā śrutipuṭe t[r]iyugena bhavyās
te cājarāmarapadaṃ sapadi śrayante // 32 //

These are the immortal words on the free soul coming from the moon-like mouth of Kanakasena [the poet], well established in his own self. Those devout souls, who with body, speech and mind recieve this ambrosia of words through their ears and taste it with their tongue [i.e. listen to it and repeat it] surely will instantly attain to the state free from decay and death (32).

iti Svatantravacanāmṛtaṃ samāptam //
Thus is completed the Immortal Sayings on the Free Soul.

Berkeley.

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A. N. JANI

INTERPOLATIONS IN THE HAṬHAYOGAPRADĪPIKĀ

The *Haṭhayogapradīpikā* of Svātmārāma occupies an enviable position as one of the authoritative texts on the Haṭhayoga. Due to its popularity many additions seem to have crept in the original text possibly at one or more stages. An attempt is made to spot out the spurious part and to restore the original as far as possible, by following the general accepted criteria of Indian textual critisism.

At the outset it seems that originally the author wrote his work in the *anuṣṭubh* metre and that the original text was simple and lucid. The attempts to embellish it with longer metres, tricky stanzas, puzzles (*kūṭa-ślokas*) etc. are therefore indications of later interpolations.

For the sake facility the interpolations are shown herebelow by taking the text chapterwise in its natural order[1].

The present text is divided into 4 chapters called *upadeśas*. The first one is called *āsanavidhikathana*, the second has no title; but it discusses *prāṇāyāmas* and hence can be called *prāṇāyāmakathana*. The third is called *mudrākathana* and the last is called *samādhilakṣaṇa*. The number of stanzas in the four sections is: 67 + 78 + 130 + 114 = 389.

Interpolations: Chapter I

(1) Stanza 1 which is in the *indravajrā* metre is an interpolation on the ground of metre. Moreover the st. 1.2 is again a maṅgala, which seems to be the original one. As the sts. 1.2 and 1.3 bear the name of the author, they seem to be genuine as compared to 1.1.

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1. The text followed is the *Haṭhayogapradīpikā* of Svātmārāma with the commentary Jyotsnā of Brahmānanda and English Translation, Adyar Library and Research Centre, Madras, 3rd Edition, 1972.

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(2) Stanzas 1.5-9 giving the names of *mahāsiddhas* are interpolations as they merely give the details of the names which are already included by the word « ādyāḥ » in 1.4.

(3) Stanza 1.13 is again an elaboration of the description of *maṭha* already described in 1.12. The metre *śārdūlavikrīḍita* is a further factor in deciding its spurious character. Stanza no. 14, going with 13, is also an interpolation. Similarly stanza no. 15 and 16 hanging loosely in the context indicate their spuriousness.

(4) Two and a half stanzas between 1.16 and 1.17 given in the bracket by the editor are clear interpolations as is clear from the fact that they are not commentated upon.

(5) Stanzas 1.26-31 are later interpolations. Stanza 26 describes *matsyendrāsana* and 27 its benefits. Similarly stanza 28 describing *paścimatānāsana* and 29 describing its benefits are interpolations. Similarly st. 30 describing *mayūrāsana* and 31 describing its benefits are interpolations. That they are interpolations is clear from the change in the metres (26, 27, 28 and 30-*upajāti*, 29-*mālabhāriṇī*; *31-mālinī*).

(6) The treatment of *āsanas* is given by the author from stanza no. 1.18 onwards. After describing 11 *āsanas* (8 original + 3 spurious) namely *svastika* etc., the author begins to dwelve upon four *āsanas* (viz. *siddha, padma, siṃha* and *bhadra*) which are the best of all.

Here following discrepancies are worth noting: *Siddhāsana* is described in two different ways in 1.35 and 1.36. The commentator points out that the stanza 1.35 in *śārdūla°* metre gives the description according to Matsyendra and 1.36 in *anuṣṭubh* metre according to other authority (which may be perhaps the author himself) [2]. But surprisingly the same commentator remarks, while describing the *padmāsana*, that the stanza 1.44 (in *śārdūla°* metre) gives the description by the author and the stanza 1.45 (in *anuṣṭubh* metre) gives the one by Matsyendranātha c. eg. « Matsyendranāthābhimataṃ padmāsanamāha-uttānāviti » (on 1.45).

Here the commentator seems to intend that the st. 1.44 is from the author and 1.45 represents *matāntara* (alterntaive view of Matsyendra). If the st. 1.35 (in śārdūla°) represents Matsyendra's view the consistancy demands that likewise the st. 1.44 (also in śārdūla) must also represent the Matsyendra's view.

Thus it is evident that the st. 1.36 and 1.45 (both in *anuṣṭubh*) are original and that the sts. 1.35 and 1.44 (both in śārdūla°) are later interpolations. Similarly st. 1.48 (also in śārdūla°) can be marked as interpolated on the metrical ground.

(7) Stanzas 1.58-63 are also spurious. The st. 1.58 is an elaboration of *mitāhāra* (1.57). Stanza 59 in the *vasantatilakā* and 60 in the *upagīti*

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2. Vide introduction to commentary on 1.36: *matsyendrasaṃmataṃ siddhāsanamuktvā'nyasaṃmataṃ vaktumāha.*

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describing unwholesome food are definite interpolations. The st. 1.61 is a quotation from Gorakṣa and hence is included later possibly from the *marginalia*. Stanza 1.62 in *vasantatilakā* and 1.63 describing wholesome food are likewise interpolations. Thus the original stanza 1.57 only serves the purpose, while the stanzas 58-63 represent further elucidation of the idea expressed in 1.57.

Chapter II

(1) St. 2.10 which according to the commentator also, is a repetition[3] of the idea already expressed earlier in 2.7 is an interpolation.

(2) St. 2.17 is a further explanation of the diseases conveyed in short in 2.16 and hence interpolation.

(3) St. 2.28 in *upajāti* giving benefits of *jalabasti*, and 2.34 in *upajāti* describing the benefits of *nauli* are interpolations on metrical ground. St. 2.38 describing the *gajakaraṇi* in the *puṣpitāgrā* is an interpolation on metrical ground as well as on the ground that it falls outside the list of topics enumerated (2.22) by the author.

(4) The st. 2.45-47 disturbing the natural order between 2.44 and 2.48 are interpolations also because they refer to *bandha*, which is not yet introduced.

(5) The st. 2.59, introducing *padmāsana* abruptly out of context and already discussed in details in I.44-49, seems to be an interpolation.

(6) The st. 2.68 describing *bhrāmarī* variety of the *kumbhaka prāṇāyāma*, in *śālinī* is an interpolation. The original in *anuṣṭubh* metre seems to have been lost through oversight by the later redactor.

(7) The st. 2.78 describing the signs of the achievement of Haṭhayoga is an interpolaton, as indicated also by the metre *vaṃśastha*.

Chapter III

(1) The st. 3.33 in *āryā* describing the signs of mastering *khecarīmudrā* is an interpolation on metrical ground.

(2) The sts. 3.47-49 are interpolations. The st. 3.47 is a *kūṭa* stanza and 48 and 49 solve the riddle presented therein.

(3) The sts. 3.50-52 describing the advantages of *khecarī* in *śārdūla°*, *śārdūla°* and *mandākrānta* respectively, are spurious on metrical ground.

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3. Cf. « *baddhapadmāsana* » — (2-7) *ityādyuktamarthaṃ piṇḍīkṛtyā'nuvadan prāṇāyāmasyāntaraphalamāha* — (p. 38).

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(4) The st. 3.92-95 describing « *sahajoli* » and stanzas 3.96-98 describing « *amaroli* » are interpolations, as this topic seems to be a later addition to the original practice of *vajroli* forming the genuine unit of the Haṭhayoga. The practices of « *sahajoli* » and « *amaroli* » are comparatively indecent and perhaps followed by yogis of lower order, are possibly out of place in the Haṭhayoga. Yet the later redactor has tried to incorporate them into the Haṭhayoga as a variety of « *vajroli* ».

(5) The st. 3.109-110, like 3.47-49, are also riddles and hence spurious.

(6) The st. 3.112 in *upajāti* describing *kuṇḍalinī* is an interpolation on metrical ground.

(7) The st. 3.126, a poetic verse yielding three meanings by paronomasia is evidently an interpolation.

Chapter IV

(1) The sts. 4.13 and 15 are interpolated. The stanza 4.13 is evidently abrupt and 4.15 is in *vasantatilakā* [4].

(2) The stanza 4.24 (in *upajāti*) and 4.25 (in *indravajrā*) giving interrelation of mind and wind are interpolations on metrical ground. Again the commentator indicates that the present st. is also found in the *yogabīja* [5] wherefrom possibly it is added here by a later redactor.
Similarly sts. 4.26 and 4.27 which go with 24 and 25 are also interpolations. The address to Pārvatī in 4.27 is further indication of its being incorporated here from some other source.

(3) The stanzas 37 and 41 in *śārdula°* describing Śāmbhavīmudrā are later additions on metrical ground. Stanza 42 being riddle type is also an interpolation.

(4) St. 4.58 in *vasantatilakā* is an interpolation from the Yogavāsiṣtha indicated also by an address to Rāma in the last line.

(5) Sts. 4.66-81 seem to be later additions. Firstly because there are some stanzas in longer metres. e.g. 66 in *upajāti*, 68 in *āryā*, 81 in *indravajrā*. Secondly the original text seems to discuss the *nādānusandhāna* from stanza 82 onwards. Hence the four avasthās of *nāda* described in 69 to 81 seem to be added later on.

(6) Stanzas 4.99-101 are later interpolated. The st. 4.99 is in Upagīti. 4.100 and 101 seem to be out of context.

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4. In fact stanzas 8 to 15 seem to be later additions as they break the natural context between 3.7 and 3.16.

5. Cf. *yogabīje mūlaślokasyāyamuttaraḥ ślokaḥ*, p. 145.

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Thus it seems that the original text of Svātmārāma is tampared with later on by certain hands, who tried to introduce additional matter from other sources. It will be very interesting to trace out these sources. For want of space it is left out here for another article. The clue to these sources is found in some of the stanzas in longer metre quoted by the commentator in his commentary. e.g. compare 3.121, 4.27, 37, 67, 82. Some of the stanzas are identified from the *Yogabīja*. Thus applying the criteria of metre, context, elaboration etc. quite a big number of stanzas (25 + 11 + 18 + 29 = 83) can be sorted out as interpolations in the text.

It is also likely to surmise that Svātmārāma may not be an author of the Haṭhayogapradīpikā. He might have compiled the text from different sources and from floating literature traditionally available to him by adding a few stanzas here and there to link such material. This conclusion is inevitable due to patch-work like character of the text.

APPENDIX I

TABLE OF INTERPOLATED STANZAS

I.	*II.*	*III.*	*IV.*
1 = 1	10 = 1	33 = 1	13 & 15 = 2
5- 9 = 5	17 = 1	47- 49 = 3	24- 27 = 4
13-16 = 4	28 = 1	50- 52 = 3	37 = 1
26-31 = 6	34 = 1	92- 95 = 4	41- 42 = 2
35 = 1	38 = 1	96- 98 = 3	58 = 1
44 = 1	45-47 = 3	109-110 = 2	66- 81 = 16
48 = 1	59 = 1	112 = 1	99-101 = 3
58-63 = 6	68 = 1	126 = 1	—
—	78 = 1	—	29
25	—	18	
	11		

APPENDIX II

METRES OTHER THAN THE ANUṢṬUBH

1. Āryā, III.33; IV.68 . . . . . = 2
2. Indravajrā, I.1; IV.25 . . . . . = 2
3. Mālabhāriṇī, I.29 . . . . . = 1
4. Mālinī, I.31 . . . . . = 1
5. Mandākrāntā, II.52; IV.114 . . . . . = 2
6. Puṣpitāgrā, II.38 . . . . . = 1
7. Śālinī, II.68 . . . . . = 1
8. Śārdūla°, I.13, 35, 44, 48; II.10; III.50-51; IV.37, 41 . . . . . = 9
9. Upagīti, I.60; IV.99 . . . . . = 2
10. Upajāti, I.26, 27, 28, 30; II.28, 34; III.96, 112; IV.24, 66 . . . . = 10
11. Vaṃśastha, II.78 . . . . . = 1
12. Vasantatilakā, I.59, 62; IV.15, 58 . . . . . = 4

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S. G. KANTAWALA *

TWO LEGENDS FROM THE PURĀṆAS: A STUDY IN UPABṚṂHAṆA **

Introductory:

Purāṇas form an important branch of Sanskrit literature and are « rooted in Vedic literature » [1]. They are said to be the very quintessence not only of the *Vedas* and of the *Vedāṅgas*, but the very soul of the *Vedas* [2]. They are reckoned as the fifth *Veda* [3]. All this points to the close relationship of the *Vedas* and the *Purāṇas*. Hence they are very important not only for the religious and cultural history of India, but also for the Vedic studies as ancillary literature.

Various principles of Vedic interpretation have been expounded [4]. The Mbh states that the moonlight in the form of *smṛti* is manifested

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1. M. WINTERNITZ, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, p. 518 (Translated by Mrs. S. Ketkar), University of Calcutta, Calcutta, 1927.

2. *ātmā purāṇaṃ vedānām/Skandapurāṇa, Revākhaṇḍa* 1.22, Venkateshvar Steam Press, Bombay; *sarvavedavedāṅgaśāstrāṇāṃ, sārabhūtam*/Nāradīyapurāṇa 1.1.21; Venkateshvar Steam Press, Bombay, Saṃvat 1962; *sarvavedārthasārāṇi purāṇānīti*/ Nāradīyapurāṇa 1.1.61; *vedāḥ pratiṣṭhitāḥ sarve nātra saṃśayaḥ*/Nāradīyapurāṇa 2.24.17; *cf. Skandapurāṇa, Revākhaṇḍa* 1.2.2; *cf. nigamakalpataror galitaṃ phalam*/ BhP 1.1.3.

3. *purāṇaṃ pañcamo veda iti Brahmānuśāsanam/Skandapurāṇa, Revākhaṇḍa* 1.18.

4. ARTHUR A. MACDONELL, *The Principles to be followed in Translating the Ṛgveda*, « Commemorative Essays Presented to Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar », pp. 3-19, BORI, Poona, 1917; A. B. DHRUVA, *The Veda and Its Interpretations*, « Malaviya Commemoration Volume », pp. 447-58, Benares Hindu University, Benares, 1932; S. S. BHAWE, *The Soma-Hymns of the Ṛgveda*, Part I, pp. 2-3. Oriental Institute, M.S. University of Baroda, Baroda, 1957 (M.S. University of Baroda Research Series, No. 3).

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by the full moon in the form of *Purāṇas*[5]. The Mbh 1.1.204 and the *Purāṇas, e.g. Vāyupurāṇa* 1.201, expound a tenet that the *upabṛṃhaṇa* of the *Veda* is to be done with the help of *Itihāsa* and *Purāṇa*[6]. *Upabṛṃhaṇa* is *śrutipratipannārtha-viśadīkaraṇa*[7] and according to Jīvagosvāmin *Purāṇa* is so called because it nourishes and supplements the meaning of the *Veda*[8].

It is quite well-known that some Vedic *mantras*, myths and legends have migrated to the *Itihāsa* and *Purāṇa*-literature. *En passant* it may also be noted that there are some enigmatic hymns in the *Ṛgveda*. Therein there is also a class of hymns known as the dialogue-hymns or the *ākhyāna*-hymns or the ballads. It is in this context that *Purāṇas* throw some times some important light in their exegesis[9] by playing a supplementary, confirmatory and/or explanatory rôle. It is quite true that the tenet of *upabṛṃhaṇa* is a time-honoured principle and hence it is to be utilized with care and caution. The utilization of the Epic and Purāṇic tradition which in a sense represents the continuation of Indian tradition and culture, would not run counter to the thesis of Karl F. Geldner and R. Pischel who advocated that « the Indian literature of later periods provides the best key »[10] to the understanding of the RV.

In this paper it is proposed to examine afresh the two renowned legends *viz.* (i) the Brahmā-Sarasvatī legend and (ii) the Soma-Tārā legend, especially from the point of view of *upabṛṃhaṇa*.

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5. *purāṇapūrṇacandreṇa smṛtijyotsnāprakāśinā*/Mbh. Ādiparvan, Appendix I, p. 885 (cr. ed. BORI, Poona). *Vide* also P. V. KANE, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. V, Part II, p. 914, fn. 1449, BORI, Poona, 1962.

6. *itihāsapurāṇābhyāṃ vedaṃ samupabṛṃhayet*/Mbh. 1.1.204; *vide* also Rāmānuja, Śrībhāṣya on Brahmsūtra 1.1.1 (p. 69, edited by Vasudeva Shastri Abhyankar, Poona, 1935).

7. RAM SHANKAR BHATTACHARYA, *Itihāsa-Purāṇa-kā Anuśīlana* (Hindi), p. 25, fn. 1; Indological Book House, Varanasi, 1963.

8. RAM SHANKAR BHATTACHARYA, *op. cit.*, p. 238; *cf. pūraṇāt purāṇam*/Jīvagosvāmin as referred to by RAM SHANKAR BHATTACHARYA, *ibid.*, p. 46.

9. *Vide* T. G. MAINKAR, *The Upabṛṃhaṇa and the Ṛgveda Interpretation*, pp. 8, 10, 16 (L.D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad, 1975). BALADEVA UPADHYAYA, *Purāṇavimarśa* (Hindi), pp. 243 ff. (Chowkhamba Vidyabhavan, Varanasi, 1965). He gives also the classification of the working of the principle of *upabṛṃhaṇa* (*ibid.*).

10. M. WINTERNITZ, *op. cit.*, p. 72. T. G. Mainkar has « made an effort to indicate the utility as well as the necessity of the upabṛṃhaṇa » (*ibid.*, Preface, p. 5) and he observes that « it is to be remembered that the traditional cry for "*upabṛṃhaṇa*" also has its rightful place by the side of these modern principles » (*ibid.*, p. 17). For various principles of interpreting the Purāṇas *vide* ANAND SWARUP GUPTA, *The Problem of Interpretation of Purāṇas*, Purāṇa, Vol. VI, No. 1, January 1964, All-India Kashiraj Trust, Varanasi (Benares), pp. 62 ff.

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Synopsis of the legends:

(i) *Brahmā-Sarasvatī Legend*:

The Brahmā-Sarasvatī legend is broadcast in Sanskrit literature and this Vedic legend is re-told with additions and alterations in several *Purāṇas* [11].

In the MP [12] which is one of the earliest *Purāṇas* the legend is narrated in the context of the primal creation (*ādisarga*). On the epoch-making event of the creation Brahmā meditated on Sāvitrī and whilst he was engrossed in *japa*, his body was cut in twain and the one-half became the female and the other half, the male. This female half was reckoned as his daughter as she was born of his body (*aṅgajā*) and she came to be variously known as Śatarūpā, Sāvitrī, Gāyatrī and Brahmāṇī. Being mad at Śatarūpā's peerless beauty he gazed at her libidinously in all directions [13] and finally he married her, the blameless one, who gave birth to Manu Svāyambhuva *alis* Virāj and other sons.

The MP has a second half of this legend and it begins with a significant query regarding the *sagotra*-marriage of Brahmā and Sarasvatī and the Purāṇakāra offers an allegorical explanation of it [14]. It is pointed out that this primal creation is the result of divine knowledge. It is divine and supersensuous in character. Moreover, in this context Brahmā is the presiding deity (*adhiṣṭhātā*) and the *vedarāśi*, whereas Gāyatrī is said to preside over the *Vedas* (*tad-adhiṣṭhitā*). This couple is corporeal as well as incorporeal and their inseparable concomittant relationship is compared by the Purāṇakāra, for example, with the inseparableness of the sunshine and the shadow, suggesting thereby that their co-habitation is natural and in the fitness of things. At the end the MP notes that Brahmā was abashed of his condemnable act and he cursed Cupid for urging him to commit such an ignominous and abominable act; thus the episode tends to breathe an ethical atmosphere.

It is significant to note that the MP adds a remark that the mortals do not know the ways of the immortals, *i.e.* to say they have their own laws and the human valuation is not to be applied to these laws and an entertaining of such an idea is deemed inauspicious. It is interesting to note here that the BhP [15] in the context of Kṛṣṇa's relationship with *gopīs* observes that the fault of the violation of *dharma* does not

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11. *Vide* Siddheshvar Chitravshastri, *Prācīnacaritrakośa* (Hindi), p. 527, Bharatiya Charitrakosha Mandal, Poona, 1964.

12. MP 3.30 ff., 4.1 ff., 24, 25.

13. As a consequence of his gazing at her in all directions Brahmā came to have five faces and his fifth head was covered in his matted hair and it was lopped off by Śiva (MP 3.40; 183.86).

14. *Vide* S. G. Kantawala, *The Brahmā-Sarasvatī Episode in the Matsyapurāṇa*, JOIB, Vol. VIII, No. 1, September, 1958, pp. 38 ff. Wilson designates it as an allegory (H. H. Wilson, *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa*, Vol. I, p. 108, London, 1864). Anand Swarup Gupta designates the relationship as symbolical (*ibid.*, p. 63).

15. BhP 10.33.30-31.

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accrue to the *tejīyas*, just as no blemish accrues to the fire, the devourer of everything; hence an ordinary mortal should not commit such an act.

According to the BhP [16] Svayambhū, the lord of speech, gave birth to a beautiful daughter named Vāc *alias* Sarasvatī and loved her passionately, even though she did not love him. His sons Marīci and others came to know about his *adharmamati* and beseached him not to behave so, as such an act was not committed in the past and they pointed out that even for the *tajīyas* such an act did not conduce to fame. Moreover, people obtain *kṣema* by following his act and hence he must follow the *dharma* [17]. Thus the BhP also adds an ethical note here. On finding his sons present he gave up his body. Later in the same chapter [18] it is stated that when Brahmā found that his *prajā* did not procreate further, he had his *kāya* divided into two halves giving rise to a *mithuna* consisting of one male and another female. The male part came to be known as Manu Svāyambhuva, the king, and the female part came to be known as *Śatarūpā*, his queen who carried on the task of creation successfully.

Note that according to this BhP-version Śatarūpā is Svāyambhuva Manu's wife, whereas according to the MP-version he is her son *i.e.* she is his mother. Thus the BhP depicts the incestuous relationship between a brother and a sister, whereas the MP delineates it between a father and a daughter.

The *Vāyupurāṇa* mentions Śatarūpā as the female portion of Brahmā [19].

According to the *Vāmana-Purāṇa*, Brahmā, the grand sire of the world, had created all the movable and non-movable objects. Again he thought of creation and he created a beautiful maiden whom he invited for copulation. On account of his sinister act his head was torn asunder [20].

According to the *Manusmṛti-version* [21] Brahmā divided himself in twain and the one half became the male and the other half the female in whom he produced Virāj by the *maithunadharma* [22].

All these versions inherit the theme of incest from the *Vedas*.

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16. BhP 3.12.28 ff.
17. BhP 3.12.31-32.
18. BhP 3.12.15 ff.
19. D. R. Patil, *Cultural History from the Vāyu-Purāṇa*, p. 42. Deccan College, Poona, 1946.
20. *Vāmana-Purāṇa*, Critical Edition, All-India Kashiraj Trust, Varanasi, Sarohamāhātmya, ch. 28, stanzas 3-5.
21. *Manusmṛti* 1.32 (Gujarati Printing Press, Bombay, 1913).
22. Kullūka on Manusmṛti 1.32.

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(ii) *Soma-Tārā Legend*:

The Soma-Tārā episode is broadcast in Sanskrit literature[23] and amongst its Purāṇic occurrence the MP-version is summarized here, as it is one of the earliest *Purāṇas*[24]. Being intoxicated with the acquisition of power, prosperity and lordship over the seven worlds after the performance of the Rājasūya sacrifice, Soma, once, chanced to see Bṛhaspati's wife Tārā, the paragon of beauty. Both were passionately attracted and enamoured of each other and he abducted her to his abode and enjoyed her maddening company for a number of days. At this event Bṛhaspati was much perturbed and was very miserable. He (*i.e.* Bṛhaspati) entreated him (*i.e.* Soma) to return his better-half in vain. At last, out of affection for Bṛhaspati, Śiva with his legion and allies gave a fierce battle to Soma and when it foreboded the destruction of the entire universe, Brahmā interceded and requested Soma successfully to return Tārā to Bṛhaspati, the lord of speech (*vākpati*, MP 23.46). Bṛhaspati regained his *enceinte* wife and repaired to his abode merrily. Then Budha was born of her. Thus the legend depicts a case of seduction, rape and adultery.

Discussion:

(i) *Brahmā-Sarasvatī Legend*:

The germs of the incestuous relation between a father and a daughter depicted in the first half of this legend are traceable to the RV 1.71.5; 10.61.5-9 (the Nābhānediṣṭha hymn). The *Maitrāyaṇī-Saṃhitā* 4.2.12 mentions Prajāpati as being enamoured of his daughter Uṣas. This legend occurs several times in the *Brāhmaṇa* literature; *e.g. Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 1.7.4.1*ff*, *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* 3.33, where it specifically occurs

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23. *Vide* Siddheshvar Chitravshastri, *op. cit.*, pp. 202-203, 243, 250; Giorgio Bonazzoli, *Seduction Stories in the Brahmavaivartapurāṇa*, Purāṇa, Vol. XIX, No. 2, July 1977, p. 328, fn. 24. It is significant to note that according to Bonazzoli also this story can be considered to be a good example of the saying « itihāsapurāṇābhyāṃ vedaṃ samupabṛṃhayet » (*ibid.*, p. 331).

24. *Cf.* Giorgio Bonazzoli observes that out of the several Purāṇas in which this legend occurs, « Devī Bhg and Matsya deserve a special attention because they give importance to the description of Tārā's beauty and to the pleasures of Candra and Tārā's union, elements that will have great significance in the BVP » (*ibid.*, p. 329). These two *Purāṇas* dwell also on the seduction theme. (*Vide ibid.*, p. 333). He continues to observe that « a study of such stories (*i.e., seduction-stories*; bracket ours) helps to understand the Purāṇic attitude towards tradition and the moral feelings of the composers on one hand, while on the other hand it provides a clue to the structure of a purāṇa, its handling of mythical themes, revelation and its topics that constitute the matter » (*ibid.*, p. 322). In this paper Bonazzoli studies the structure of two stories, *viz.*, Indra-Ahalyā and Candra-Tārā. *Vide* also D. R. Patil, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

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as a case of Prajāpati's incest with his daughter[25]. The AV 9.10.12 mentions the placing of the seed in the daughter. Thus the MP and the BhP inherit the Vedic legacy of incest. This half is interpreted from several points of view, *e.g.* (i) natural phenomenon of the arrival of the sun and the dawn[26], (ii) philosophical interpretation: father as *manas*, the thinking principle and daughter as *vāṇī* and the union of the two representing the *śabda*, (iii) *ādhidaivika* interpretation: primal creation[27], and (iv) sociological interpretation: « the most primitive stage of the society had kinless organisation and hence the "father" was not supposed to be the "kin" of the children »[28] and the memory of such society is preserved in this episode. The first stage shows the « maternal or even prematernal stage of society and the second, the paternal stage, when "father" came to be the rightful kin of the children »[29]. Thus the episode is a relic of the free sexual commerce between a father and a daughter at some stage of development of the society. At this juncture one is reminded of Manu's injunction that a father and a daughter should not sit in privacy because a powerful host of sense-organs drags even the wise and the learned astray[30] indicating thereby the slippery and weak moments of human mind.

It may, however, be mentioned that this first half symbolises the cosmological process, wherein the celebrated characters « are to be taken as representatives of the two principles of creation, the male and the female »[31], as the legend occurs in the context of *ādisarga*.

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25. A. A. Macdonell, *The Vedic Mythology*, p. 119 (Indological Book House, Delhi, 1971). J. Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. I, pp. 107 ff., Vol. IV, pp. 45 ff. Trubner & Co., Ludgate Hill., London, 1890. Siddheshvar Chitravshastri, *op. cit.*, p. 464.

26. According to T. G. Mainkar the Purāṇic addition « confirms the Sūrya-Uṣas interpretation of the original Ṛgvedic account » (*ibid.*, p. 11) and he continues to observe that « the Vedic poets... are seen indulging in a free use of metaphorical and symbolical language, as a result of which we get many unintelligible passages » (*ibid.*, p. 11).

27. *Vide* Baladeva Upadhyaya, *op. cit.*, pp. 257 ff.

28. S. A. Dange, *Prajāpati and His Daughter*, Purāṇa, Vol. V, No. 1, January 1963, p. 45; for details *vide* pp. 39-46; *vide* also his *Sexual Symbolism from the Vedic Ritual*, Ajanta Publications, Delhi, 1979, Ch. 8 « The Lusty Father », pp. 141 ff.

29. S. A. Dange, *op. cit.*, p. 46. K. V. Nilameghacharya examines this episode with the help of « certain Mīmāṃsic tenets of interpretation of the Vedic texts and on the basis of these texts he asserts that such Vedic accounts are supernatural and divine... ». This relationship « has nothing to do with any worldly relation of the father and his daughter of the primitive society » (*Prajāpati-tat-kanyā-vṛttānta-mīmāṃsā*, Purāṇa, Vol. VI, No. 1, January 1964, pp. 79-80; *vide ibid.*, pp. 79-96). T. G. Mainkar remarks that « the other portions of the Ṛgveda to me, indicate the Ṛgvedic ethical and moral ideals would in all probability accept such an incest » (*ibid.*, p. 11). *Vide* S. G. Kantawala, *Cultural History from the Matsyapurāṇa*, M.S. University of Baroda, Baroda, 1964 (1965), p. 66, fn. 25 (M.S. University of Baroda Research Series, No. 8).

30. *Manusmṛti* 2.215.

31. T. G. Mainkar, *op. cit.*, p. 11; *vide* also S. G. Kantawala, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

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The second half of the episode given in the MP is important from the interpretational point of view. It tries to palliate the graveness of the sexual act of Brahmā with Sarasvatī by taking it as an allegory [32]. The germs of this half are traceable to the Vedic literature. In the RV Savitṛ, who is one of the solar deities, is called also Prajāpati [33]. « In the *sūtras* Prajāpati is identified with Brahmā (AGS 3.4 etc.) » [34]. In the *Brāhmaṇas* [35] Sarasvatī is identified with Vāc and Vāc is identified with Prajāpati [36]. The *Kauṣitakī Upaniṣad* 5.1 states that Vāc is Sarasvatī and the BhP refers to the union of Vāc and Prajāpati who is *girāṃ pati* [37]. This identification explains also why she is said to have her abode in Brahmā's mouth [38]. In the *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa* Sarasvatī is called *brahmayoni* [39]. In the MP 4.24 Gāyatrī is said to be *brahmavādinī*, « singer of the Vedas »; thus this confirms her connection with the Vedas. And this is testified by the *Tāṇḍya-Brāhmaṇa* 2.3.10.1 which refers to the present of the three *Vedas* by Soma to Sītā, the daughter of Prajāpati. According to the MP Sarasvatī is Sāvitrī who is the daughter of the Sun. *Sūryasya duhitā* is one of the important concepts of the RV. *Sūryasya duhitā* is the genius of poetry or muse of poetry [40], or in other words « she is poetry personified, while Sūrya originally stood for prayer or poetry. Sarasvatī is the guardian deity of poetry » [41]. Sāvitrī who is also designated as Sarasvatī is also Śatarūpā in the MP and Śatarūpā in this context appears to symbolise the multi-aspect of literary creation of the poets. Thus the Vedic concept of *Sūryasya duhitā* finds its *upabṛṃhaṇa* in the *Purāṇas*.

(ii) *Soma-Tārā Legend*:

The germs of the Soma-Tārā legend are traceable to the famous Ṛgvedic Brahmajāyā hymn [42]. According to the Ṛgvedic account Soma, the king, restored the *Brahmajāyā* to Bṛhaspati [43]. It is significant to

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32. On the causes of the introduction of this allegory *vide* J. MUIR, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 112-13. J. Muir designates it as « mystical explanation ».
33. *divó dhartâ bhúvanasya prajâpatiḥ*/RV 4.53.2*a*.
34. A. A. MACDONELL, *op. cit.*, p. 119.
35. *e.g.* ŚB 3.9.1.7; AB 3.1.10; A. A. MACDONELL, *op. cit.*, p. 87; A. B. KEITH, *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*, HOS, Vol. 31, pp. 173-74 (1925).
36. A. B. KEITH, *op. cit.*, HOS, Vol. 32, p. 344 (1925).
37. BhP 3.12.20.
38. *Vide* MP 13.52.
39. *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa* 23.30 as quoted by A. S. GUPTA, *Sarasvatīstotra*, Purāṇa, Vol. VI, No. 1, January 1964, p. 1.
40. *Vide* K. F. GELDNER, *Kommentar* (Stuttgart), p. 141 (on RV 9.72.2); S. S. BHAWE, *The conception of Muse of Poetry in the Ṛgveda*, JUB, Vol. XIX, Part II, September 1950, pp. 19 ff.
41. R. N. DANDEKAR, *Vedic Bibliography*, Vol. II, p. 165 (University of Poona, Poona, 1961) on S. S. BHAWE, *ibid.*
42. RV 10.109; *vide* also AV 5.17. On the interpretation of RV 10.109, *vide* S. S. BHAWE, *An Interpretation of RV 10.109* (*Brahmakilbiṣa*), « Studia Indologica, Festschrift für Wilibald Kirfel », 1955, pp. 17 ff.; T. G. MAINKAR, *op. cit.*, pp. 8. ff.
43. RV 10.109.2,5.

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note that the AV 5.17.4 refers to Tārikā who is a forerunner of Tārā and also the occurrence of the vocable *Tārakāmaya* qualifying the compound word *surāsuravināśaḥ* in the BhP 9.14.7. The *Vāyupurāṇa* also describes the battle as Tārakāmaya [44]. The RV 10.109.2 and the AV 5.17.2 describe Soma as a *rājā* and the *Purāṇas* also describe him as a king. According to H. Oldenberg and K. F. Geldner *ādhi* in RV 10.109.3 stands for Brahmajāyā's illicit son Budha [45] and this suggests the sin. *En passant* it may be mentioned that the *Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa* mentions one Saumāyana Budha. In this connection it is well to note that in the *Purāṇas*, at the time of the *Jātakarmotsava*-ceremony at Bṛhaspati's abode gods asked Tārā as to the biological fathership of Budha. She was overcome with bashfulness and when asked repeatedly she replied that Soma was his biological father [46]. The query about the fathership and consequent bashfulness of Tārā indicate the sin-character of her dalliance with Soma. According to the Vedic evidence [47] Brahmajāyā is Vāc. In his *bhāṣya* on RV 10.109.7 Sāyaṇa explains *Brahmajāyā* as *Brahmaṇaḥ Bṛhaspater jāyā* and on RV 10.109.6 as *juhū*. On RV 10.109.1 while quoting an *itihāsa* Sāyaṇa remarks that *juhū* is *vāc*. Naturally, she becomes the wife of Bṛhaspati *alias* Brahmaṇaspati, the Lord of speech [48]. Soma's taking away Brahmajāyā in the Vedic context stands metaphorically for prayers or hymns being increasingly sung in his honour [49], and this interpretation may be extended to the Purāṇic version also. The warrior-like and romantic character of Soma is also traceable to the *Vedas* [50]. Thus this episode symbolises also the close connection of *Vāc* and its presiding deity.

Both the legends in the *Purāṇas* try thus to supply the missing links, explain, elaborate and interpret the Vedic themes by the tecnique of *upabṛṃhaṇa*. Moreover, these legends reflect also the development of social and moral ideas of the ancient Indian society.

M. S. University of Baroda.

ABBREVIATIONS

BhP = *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*, Gita Press, Gorakhpur, Saṃvat 2022.
MP = *Matsya-Purāṇa*, Anandashram Sanskrit Series, Vol. 54. Anandashram Press, Poona, 1907.
RV = *Ṛgveda* with Sāyaṇācārya's commentary, Vaidika Samshodhana Mandal, Poona, Vol. I, 1933; Vol. II, 1936; Vol. III, 1941; Vol. IV, 1946.

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44. D. R. Patil, *op. cit.*, p. 44.
45. S. S. Bhawe, *op. cit.*, p. 25.
46. *Vide* MP 24.4 ff.; *vide* also D. R. Patil, *op. cit.*, pp. 44, 157.
47. S. S. Bhawe, *op. cit.*, p. 25.
48. *Cf.* RV 2.23.2; *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad* 1.3.20-21 (*Ten Principal Upaniṣads with Śāṅkarabhāṣya*, Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi, 1964).
49. S. S. Bhawe, *op. cit.*, p. 26.
50. A. A. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, p. 110. *Cf.* RV 9.86.32 where he is spoken of as *pátir jánīnām*. *Vide* also A. A. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

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K. KRISHNAMOORTHY

THE NATURE OF CREATIVE *PRATIBHĀ* ACCORDING TO KUNTAKA

Kuntaka's analysis of poetry reveals a very keen literary sensibility and his *Vakroktijīvita* is the only work of true literary criticism we have in Sanskrit. In the vast galaxy of Indian literary theorists Kuntaka (c. 950 A.D.) is the only one who offers practical analysis and criticism of the Sanskrit literary masterpieces in various genres in an almost modern style. Recently, the present writer has brought out a complete edition of this Sanskrit text with material newly procured from Mss. fragments at Jaisalmer and accompanied by a complete English translation [1]. The present paper attempts to focus attention on Kuntaka's analysis of *pratibhā* or creative imagination, an analysis which is not only illuminating and perceptive, but very helpful in harmonising and integrating into a unity the several literary and aesthetic concepts in the field which were more or less scattered and diffuse till his time. The several concepts of *guṇa, alaṅkāra, rīti* or *mārga, rasa* and *dhvani* found a meaningful explanation for the first time in the new concept of *vakrokti* advocated by Kuntaka; and though his theory was consigned to oblivion by latter-day thinkers in their excessive admiration for Ānandavardhana's counter-theory of *dhvani*, it deserves our appreciation today because of its intrinsic worth.

The question of deciding the *ātman* or « soul » of poetry weighed heavily with the classical Indian theorists from the time of Vāmana onwards. Vāmana opined that the soul was *rīti* or style, as against the earlier orthodox theorists who gave that status apparently to *alaṅkāra* or figurative language. But Ānandavardhana declared that *rasa* which was « *dhvani* » *par excellence*, deserved that place better, and brought in philosophical and semantic arguments to justify his aesthetic stand.

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1. Published by the Director of Publications, Karnatak University, Dharwad, pp. 636, 1977. References to the work in the following footnotes are to this edition, and abbreviation used is VJ.

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All the polemics were more or less agreed that the « body » (*śarīra*) of poetry was constituted by *śabda* and *artha* or language and meaning. Whether an exclusive « style » (*rīti*) of language constituted the poetic essence or an exclusive « mode of meaning » (*kāvyārtha*) was the central point at issue in the controversy that attracted the best minds of medieval Kashmir like Vāmana and Ānandavardhana to begin with, and later on Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, Kuntaka, Abhinavagupta and Mahimabhaṭṭa. Among these, again, while Abhinavagupta is an able advocate of the *dhvani* school, Mahimabhaṭṭa, the logician, denies *dhvani* (suggestion) and expains it easily as a form of logical inference (*anumāna*). In spite of these radical differences, they are agreed that the *ātman* of poetry is *kāvyārtha* whose best specimen is *rasa.*

But Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka and Kuntaka stand apart from all the rest in holding that the soul of poetry cannot be *kāvyārtha* at all; only *kavi-vyāpāra* or the poet's creative power (*śakti*) may be so regarded. This is technically known as *vyāpāra-prādhānya-vāda* as against *vyaṅgyārtha* (=*dhvani*)-*prādhānya-vāda* in Sanskrit poetics [2]. Between them, again, we have no access to the full-fledged theory of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka since his work on aesthetics, the *Hṛdayadarpaṇa* is lost. We have to form an idea of his stand only from fragmentary quotations by later writers like Abhinavagupta. Fortunately, since Kuntaka's work is recovered almost wholly now from its unmerited oblivion, we can form an idea why he differed from both Vāmana and Ānandavardhana regarding the *ātman* of poetry; and how he revived the classical idea of *vakrokti* or poetic turn as the underlying principle of all *alaṅkāra* or figurative language, and then invested it with a wealth of significance to entitle it for the status of *kāvyātman.* The method of practical criticism he adopted to prove his point is so singularly arresting and appealing that one is sure to agree with him in his views, even if they be found wanting from the angles of abstract semantics or aesthetics. He has explained the facts of poetry in the best possible way without being burdened by considerations of *śāstras* like *tarka, vyākaraṇa* and *mīmāṁsā,* whose theories, after all, are general and not concerned with poetry which is *sui generis.*

Like the Greek word *poiëma,* the Sanskrit word *kāvya* literally means « something made or created by a poet » (cf. *kaveḥ karma kāvyam*). Hence, if anything is the soul of poetry, it should be *kavi-vyāpāra* or the poet's creative art. This is the initial incontrovertible stand of Kuntaka and on this foundation is built the superstructure of his theory of *vakrokti.*

If we try to define *kavi-vyāpāra* more precisely, we realise that it is nothing but *vakrokti* or a turn of speech deviating from the discursive or denotative mode of language. What are the means at the disposal of the poet in achieving this deviation from normal usage? They are

2. Cf. Ruyyaka's *Alaṅkārasarvasva* (Introductory paragraph), Nirṇaya Sāgar Press, Bombay, 1939, pp. 1-3.

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nothing but *alaṅkāras* or figurative turns of expression. The figurative turns include not only referential uses of language (*abhidhā*), e.g., the simile (*upamā*), but also secondary uses of language (*guṇavṛtti, lakṣaṇā* or *bhakti*), e.g., the metaphor (*rūpaka*). Further, they also include the suggestive uses of language (*vyañjanā*), e.g., *aprastuta-praśaṁsā* or indirect description. True, all these three linguistic modes are common to poetry and non-poetry; but the poet succeeds in transforming them into things of beauty in his artistic and creative use of *alaṅkāras* or figures of speech. In his hands, a half-penny can become a hundred pound note [3]. A proper realisation of this is possible by examining any passage of poetry accepted as beautiful by *sahṛdayas* or critics with a trained literary sensibility; for these alone are competent to judge poetry. By adducing and analysing scores of such examples, Kuntaka concludes that the ways of *vakrokti* are infinite; and all that they have in common is the poet's artistic or creative power (*pratibhā* or *śakti*) [4]. Literary criticism, in Kuntaka's treatment, becomes nothing but a sensitive analysis of all the appealing (*rañjaka*) elements in a poem by a competent *sahṛdaya* or *tadvit* [5]; elements that evidence the poet's *pratibhā* through diverse forms of *vakrokti* which may be classified as sixfold for convenience of treatment:

ART OF *VAKRATĀ* OR *KAVI-VYĀPĀRA*

1. *varṇa*	2. *pada-pūrvārdha*	3. *pratyaya*	4. *vākya*	5. *prakaraṇa*	6. *prabandha*
figures of sound; rhyme, rhythm (*śabdālaṅkāra*) and *lāvaṇyaguṇa*	suggestive use of linguistic elements and *guṇas*	suggestive use of affixes, etc., and *guṇas*	figures of sense: *upamā, rūpaka,* etc., and *guṇas*	episode in plot with artistic unity and originality and *guṇas*	whole plot well-knit according to rules and revealing originality and *guṇas*

3. Cf. « Any word, every word in language, every circumstance, becomes poetic in the hands of a higher thought ». EMERSON, *Letters and Social Aims*, Macmillan, London, 1910, p. 26.

4. *kavipratibhānāmānantyāt niyatatvaṁ na sambhavati*, VJ, p. 36.

5. *hṛdayasaṁvādaṁ āmodaḥ sukumāravastudharmaḥ rañjakatvaṁ nāma*, VJ, p. 39.

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It is this sixfold *vakratā* that distinguishes poetry from scientific discourse [6]. And this alone is therefore entitled to be considered as the *jīvita* or vital essence of poetry:

śrīraṁ jīviteneva sphuriteneva jīvitam /
vinā nirjīvatāṁ yena yāti kāvyaṁ vipaścitām // [7]

Mere presence of life is not enough; it should also be active. Such is the active vivacity of *vakratā* or *sāhitya* in poetry.

The above division is modelled after Ānandavardhana's division of the modes of *dhvani* schematically beginning from syllables, the minutest ingredients, and going up to the whole epic or dramatic work which constitutes the highest end in the structural scale. But it should be noted that all the beauties so analysed derive from the whole and sole source of *pratibhā* or the creative imagination of the poet.

Kuntaka does not forget the synthetic view of poetry either in his enthusiasm for the analytical mode of treatment. As a matter of fact, he clarifies the synthetic stand before embarking on the analytical method. All poetry is essentially an inseparable whole where both word (*śabda*) and meaning (*artha*) are in perfect concord (*sāhitya*); where the content adorned (*alaṅkārya*) and the adornment (*alaṅkāra*) form once again an indivisible whole [8]. This is indeed a view very much in advance of the incohate views of pioneers in Indian poetics like Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin. Kuntaka's definition of *śabda* as « the only adequate medium for conveying the intended sense » and *artha* « as that alone which delights the hearts of *sahṛdayas* with its beauty » (VJ. I.9) reminds us of T. S. Eliot's term « objective correlative » very pointedly. Active *pratibhā* endows at once that literary *atiśaya* or excess which is required to heighten the theme by creating the expression which strikes one as inevitable or most appropriate [9].

All poetic lapses are due to inadequate *pratibhā* which, when active, is expected to ensure a happy and harmonious blend of emotive power, inspirational immediacy and critical or reflective judgement. If in a given instance of poetry verbal tricks preponderate and beauty of matter gets ignored, we have to decide that it is an instance of poverty of *pratibhā* on the part of the poet [10]. Similarly, vulgarity in idea is the

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6. Cf. *vakro yo'sau śāstrādiprasiddhaśabdārthopanibandhavyatirekī ṣaṭprakāratāviśiṣṭaḥ kavivyāpāraḥ*, VJ, p. 13.

7. *parikara-śloka*, VJ, I.39, p. 26.

8. Cf. *sakalasya nirastāvayavasya sataḥ samudāyasya kāvyatā kavikarmatvam; tena alaṅkṛtasya kāvyatvamiti sthitaṁ, na punaḥ kāvyasyālaṅkārayogaḥ*, VJ, p. 6.
Cf. also: « The value of a poem lies in the fact that in it sound and sense together make up an indivisible whole ». PAUL VALERY, *Essays on Language and Literature*, Allan Wingate, London, 1947, p. 100.

9. *yasmāt pratibhāyāṁ tatkālollikhitena kenacit parispandena parisphurantaḥ padārthāḥ prakṛtaprastāvasamucitena kenacidutkarṣeṇa vā samācchāditasvabhāvāḥ santo vivakṣāvidheyatvena...*, VJ, p. 16.

10. *pratibhādāridryadainyādatisvalpasubhāṣitena kavinā...*, VJ, p. 7.

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result of the poet's imperfect judgement. The same may be said of other classical *doṣas* like *vyartha*, *apārtha*, etc. Also, we cannot have different categories of poetry like « good », « bad » and « indifferent ». Something is either poetry or not poetry; that is all. That is why the slightest lapse or defect in poetry, as noticed by the early theorists, makes a composition unpoetic. And in anything which is accepted as poetry by the above definition, there is no room for any kind of blemish—grammatical, rhetorical, logical or aesthetic [11]. Hence Kuntaka can simply drop out an account of *doṣas* in his book which is concerned only with « poetry ». Whatever detracts from the delight of the trained reader is a *doṣa* which has no place in poetry, e.g., *prakramabhaṅga* or loss of sequence [12]. Supposing that a poet has a new flash or insight regarding a subject, can he embody it in any pedestrian or logical language that might readily occur to him by force of habit? No. It is demanded of him as a poet that he bestow equal attention on the manner of utterance also. A really illuminating idea in a dry logical manner stands equally condemned [13]. Thus, in Kuntaka's classical theory of poetry, there are only « poets » and « non-poets ». A bad poet is a misnomer. Wat makes a poet is the perfection of his *pratibhā* which leaves no chinks or openings for defects in either his matter or manner. Mere theme, even if it be holy and high, will not make it poetry when grace of manner is absent as in *Purāṇas* [14].

In the operation of *pratibhā*, however, Kuntaka distinguishes two stages: (1) a bare flash of some new and original idea and (2) an artistic embodiment of it in an adequate manner. The idea in the first stage is likened to that of an unpolished gem without much lustre while the result of the second stage is compared to the gem perfectly polished on grindstone [15]. In all this Kuntaka has improved upon Bhāmaha's dictum that both *śabda* and *artha* together constitute poetry [16].

We saw how the poetic function is analysable into a sixfold *vakratā* or poetic beauty. In the terminology of earlier theorists, one might well ask as to what exactly this beauty relates among the well-known categories of *guṇa*, *alaṅkāra*, *rasa*, *rīti* etc. Kuntaka is very clear on this point. All beauty in poetry is reducible in any ultimate analysis to that of *alaṅkāra* and *alaṅkārya*; while the variations in poetic temperament and artistic skill yield different *guṇas* in *bandha* or *vākyavinyāsa* or

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11. *tena neyārthāpārthādayo dūrotsāritatvāt prthaṅna vaktavyāḥ...*, p. 9.
12. *prakramabhaṅgavihitaṁ sarasahṛdayavairasyamanivāryaṁ...*, p. 13.
13. Cf. *atra hi śuṣkatarka-vākyavāsanādhivāsitacetasā pratibhāpratibhātamātrameva vastu vyasanitayā kavinā kevalamupanibaddham*, VJ, I.11 f., p. 8.
14. *... vastumātraṁ ca śabdaśobhātiśayaśūnyaṁ na kāvyavyapadeśamarhati*, VJ, p. 7.
15. Cf. *kavicetasi prathamaṁ ca pratibhāpratibhāsamānamaghaṭitapāṣāṇaśakalakalpamaṇiprakhyameva vastu vidagdhakaviviracitavakravākyopārūḍhaṁ śāṇollīḍhamaṇimanoharatayā tadvidāhlādakatvamadhirohati*, VJ, p. 9.
16. Cf. Bhāmaha, *Kāvyālaṅkāra*, I.15-17 also.

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structure [17]. This is a very important credo in the aesthetic theory of Kuntaka which bears a very close affinity to the Crocean aesthetics that all art is expression, and that it is creative intuition which culminates in poetry. Since the variation in *guṇa* is rooted in *pratibhā* itself, a similar variation extends to each poet's *vyutpatti* or equipment and *abhyāsa* or practice also.

Thus the beauties of *alaṅkāra* and *guṇa* are enough to explain the whole of beauty in poetic language. That these two kinds of beauty vie with each other in poetry is Kuntaka's asseveration while explaining *sāhitya* [18]. Though the term *sāhitya* was deemed in Sanskrit classical theory as standing for the speciality of poetry and used frequently, its intrinsic significance was left unexplained; and it was left to Kuntaka to give for the first time an adequate explanation. In the attainment of *sāhitya*, the pride of place goes to *pratibhā* which works in more than one way [19]. When several images occur simultaneously, *pratibhā* does not stop until the ones most suited and equally happy are selected. This selective and decisive imagination is comparable to Coleridge's essemplastic imagination so distinct from « fancy » [20]. Hence this activity of *pratibhā* which makes the images come to life is the most essential characteristic of poetry [21].

In all linguistic usage we have the operation of grammar, semantics and logic; but in poetic usage we have *sāhitya* also:

sā kāpyavasthitistadvidāhlādaikanibandhanam /
padādivākparispandasāraḥ sāhityamucyate // [22]

It is rightly that Kuntaka takes pride in the fact that he is the first promulgator of the aesthetic essence of *sāhitya* in the best poetic art; and that none of his learned predecessors had any inkling into its nature [23].

Kuntaka is again the first to recognise new general *guṇas* like *lāvaṇya* or over-all grace and *saubhāgya* or splendour [24], besides *aucitya* or decorum, which are all common to all the three *mārgas* or styles. The diametrically opposed styles are but two; the simple and delicate (*sukumāra*) and the pompous or elevated (*vicitra*), the third being only a

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17. Cf. *tatra vyavasthitau = viśeṣeṇa lāvaṇyādiguṇālaṅkāraśobhinā sanniveśena kṛtāvasthanau*, VJ, p. 11.

18. Cf. *viśiṣṭameveha sāhityamabhipretam; kīdṛśam? Vakratāvicitraguṇālaṅkārasampadāṁ parasparaspardhādhirohaḥ*, VJ, p. 10.

19. *sāhityalakṣanasyaiva kavivyāpārasya sarvātiśāyitvam*, VJ, p. 25.

20. *bahuṣu ca ramaṇīyeṣvekavākyopayogiṣu yugapatpratibhāsapadavīmavataratsu vākyārthaparipūraṇārthaṁ tatpratimaṁ prāptumaparaṁ prayatnena pratibhā prasādyate*, VJ, p. 11.

21. *kavipratibhāprauḍhireva prādhānyādavatiṣṭhate*, VJ, p. 12.

22. *parikara-śloka*, VJ, I.36 (p. 25).

23. *na punaretasya kavikarmakauśalakāṣṭhādhirūḍharamaṇīyasyādyāpi kaścidapi vipaścidayamasya paramārtha iti manāṅmātramapi vicārapadavīmavatīrṇaḥ*, VJ, p. 24.

24. These are defined as follows: *saubhagyaṁ pratibhāsaṁrambhaphalabhūtaṁ cetanacamatkāritvalakṣaṇam; lāvaṇyaṁ sanniveśasaundaryam*, VJ, p. 39; « *pratibhāsaṁrambha* » is explained as « *samagrakavikauśalasaṁpādya* » (*op. cit.*).

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happy blend of the two (*madhyama*). But in Kuntaka's poetics these two styles shed their traditional enmity and both become equal media for the poet's creative work. Daṇḍin and Vāmana had sung the glories of the former (termed *Vaidarbhī* by them) and disparaged the latter (termed *Gauḍī* by them). Kuntaka takes exception to this and vindicates that all the three styles are equally effective and aesthetic [25]. If poets like Kālidāsa are models of *Sukumāramārga*, Bāṇa, Bhavabhūti etc., are models of the *Vicitra-mārga*, while Māyurāja belongs to the *Madhyama-mārga* [26]. All of them are equally great poets though they adopt different styles. In the history of Sanskrit criticism Kuntaka is the first to take such a bold stand on the equal validity and beauty of all poetic styles. The equal beauty is the result of *lāvaṇya*, *saubhāgya* and *aucitya* common to all the styles.

Earlier theorists were aware only of *śabda-guṇas* and *artha-guṇas* in a general way. But Kuntaka's new analysis in terms of *vakratā* enables him to state clearly that *guṇas* relate to *pada* (word), *vākya* (sentence) and *prabandha* (whole literary work). Aesthetic appeal and judgement are adequately accounted for by the three new *guṇas* envisaged for the first time by Kuntaka. In judging of episodes and total works, the *guṇas* of *aucitya* and *saubhāgya* come to be of primary importance [27], even as *lāvaṇya* is in appreciating the beauties inhering in word, syllable, etc.

Artha or matter in poetry was a very commonplace general term till Kuntaka took up its analysis. The most crucial question of *rasa* was tied up with it. Amid the numerous conflicting views about *rasa*, one thing that might be said to be commonly acceptable to all is the view that *rasa* constitutes *artha* of *kāvya*. *Artha* can be interpreted as « theme », « substance », « subject », « purport », « meaning » or « end », depending on the context. This singular agreement among differing theorists like Bhāmaha, Vāmana and Ānandavardhana was seized by the penetrative mind of Kuntaka to formulate a theory that *rasas* (sentiments), *bhāvas* (emotions) ets., spoken of by Bharata may form the objectified content of poetry even like ideas in one's experience of nature. The whole realm of poetic content is said to be broadly twofold: (1) Nature as it is, (2) Emotive nature or sentiment [28]. And in both these

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25. *na ca rītīnāmuttamamadhyamādhamatvabhedena traividhyaṁ vyavasthāpayituṁ nyāyyaṁ...*, VJ, p. 41 f.

26. Cf. VJ, p. 66.

27. *etat triṣvapi mārgeṣu guṇadvitayamujjvalaṁ /*
padavākyaprabandhānāṁ vyāpakatvena vartate //, VJ, I.57.

28. Cf. « *tasya tadāhlādasāmarthyaṁ sambhāvyate yena kācideva svabhāvamahattā, rasaparipoṣāṅgatvaṁ vā vyaktimāsādayati* », VJ, p. 7. If either or both are not impressive, then we have an unpoetic statement due to inattention of the poet (*calitāvadhānatvena kaveḥ kadarthitaṁ*, VJ, p. 19). Though the two heads are given independently, the first, when properly accomplished, becomes a direct partaker and promoter of the second, since Nature etc., treated as *vibhāva* is nothing but a means towards the achievement of *rasa*. Cf. *atra rāśīdvayakaraṇasyāyamabhiprāyaḥ yad vibhāvādirūpeṇa rasāṅgabhūtāḥ śakuniruta-taru-salila-kusumasamaya-prabhṛtayaḥ padārthāḥ sātiśayasvabhāvavarṇanaprādhānyenaiva rasāṅgatāṁ pratipadyante*, VJ, p. 47.

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forms content is what is beautified (*alaṅkārya*) in poetry. Logically, it follows that it can never be conceived as *alaṅkāra* or ornament, a position which at once negatives the concept of *rasavadalaṅkāra* propounded by Bhāmaha etc., on the one hand and by Ānandavardhana on the other. *Rasa* and *alaṅkāra* can never interchange their places. This should be regarded as a solid contribution of Kuntaka removing the common confusion regarding this much misunderstood concept of *rasa*.

Kuntaka too is very well aware of the numerous other meanings of the word *rasa* which were responsible for much of the confusion among literary thinkers. Apart from the direct and simple sense of abiding, delectable sentiments and emotions like Love mentioned by Bharata — which is really the only meaning relevant to poetics — the general sense of « relish » or « delectable taste » which the word *rasa* carries was being wrongly brought into the discussions on *rasa*, making it an equivalent exclusively of the tasteful reader's subjective experience. This wrong turn was later given a philosophical foundation by Abhinavagupta and came to be the ruling thought of Mammaṭa and the rest. As a result, most of the exponents of Indian aesthetics today translate the term *rasa* only as aesthetic experience of the connoisseur. Kuntaka is also aware that in the spectrum of meanings of the word « *rasa* » this meaning as well as the meaning of a tasteful liquid or drink are included. But he never confuses them in his usage; he keeps them strictly apart as they deserve to be. Kuntaka is the only writer who does not obfuscate the issue while talking of *rasa* and clarifies the position very pointedly and penetratingly. He realises fully that the presence or manifestation of *rasa* as *alaṅkārya-kāvyārtha* is possible only by way of its *vibhāvādis* or invariable antecedents, consequents and accessories, which are associated with the characters in the poetic work, and not with the subjective mental states or emotions of the poet himself, except when he happens to write in the lyrical vein in the first person. Even there, the generalising *pratibhā* is active; and the question of private emotion is ruled out. In poetry we are concerned with *rasa* or its associates as verbally embodied. It is in the nature of *rasa* to condition a sympathetic response in the readers, making them feel as if they are themselves undergoing the emotional experience [29].

Kuntaka's poetics gives a new meaning and significance to the status and function of *alaṅkāras* also in poetry. In spite of the importance accorded to *alaṅkāras* by Bhāmaha etc., in the eyes of later theorists — especially Vāmana and Ānandavardhana — the *alaṅkāras* had fared badly. They were thought to be so many pedantic exercises often indulged in for their own sake and as external appendages which could be discarded at will. They stressed the need for caution on the part of

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29. Cf. *manaḥsaṁvādo hṛdayasaṁvedanaṁ svānubavagocaratayā pratibhāsaḥ*, p. 46. Also: *rasāḥ śṛṅgārādayaḥ tadādigrahaṇena ratyādayo'pi gṛhyante*, VJ, p. 46; *kapālina iti bībhatsarasālambanavibhāvavācakaḥ śabdah*; *Ibid.*, p. 15, etc.

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the poet in their judicious use as accessories of *rasa*. They had understood all *alaṅkāras* as variations of the *vācyārtha* or referential meaning only. Kuntaka realised that apart from these set conventional grooves of figures of speech, the over-all beauty resulting from *vakratā* itself in any of its myriad ways could be deemed as *alaṅkāra* or ornament. *Vakratāvaicitrya* itself, in any of its innumerable forms, could be the poetic essence of *alaṅkāra* or beauty in general. Thus the word *alaṅkāra* gets a new aesthetic connotation for the first time in the poetics of Kuntaka which is a far cry from the rhetorical guidebooks of the pioneers [30].

Thus we might conclude that Kuntaka's reappraisal and re-ordering into a system of all the traditional categories in Indian poetics is at once original and significant. It combines the best in the thought of all his predecessors, avoids many of their confusions, and gives us a system of poetics with well defined roles of the diverse elements involved. Kuntaka's eye for unity of principle amidst diversity of categories and his uniformly unerring literary sensibility make him one of our first-rate thinkers, next only to Ānandavardhana perhaps. Kuntaka not only explains; he explores the beauties of classical Sanskrit poetry. He gives not only a new direction, but a new dimension to literary criticism. His aesthetic philosophy too is well worth a reconsideration. He shuns needless controversy and rears up the structure of his poetic theory on the fundamentals where an area of basic agreement exists among his predecessors in the field. Hence his analysis of poetry from the standpoint of *pratibhā* and his findings are as relevant today as when they were first propounded. Unlike the usual run of rhetoricians he makes sure of disengaging the essence of poetic magic while not ignoring the logic of linguistic facts.

30. Cf. *yat śabdārthau pṛthagavasthitau na kenāpi vyatiriktenālaṁkāreṇa yojyete, kiṁ tu vakratāvaicitryayogitayā abhidhānamātramevānayoralaṅkāraḥ, tasyaiva śobhātiśayakāritvāt*, VJ, p. 20.

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DANIELE MAGGI

WHY IS *RAJAS UPASTAMBHAKA-* IN THE *SĀṀKHYAKĀRIKĀ*?

When, in the description of *guṇa*s in *Sāṁkhyakārikā* (12-)13, the word *upastambhaka-* is used with reference to *rajas*, we are faced with an exegetical problem, which already troubled the ancient commentators.

Gauḍapāda's explanation:

> *upastabhnātītyupastambhakamuddyotakaṁ yathā vṛṣo vṛṣadarśane utkaṭamupastambhaṁ karoti eva rajovṛttiḥ*

needs an explanation in its turn: it is very curious that a word as rare as *upastambhaka-*[1] is glossed here with a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον (*uddyotaka-*)[2]. Which is also the sense of « making an *upastambha-* »? And as to the coherence of the whole? Following Wilson[3], the PW attaches the meaning of « anfeuernd, aufregend » to *uddyotaka-* in this passage[4]; but such a meaning would be isolated, as it results from the PW and pw themselves, in the word-family to which *uddyotaka-* belongs: we can find only « aufleuchten, erglänzen » for *uddyotate*[5], « das Aufleuchten, Hellwerden, Erglänzen; aufstrahlendes Licht » for the substantive *uddyota-*[6].

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1. Cf. its occurrences *infra*, pp. 234-35. Cf. also the following n.
2. According to O. Böhtlingk, R. Roth, *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*, 7 vols., St. Petersburg, 1855-75 (abbreviation: PW); O. Böhtlingk, *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch in kürzerer Fassung*, 7 parts, St. Petersburg, 1879-89 (abbreviation: pw), and the other lexicons, glossaries, indexes of words in my hands.
3. In H. T. Colebrooke, H. H. Wilson (trans.), *The Sánkhya Káriká or Memorial verses on Sánkhya philosophy, by Iswara Krishna*, trans. from the Sanscrit by H. T. Colebrooke. Also *The Bháshya or Commentary of Gaurapáda*, trans. and illustrated by an original comment by H. H. Wilson, Oxford, 1837: « exciting ».
4. M. Monier-Williams, *A Saṃskṛit-English dictionary*, Oxford, 1899², s.v.: « inflaming, stimulating » (besides « enlightening, emblazoning »).
5. Monier-Williams, *Dict. cit.*, s.v.: « to blaze up, shine, shine forth ».
6. Id., *ib.*, s.v.: « the act of flashing up, becoming bright or visible; light, lustre ».

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The matter becomes even more complicated when we compare Gauḍapāda with Paramārtha's Chinese commentary. On the one hand the passage of Gauḍapāda could mean, according to Wilson:

> « what urges, urgent, exciting: as a bull, upon seeing another bull, exhibits vehement excitement; that is the effect of foulness » [7],

on the other hand the corresponding passage in Paramārtha is translated by Takakusu in the following manner:

> « " tenir " [i.e., *upastabhnāti*] signifie avoir l'esprit excité sans tenir compte des autres; ainsi un éléphant en fureur, désirant se battre, engage la lutte à la vue d'un éléphant ennemi. Quand le rajas prédomine, l'homme cherche la lutte, car son esprit est constamment agité et il ne peut se tenir tranquille » [8].

The simile is very much alike in the two commentators; which would confirm Keith's hypothesis that Gauḍapāda and Paramārtha — and Māṭhara — may have had a common source which is no longer accessible [9]. But Gauḍapāda and Paramārtha seem to have exploited the simile in a quite opposite way, as far as one may infer from the explicit clause, added by Paramārtha, « avoir l'esprit excité sans tenir compte des autres ». To be sure, his elephant which excites itself upon seeing another elephant is a very unsuitable example for such a psychological condition.

The rendering « urgent » used by Colebrooke for *upastambhakam* [10], has been very successful: it has been handed down to lexicographers [11], accepted by Deussen [12] and many other translators [13], given credit to by monographs about *Sāṁkhya* and histories of Indian philosophy [14]. We have here an interpretation which was already circulating in Indian tradition, cf. e.g. *prerakatvam* in the passage of the *Sāṁkhyacandrikā* quoted by Wilson [15]. Yet, Wilson himself pointed out that such an explanation of *upastambhakam* as « stimulating, impelling » is quite

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7. Cf. also C. Pensa (trans.), *Īśvarakṛṣṇa, Le strofe del Sāṃkhya (Sāṃkhyakārikā) con il commento di Gauḍapāda*, Torino, 1978 (1st ed. 1960), ad lc.

8. J. Takakusu, *La Sāṁkhyakārikā étudiée à la lumière de sa version chinoise*, in BEFEO, 4 (1904), p. 997.

9. A. B. Keith, *The Sāṃkhya System*, Calcutta-London, 1918[1]; Calcutta, 1949[2], quoted by M. Hulin, *Sāṃkhya literature* (*A history of Indian literature*, ed. by J. Gonda, vol. VI, fasc. 3), Wiesbaden, 1978, p. 140.

10. Colebrooke-Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

11. PW; pw; Monier-Williams, *Dict. cit.*

12. P. Deussen, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie*, vol. I, part 3: *Die nachvedische Philosophie der Inder*, Leipzig, 1908, p. 427: « antreibend ».

13. E.g. Anne-Marie Esnoul in A.-M. Esnoul (ed.), *L'hindouisme*, Paris, 1972, p. 361 (« excitant »); Pensa, *op. cit.*, p. 51 (« stimolante »).

14. E.g. R. Garbe, *Die Sâṃkhya-Philosophie*, Leipzig, 1894, p. 213 (« ... Anregung... »); Giuseppina Scalabrino Borsani, *La filosofia indiana*, Milano, 1976, p. 129 (« stimolante »).

15. In Colebrooke-Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

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« contrary to its usual sense of "opposing, hindering" »[16]; in fact, we are surprised to find the above-mentioned meaning in a word-family where the concept of « setting up, propping, staying » is expressed consistently. Wilson thought to find some way out of the problem by suggesting the possibility of two homophonous roots; but the two entries in *Dhātupāṭha* X, 26 and XXXI, 7 do not point to two different verbs[17]. In this way, with the word *upastambhaka-* in the SK we have a good example of the handing down of an interpretation, which arose out of a mistake and which is no longer checked by successive interpreters.

Curiously enough, the *Śabdakalpadruma* glosses *upastambhakaḥ* (substantivally!?) with *ādhikyam* « excess, superabundance ». This fact reminds us of *utkaṭamupastambham* in Gauḍapāda, but in the quotation from the *Bauddhādhikāracintāmaṇi*, which the *Śabdak.* does not give completely:

uccaiḥśravādīn tejobhāgopastambhakatayā pratyakṣayogyatvāt,

upastambhaka(tā)- does not seem to exceed the limits of the concept of « sustaining », metaphorically employed as elsewhere, particularly in medical terminology: one may compare e.g. *Caraka* IV, 6 or I, 11, where food, sleep, and government of passions are called *upastambha-* as « supports of life ».

Two occurrences of *upastambha-* in the *Hitopadeśa* (p. 29, 1.19 and p. 104, 1.6 in Schlegel and Lassen's edition[18] belong to the same metaphorical sphere too: according to these two passages, closely connected — besides *upastambha-*, e.g., the compound *svalpabala-* occurs in both —, the riches or, respectively, the vulture's advice are the support (*upastambha-*) of the strenght of someone, who otherwise would be *svalpabala-* « of very little strength ». The PW gives « Stütze, Anregung », where the addition of « Anregung » is clearly intended to sustain the parallel interpretation of *upastambhaka-* as « stützend, fördernd, anregend »: but in the exegesis, one must be careful not to transfer onto the level of meaning what is only another possibility in translating a metaphor.

The third — and, to my knowledge[19], last — occurrence of *upastambhaka-* is of particular interest, not only because it is given in a philosophical text — belonging to another *darśana* than the *Sāṁkhya* —, but because it is employed in a simile where a real propping is clearly involved. In Śaṅkara's commentary to *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad* (p. 331 in Röer's edition) the question is of two man's « interior breaths » (*antaḥprāṇa-*), of which the former is *upastambhaka-* like the carrying

16. *Ib.* For the other occurrences of *upastambhaka-* cf. *infra.*
17. Cf. e.g. MONIER-WILLIAMS, *Dict. cit.*, s.v. *stambh.*
18. A. W. VON SCHLEGEL, C. LASSEN (ed.), *Hitopadesas id est Institutio salutaris.* Textum... recensuerunt interpretationem latinam [not published] et annotationes criticas adiecerunt A. G. a Schlegel et C. Lassen, pars I *Textum Sanscritum* tenens, Bonnae ad Rhenum, 1829.
19. Cf. n. 2.

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structures in a house, the latter on the contrary can be removed like the clay or straw from which a house is also built. It can be noticed that *upastambhaka-* falls here within a twofold, not threefold partition; in this way what is *upastambhaka-* is also, e.g., *prakāśaka-*.

At this point, however, we are faced by another problem: if we translate *upastambhaka-* with « sustaining » also in the SK (« erhaltend » Garbe [20]; « stützend » Frauwallner [21]: « le *rajas* (a pour caractéristique) de tenir » Paramārtha according to Takakusu [22], then we no longer know how to reconcile such an attribute to *rajas*, i.e. the term to which it belongs. In classical Sanskrit *rajas-* signifies « dust, dirt » — even though Sāṁkhya philosophers reinterpreted it as *rāga-* « passion »; but in both cases, how on earth could it « sustain », « erhalten » something? That is exactly the problem, which has led most scholars, from Colebrooke onwards, to renderings which however do not agree with its meaning.

We can get out of this *impasse* if we remind ourselves of É. Senart's hypothesis about the cosmological origin of *guṇas* [23]. As far as the second *guṇa* is particularly concerned, it would be to be identified, from this historical point of view, with the Vedic *rájas-*, in the meaning of « atmosphere ».

To be sure, Senart was operating with such a *rájas-* that gives us a strange impression from the semantic point of view: with the concept of « atmosphere » he also combined the concept of « dust » — which, in Senart's wording, « tourbillonne » in the atmosphere — and likewise the concept of « vapour », which in the atmosphere makes the clouds. No doubt, this opinion was very widespread in his time [24], but more recently Burrow has pointed out the inadequacy of its methodological grounds [25]: according to his conclusions, which have been welcomed in scholastic circles [26], there are in Old Indian *two* homophonous *rajas-*, of which the former, chiefly classic, signifies « dust, dirt », and the latter, ṛgvedic and atharvavedic, signifies « space », and only secondarily, as Burrow stresses, « intermediate space, atmosphere ». Burrow also assumed — without apparently knowing of Senart's article — that the

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20. R. Garbe (trans.), *Sâṃkhya-pravacana-bhâshya, Vijñânabhikshu Commentar zu den Sâṃkhyasûtras* (« Abh. für die Kunde des Morgenlandes » IX, 3), Leipzig, 1889, p. 146; subsequently, however, Garbe seems to change his mind, cf. n. 14.

21. E. Frauwallner, *Geschichte der indischen Philosophie*, vol. I, Salzburg, 1953, p. 351.

22. Takakusu, *art. cit.*, p. 996.

23. É. Senart, *Rajas et la théorie indienne des trois guṇas*, in JA, 11th ser., 6 (1915), pp. 151-64.

24. Cf., e.g., A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, Strassburg, 1897, p. 10 (quoted by Senart itself).

25. T. Burrow, *Sanskrit* rájas, in BSOAS, 12 (1948), pp. 645-51.

26. Cf. R. Lazzeroni, *Cultura vedica e cultura indoeuropea: sscr.* rajas-: *gr.* ἔρεβος, in « Studi e Saggi Linguistici », 16 (1976), p. 143. He shows here the possibility of retaining the traditional etymological comparison with Gr. ἔρεβος also within the new semantic framework outlined by Burrow. Cf. also van Buitenen's article quoted in the following n.

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second *guṇa* of the *Sāṁkhya* might have derived its name from *rajas-* « dust, dirt », developed in « a secondary and figurative meaning » of « moral defilement »; new arguments, however, to stregthen the validity of Senart's hypothesis on this point, have been brought forward by van Buitenen in his admirable article on *sattva*[27]: we only mention his interesting discovery that the meaning of « space » is not restricted within the limits of *Saṁhitās*' literature, but there is evidence of it even in later times, in the *Upaniṣad*s and further on in the *Mahābhārata*. Indeed, if we start from the meaning of Ved. *rájas-* as Burrow has defined it, we may find further evidence for Senart's hypothesis in the SK text itself.

Surely, Burrow's main concern was not to explain the semantic change from « space » to « atmosphere »; but such a change is not obvious, and on the other hand it is hardly sufficient to talk about the latter sense as a case of « a secondary and specialized » one. We have to refer, in my opinion, to the Vedic myth of creation. There atmosphere releases heaven and earth from the primeval obstruction (*áṁhas-*) by interposing between them two: it is space that creates space. So, exactly because atmosphere is space κατ' ἐξοχήν *rájas-* may designate it.

The answer to the question about the semantic history of Ved. *rájas-*, which Burrow left unresolved, seems to us also to be not without importance in the history of the second *guṇa*: as far as atmosphere fulfils the above-mentioned functions, i.e. atmosphere is *rájas-*, all deeds of the gods who mean to keep heaven and earth apart, to sustain, prop them, take place there. *stabhnóti* is a characteristic verb to indicate this propping in the RV[28]; we find it in composition with *úpa* too — and with *dyáṁ* as its direct object e.g. in IV, 6, 1; VI, 17, 7.

If we understand *upastambhaka-* in the SK in this sense too[29], we may observe unexpected consistencies in the context: so *rajas* is also

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27. J. A. B. van Buitenen, *Studies in Sāṃkhya (III). Sattva*, in JAOS, 77, 2 (April-June 1957), pp. 88-107.

28. Cf. B. L. Ogibenin, *Structure d'un mythe védique. Le mythe cosmogonique dans le Ṛgveda*, trans. from the Russian by Catherine Brodsky-Campbell, The Hague - Paris, 1973 (original ed. 1968), pp. 74-85 and pass.

29. According to van Buitenen, *art. cit.*, p. 103, « in *rajas* we have a clear case where a macrocosmic entity looses its macrocosmic content almost entirely »; but, when does that happen? If we read the text of the SK free from the conditionings of Indian exegetical tradition, we may find there the best evidence for the atmospheric character of *rajas*: as a matter of fact in the *kā.* 54 what in the universe is dominated by *rajas*, not only lies *madhye* « in the middle » between the two other parts of the universe dominated by *sattva* and *tamas*, which are respectively *ūrdhvam* « above » and *mūlataḥ* « at the root, down » (cf. further *Bhagavadgītā* XIV, 18 = MBh, *Bhīṣmap.* XXXVI, 18); it is also clearly defined, by means of the compound *brahmādistambaparyantam*, as extending from the earth's surface — the grass is the symbol of this superficial level — to heaven, that is the abode of the god Brahmā (on this point Senart, *art. cit.*, p. 159, is still too conditioned by Colebrooke, and consequently by Indian exegetical tradition). We may notice the interesting internal allusion, which the phonic resemblance between *stamba-* « blade of grass, etc. » here and *upastam*bh*aka-* in 13 gives rise to.

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pravṛtti...artha- (*kā.*12) [30], because the setting in motion of the beings starts at the very moment when the world (*jágat-*, morphologically « the going on one ») has been released from narrowness/distress (*áṁhas-*), i.e. space has been created by setting up the most appropriate props to this aim.

In Vedic myth, moreover, the creating power of the gods, that is, as I was saying just now, the opening, keeping apart, propping one, has to overcome the power of resistance (*vṛtrá-*) which is of the evil spirits dwelling in the domain of darkness (*támas-*), primeval chaos / hell. It is not then mere chance, when in the SK the third *guṇa*, viz. *tamas*, is defined not only as *niyamārtha-* (*kā.*12) « adapted to ... restraint » but also as *varaṇakam* (*kā.*13) « enveloping » [31], a primary derivative from the same root as *vṛtrá-*.

Undoubtedly, van Buitenen is right in affirming that « *sattva, rajas* and *tamas* are really disparate terms » [32], in the sense that not all three, probably, have belonged from the beginning to any triadic pattern. *rajas* is sure to have belonged there, but *rajas* « intermediate space » is a part of a triad only when opposed on the one hand to heaven, on the other hand to earth; nor may one further maintain the identification formerly proposed by Senart *tamas* = earth, for which texts do not give evidence at all.

Notwithstanding, difficulties in « show*ing* the cosmic origin of *tamas* » do not follow necessarily from the awkwardness of Senart's identification, as it seemed to van Buitenen [33]: on the contrary, we were observing that there are rather clear indications, in the text itself of the SK, to derive the third *guṇa* exactly from the « primeval night of nothingness from which creation appears » [34].

The above-mentioned relationship between attributes of *rajas* and attributes of *tamas* in the SK, if it also belongs on the cosmogonic level, is sure to belong there from another standpoint than the opposition *rájas- : dyávāpṛthivī* [35]; but this fact itself may account for some replace-

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30. « adapted to activity » COLEBROOKE in COLEBROOKE-WILSON, *op. cit.*, p. 49. *pravartate* is used in the SK (cf. *kā.* 16) to designate the motion of *prakṛti — the* ρνθγὸς inherent to things.

31. COLEBROOKE in COLEBROOKE-WILSON, *op. cit.*, pp. 54; 49.

32. VAN BUITENEN, *art. cit.*, p. 94.

33. Ib.

34. These are van Buitenen's words, *ib.* The passage of *Maitrāyaṇīyopaniṣad* V, 2, therefore, may be again envisaged in another light, cf. SENART, *art. cit.*, p. 160.

35. In this context, we are reminded of the uncertainty of ṛgvedic mythographers about the hell's place in cosmography, i.e. their difficulty in putting together different schemes of description, cf. R. N. DANDEKAR, *Universe in Vedic Thought*, in *India Maior. Congratulatory Volume Presented to J. Gonda*, ed. by J. ENSINK, P. GAEFFKE, Leiden, 1972, p. 113.

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ment of members of the original triad. According to van Buitenen, not only did *rajas* hold itself still, but it « brought the triadic pattern along » [36] too: his historical hypothesis is now all but confirmed, when the exegesis of *upastambhaka-* has indicated the intermediary functions, hence triadic κατ' ἐξοχήν of *rajas* [37].

36. Cf. VAN BUITENEN, *art. cit.*, p. 106.
37. On this point OGIBENIN (*op. cit.*, pp. 74; 52 f.; 33) is of particular importance.

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E. P. MATEN

IN QUEST OF THE ORIGINAL PAÑCATANTRA. A METHODOLOGICAL DISCUSSION

The hypothesis of a lost Ur-*Pañcatantra* as the archetype of all *Pañcatantra* versions, both in and outside India, was formed by Benfey, who, however, did not have sufficient material at his disposal to corroborate his ideas satisfactorily. When Hertel, mindful of Benfey's hypothesis, lighted upon the manuscripts of the *Tantrākhyāyika*, he believed to have found the original *Pañcatantra*, a view he had to reconsider, but which remained the starting-point of all his research on the subject. In the introduction to his translation of the *Tantrākhyāyika* [1] he enunciates his notions of the interrelationship of the oldest extant *Pañcatantra* versions and their descendance from the original *Pañcatantra*. He considered the *Tantrākhyāyika* the most authentic version and therefore superior to the other versions. The genealogy made by Hertel was rejected by Edgerton, who subsequently proposed another genealogy and reconstructed the original *Pañcatantra* with the help of its oldest extant versions [2]. Both Hertel's and Edgerton's method is founded on textual criticism. Edgerton's reconstruction has been widely accepted by Indologists. The matter was raised again by Geib, who decides on originality by the interpretation of the *Pañcatantra*'s contents [3]. He bases his interpretation on Hertel's *Tantrākhyāyika*.

In this article I intend to discuss Geib's method and the value of its results for the question of the original *Pañcatantra*. Since Geib's results are affected by his rejection of Edgerton's method, genealogy

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1. JOHANNES HERTEL, *Tantrākhyāyika, Die älteste Fassung des Pañcatantra*, I, Einleitung, II, Übersetzung und Anmerkungen, Leipzig, 1909, repr. 1970. Text: JOHANNES HERTEL, *Tantrākhyāyika, Die älteste Fassung des Pañcatantra*, AKGWG, phil.-hist. Klasse, 1910 (NF 12), 2.
2. FRANKLIN EDGERTON, *The Panchatantra reconstructed*, I, Text and critical apparatus, II, Introduction and translation, American Oriental Series, 2, 3, New Haven, 1924.
3. RUPRECHT GEIB, *Zur Frage nach der Urfassung des Pañcatantra*, Freiburger Beiträge zur Indologie, 2, Wiesbaden, 1969.

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and reconstructed text in favour of Hertel's, I will first reconsider briefly the methods of Edgerton and Hertel from a methodological point of view. I leave aside the justifiable question whether there is any point in reconstructing the original *Pañcatantra*, or in postulating its qualities and even its perfectness. Much research has been done on this subject, which has added substantially to our knowledge of the *Pañcatantra* and its significance for the study of narrative literature and for the understanding of ancient Indian society. It is a question, however, that should be kept in mind while going through the matter under discussion here.

The reconstruction of the original *Pañcatantra* presupposes a definite literary archetype, which has been consequently postulated by both Hertel and Edgerton, though with different arguments. Edgerton points to the structural and verbal similarities of the various versions [4], whereas Hertel takes his arguments from extra-textual data [5].

According to Hertel, the various versions of the *Pañcatantra* are not derived directly from the original, but through one or more archetypes. He takes it for granted that the *Tantrākhyāyika* comes closest to the original *Pañcatantra* and that it is far superior to the other versions [6]. The *Tantrākhyāyika* is therefore the standard with which he compares all other versions. Its imperfections and interpolations are explained by the supposition of an archetype t, intermediate between the original *Pañcatantra* and its descendants. The differences between the *Tantrākhyāyika* and the other versions are accounted for by an archetype K [7].

Edgerton rejects Hertel's archetypes t and K [8]. He arranges the various versions in four groups, each group having its own secondary archetype, which descends directly from the original [9]. He holds the view that for the reconstruction of the original *Pañcatantra* all versions are equivalent, notwithstanding the fact that they are not all of the same quality [10]. With the help of five criteria [11] he determines which matter is authentic and thus reconstructs the text of the original *Pañcatantra*, which differs in many respects from the *Tantrākhyāyika*.

When we compare the methods of Hertel and Edgerton, we cannot but conclude that the method of the latter is to be preferred. Hertel's method is founded upon his thesis that the *Tantrākhyāyika* is most faithful to the original *Pañcatantra*, independent from and superior to all other versions, a thesis that rests only on his own impressions and

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4. Edgerton, *Panch. reconstr.*, II, pp. 53-5.
5. Hertel, *Tantr.*, I, p. 19.
6. Hertel, *Tantr.*, I, p. 98.
7. The origination of the *Pañcatantra* versions according to Hertel is visualized by a genealogical table; see: Hertel, *Tantr.*, I, p. 40.
8. Edgerton, *Panch. reconstr.*, II, pp. 92 ff.
9. For Edgerton's genealogy see: Edgerton, *Panch. reconstr.*, II, p. 48.
10. Edgerton, *Panch. reconstr.*, II, p. 16.
11. Edgerton, *Panch. reconstr.*, II, pp. 55 ff.

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that he does not and can not prove. Consequently, he is forced to interpret his material in favour of the *Tantrākhyāyika*, which means that he emphasizes differences, whereas Edgerton utilizes similarities. Edgerton's method is perhaps not indisputable, but its principles are clearly stated, so that his procedures and conclusions are verifiable. A certain amount of subjectivity is inevitable in matters of interpretation; its effects can be limited, though, by a careful choice of principles. Hertel's method suffers from a lack of such principles; thus his *Stammbaum* roots in the air, not in firm soil.

Now that we have reconsidered Hertel's and Edgerton's methods, we will touch on Geib's. The main purpose of the *Pañcatantra* is the teaching of *nīti*, a term which in connection with this book of fables is often translated as political wisdom. Geib has to be given credit for his exposition of the essential meaning of the term [12], which I will try to recapitulate. According to Geib, *nīti* is the faculty to understand reality underlying appearance, which enables someone to act appropriately, and, consequentially, to deceive other people by disguising one's real intentions and to bend them to one's will by influencing their affects. The anti-thesis understanding — not understanding is the central theme of the *Tantrākhyāyika* and also determines its structure [13]. This theme, and not the textual tradition, which is the starting-point of Hertel and Edgerton, provides Geib with the criterion to decide on the authenticity of verses and fables.

Geib rejects Edgerton's method from a methodological point of view, by stating that it is a vicious circle: first Edgerton determines the genealogy of the various versions, then he determines the authenticity of their contents with the help of that genealogy[14]. A detail from an inserted story [15], « Brahman and rogues », is the proof of his argument, which is corroborated by the interpretation of the contents of the story. They are as follows. A brahman walks down the road, with a goat on his shoulder, which he has planned to sacrifice. With the intention to filch it from him, some rogues come up to the brahman and make him believe that he does not carry a goat but a dog, which is an impure animal. The brahman goes home, leaving the goat behind. The *Tantrākhyāyika* reads: *evaṃ saṃpradhārya bhumau nikṣipyānavalokayanneva prāyāt prayaścittabhayāt* [16]; « Such were his thoughts; he dropped the goat and hurried away, without even looking back, from fear of an expiatory ceremony ». Edgerton's reconstructed text reads: *evaṃ saṃpradhārya chāgaṃ tyaktvā snātvā gṛhaṃ yayau* [17]; « So thin-

12. Geib, *Urfassung*, pp. 21 ff.
13. Geib, *Urfassung*, p. 49.
14. Geib, *Urfassung*, p. 8.
15. III, 5. In this article references are to Edgerton's text and translation, unless stated otherwise. For a conspectus of the numbering of the stories in the various versions: Edgerton, *Panch. reconstr.*, II, pp. 190-91.
16. Hertel, *Tantr.*, text, p. 126, line 15; transl., p. 118.
17. Edgerton, *Panch. reconstr.*, I, § 130; II, p. 373.

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king he turned the goat loose, and bathed, and went home ». The feature that the brahman bathes, which complies with Edgerton's criteria for authenticity, is Geib's proof that Edgerton's method is a vicious circle. I must confine myself here to the observation that Geib's reproduction of Edgerton's method is a questionable simplification; in my opinion, his arguing and conclusion are unsound [18]. It is obvious, however, that this feature has not been selected arbitrarily by Geib; it appears to be crucial for his interpretation of the story. Let us therefore turn to the arguments which Geib takes from his interpretation.

The interpretation of narrative material has to meet at least one condition if it is meant to provide conclusive evidence: it has to be based on the text, or, to put it more specifically, on the author's own words. The author's choice of words is the expression of his point of view and as such fundamental for any interpretation. Besides, the understanding of a story's literary and cultural context will facilitate its interpretation and provide secondary information. This may seem a matter of course, but unfortunately, it is not, as I will demonstrate below.

With reference to Hertel and Winternitz, Geib states that the *Pañcatantra* hardly lets an opportunity slip to expose the sanctimonious debauches of especially Śivaite ascetics and brahmans [19]. The *Tantrākhyāyika*'s reading of the story would fit this tendency: the Śivaite brahman looks forward to the savoury meal the goat will make. Convinced by the rogues that his goat is a dog, he drops the animal and takes to his heels, to evade the unpleasant and painstaking expiatory ceremony. According to Geib, these are digs at the Śivaites; therefore it is probable that the reading of the *Tantrākhyāyika* is authentic. He corroborates this probability by a further consideration. The *Pañcatantra* was handed down by learned brahmans. Thus, it is probable that in the course of tradition anti-brahmanic tendencies were mitigated and altered, as must have happened in the other versions. It is most unlikely that in the course of tradition a dig at brahmans has crept in. Thus, the reading of the *Tantrākhyāyika* is also confirmed by the principle of the *lectio difficilior*. So far Geib.

Does the *Pañcatantra* indeed depict Śivaite brahmans and ascetics as hypocrites and debauchees?

Brahmans and ascetics figure in the frame-story of book V and in six inserted stories: I, 3a; II, 1; III, 5; III, 7, III, 9; V, 1. The stories III, 7 and III, 9 can be left out of further consideration, since their characters do not meet any negative tendency. When we examine these stories we must conclude that none of the brahmans and mendicants is explicitly said to be a Śivaite. The only explanation for Geib's contention I can think of is that Geib accepts Hertel's supposition that the author of

18. I will deal with this in my forthcoming contribution to *A history of Indian literature*, edited by J. Gonda, Wiesbaden, 1973...

19. Geib, *Urfassung*, p. 9.

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the *Pañcatantra* was a Viṣṇuite devotee [20], and consequently interprets digs at brahmans and ascetics as being of an anti-Śivaite nature.

Two stories answer the negative image claimed by Geib satisfactorily, those two in which figure mendicants.

In the story of the mendicant and the swindler [21] a mendicant who has collected a fortune by gifts from pious people, is robbed by a thief, who passed for his pupil. In the story of the mouse and the two mendicants [22], one of the mendicants collects more food than he can eat and stores the remnants. The other one is named « Big-buttocks », a name possibly suggesting gluttony. When they find a hoard, they divide it between themselves. These three mendicants, indeed, do not live in the way one might expect of men who have renounced the world; accordingly, their greed is broadly hinted at by the narrator. Both stories show satirical touches; from his choice of words one may infer that the narrator exposes the mendicants intentionally.

The remaining stories (III, 5; V, 1; V, frame-story) do not belong to this category, in my opinion [23]. The negative qualities of the mendicants are habitual, not incidental, whereas the three brahmans fall victims of their credulity, rashness and fantasy by coincidence. In the story of the brahman who built air-castles [24], for instance, a young brahman is in the possession of a jar full of grits. Once, when he lies upon his bed and muses on the material opportunities his grits will give him because of their high value, he breaks the jar by accident, which puts an end to his fancies. Geib's assertion that the brahman's study consists of hoarding grits, sleeping in the day-time and dreaming of his future [25], is not supported by the texts [26] and certainly does not fit the story's cultural context. The young brahman is a student and as such in the second stage of his life. He gets meals in the house of a merchant; how often and on which occasions is not told [27]. When he does not take part in the meals, the merchant gives him some grits instead, which he does not eat, but saves in a jar. He dreams of his future: how he will sell the grits at a good price, how he will multiply

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20. Hertel, *Tantr.*, I, p. 5. Edgerton, *Panch. reconstr.*, II, p. 183, does not believe this.

21. I, 3a.

22. II, 1.

23. In contrast with: Geib, *Urfassung*, p. 117; Hertel, ZDMG, 68, 1914, p. 75.

24. V, 1.

25. Geib, *Urfassung*, p. 117.

26. The young brahman is said to be a studious person; the *Tantrākhyāyika* reads: *vidyāprasaṅgena kālaṃ nayati sma.* In the introductory sentences of the story the narrator uses the present tense of the verb, with a durative aspect: *... naityakam (bhojanam) vartate. sa yadā... na bhuṅkte, tadā... labhate. tam... sthāpayati.* Then he switches to the perfect tense: *kadācit... cintayāmāsa,* which points to the incidental, not to the habitual.

27. The meals do not necessarily have to take place in a ritual or religious setting; after all, *naityaka,* as a substantive, in the sense of offerings occurs only in the *Mahābhārata.*

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his money by trading and farming, how he will build a house, marry a beautiful girl and beget a son. All these things are quite normal for a young man who will, one day, enter the next stage of his life, that of a *gṛhapati*, a head of a family. Taken up with his fancies, the young brahman breaks the jar, by accident. People laugh at him, not because of his greed, as is suggested by Hertel, but, more probably, because of the funny sight provided by the young man who is bestrewn with grits [28]. As a matter of fact, I doubt whether this story is a real *nīti*-story. Geib's interpretation is clever, but rather sophisticated. In my opinion, the story would better range with Somadeva's « fools' stories » [29]. As for the other stories, credulity and rashness are not necessarily defects of character, but may be inappropriate reactions to certain circumstances. They are not exclusive for brahmans, but are found with numerous other people. There is no indication in the texts that the narrator is exposing these brahmans; the three stories have no satirical touches. Neither the brahman in story III, 5, nor the one in the frame-story of book V acts as a *nītivid*, an adept in *nīti*, but that is exactly the reason why they figure in the *Pañcatantra*. Virtues which are typical for brahmans are to be found in the sphere of *dharma*, Somadeva's *Kathāsaritsāgara*, for instance, abounds in them. Greed is by no means uncommon with people; in narrative literature it is often found with merchants. In the case of mendicants and ascetics, however, who as a group are generally respected, it is more serious: it interferes with their credibility and deservedly provokes criticism.

Let us return to the story of the brahman and the rogues, which was the starting-point of our inquiries into the supposed anti-brahmanic and anti-Śivaite tendencies of the *Pañcatantra*. The assertion that the brahman looks forward to a meal does not rest on the readings of the texts. Remains the question: why does the brahman hurry away? Is he eager to bathe, contaminated as he feels by the contact with the impure dog, or is he such a wretched creature that he wants to escape from the obligation of a purification ceremony? The brahman considers that the majority, in his case the rogues who outweigh him in number, is right, and that he might even carry a *rākṣasa* on his shoulder, able to assume any form at will. The conclusion of the story has already been discussed in its two readings [30]. Geib's assertion that the reading of the *Tantrākhyāyika* [31] is a *lectio difficilior* and is therefore to be preferred, shows an improper use of the term and is unfounded from the point of view

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28. This interpretation seems most probable to me, but does not rest on the reading of the texts.

29. In the tenth book of the *Kathāsaritsāgara*.

30. See for the various readings of the independent versions EDGERTON, *Panch. reconstr.*, I, p. 317.

31. Hertel is of the opinion that the words *prayaścittabhayāt* are suspect and explains the brahman's hurry from his fear that he might be devoured by the *rākṣasa*; see HERTEL, *Tantr.*, I, p. 118 n. 7.

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of textual criticism. Edgerton's reading does not offend against grammatical rules ,nor does it against the plain sense of the passage. The difference between the two readings is a matter of contents; the narration of the *Tantrākhyāyika* gives more details. A comparison of the various versions, however, will show that this is often the case. What coud be the motivation of the brahman's fear? I would suggest the following interpretation: the brahman drops the goat and goes away, fearing the ceremony which would be inevitable if he would verify the real nature of the animal by looking at it again. If wretchedness would be the real motivation of his fear, consequently the passage has to be regarded as a dig at brahmans. At the same time it provides an argument for the hypothesis that the author of the *Tantrākhyāyika* has adapted his text to his own purposes, since its reading, which has been discussed above, can be seen as an intentional alteration. Such a theory requires a renewed comparison of all the *Pañcatantra*-versions; its *a priori* plausibility, however, depends on the acceptation of either Hertel's or Edgerdton's method. Only three stories [32] would provide the arguments for the maintaining of Geib's assertion that the *Pañcatantra* shows anti-brahmanic tendencies, which is insufficient. So far, we cannot but conclude that Geib has failed to prove that Edgerton's method is unsound.

Crucial for Hertel's theory, which Geib means to support, are the archetypes t and K. I will confine myself to some observations on the stories that play an important part in the argumentation for or against K.

To start with, the story [33], « Husked for husked sesame », which tells about mother Śāṇḍilī who tries to barter sesame for sesame [34]. Her own sesame was spoiled by the contact with a dog, so that she could not prepare a meal for brahmans with it. The story is inserted in the story « Mouse and two mendicants » [35], in which the mouse Hiraṇya, one of the characters of the frame-story, overhears it. It is told by one of these hypocrite debauchees, whom we have met before, the mendicant « Big-buttocks », and who relates what has befallen to him on his wanderings. From the point of view of a good story-teller, the story is defective in all the Indian versions. A good story has a plot and, preferably, a denouement, in which the main characters play their part. This story lacks the denouement; the part of one of its characters remains obscure. The characters are: mother Śāṇḍilī, a *nītivid*, who,

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32. I, 3a; II, and III, 5, the last one only in its *Tantrākhyāyika*-version. The story about the cat, the partridge and the hare is no positive evidence for the so-called anti-ascetic tendencies of the *Pañcatantra*, as Winternitz asserts (WZKM, 25, 1911, pp. 59 ff.).

33. II, 2.

34. See HERTEL, *Tantr.*, I, pp. 28 ff.; EDGERTON, *Panch. reconstr.*, II, pp. 106 ft.; GEIB, *Urfassung*, pp. 157 ff.

35. II, 1.

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with false pretensions, tries to barter (in some versions personally, in other versions by means of her husband's pupil) her polluted sesame; the intended victim of her trick (a neighbour's wife, or someone at the market); the person who sees through Śāṇḍilī's offer (a husband, a son, a passer-by), and who is also a *nītivid*. So far, so good; each character plays the part it is due to, and the barter is off [36]. The mendicant, the very man who has overheard mother Śāṇḍilī's plan and is present at the spot where the barter takes place, remains in the dark. Instead of confirming the right supposition that there is something behind it all, which, moreover, would provide the story with a denouement, he keeps silent [37]. When we presume that the Ur-*Pañcatantra* was « perfect », the present form of the story supports the hypothesis of one or more defective intermediary archetypes. As an attempt to interweave two stories, possibly with the intention to make it more vivid by introducing an eye-witness, it is not very successful.

A noteworthy feature of the story is the narrative verse « Not for nothing does mother Śāṇḍilī... » [38]. In the majority of cases a narrative verse contains a proverb, which is relevant for the frame-story, together with a reference to a story, e.g.: « Always be thrifty, but do not be too thrifty. Because he was too thrifty, the jackal was killed by the bow ». Moreover, such a verse is recited by the narrator, when he introduces a story he intends to insert and later when he resumes his main narrative. In the *Tantrākhyāyika* and in Edgerton's reconstructed text it is recited by the narrator (the mendicant) at the introduction, and again by the *nītivid* who supposes that there is something behind Śāṇḍilī's offer; at the resumption of the main story it is omitted. In my opinion, this verse is not a real narrative verse; it is to be put in the mouth of either the *nītivid* or the mendicant when he speaks up, like in the Syriac translation. It is, or at least should be, an integral part of the story, but at the same time it is used, for some reason, as a narrative verse [39].

In contrast with the mendicant in story II, 2, whose presence is virtually redundant, the mendicant in the story « Three self-caused accidents » [40], has a clear function. When the unfortunate barber, who has been falsely accused by his wife of having mutilated her nose, is led to the place of execution, the mendicant, who knows the ins and

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36. With regard to the question whether mother Śāṇḍilī trades husked for unhusked sesame, or husked for husked, the arguments resting on textual criticism should prevail, since the victim is gullible anyhow.

37. Only in the Syriac translation the mendicant exposes mother Śāṇḍilī; see Hertel, *Tantr.*, I, p. 29.

38. II, vs. 27; *Tantr.*, II, vs. 45. A narrative verse is a verse containing a reference to a story and serving both its introduction and its purport. I prefer this term to the rather burdened term *ākhyāna*-verse, which reminds of Oldenberg's theories.

39. The Jātaka's abound in narrative verses of the type that I would call irregular, at least in comparison with the majority of the narrative verses in the *Pañcatantra*.

40. I, 3.

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outs of the case, interferes and thus saves his life. Hertel has rightly observed that by the testimony of the mendicant the story belongs to the sphere of *dharma*: « virtue » triumphs over cunning [41]. This observation does not necessarily imply that the story is therefore an interpolation; on the contrary, it answers the tendency of the *Pañcatantra* very well, as Geib shows. The fact that the story in this form finally teaches *dharma* supports the hypothesis that *nīti* is not the sole subject of the *Pañcatantra*, that the author also has other aims in mind [42]. The narrative verse is irregular. It is recited by the narrator at the introduction of the inserted story and the resumption of the main story. It is also recited by the mendicant, who is one of the characters of the inserted story, and that three times, one time at the conclusion of the story of the rams and the jackal, a second time at the conclusion of the episode in which he was robbed by his pupil. The third time he recites it in the situation in which it is appropriate: in the king's court, when he testifies to the barber's innocence. When the repeated use of the verse is an artifice to combine three originally independent stories, as Geib says [43], the author has done badly, having reduced the first two stories to mere episodes. There is reason, again, to suppose that the archetype of all the extant versions was defective.

Geib has chosen to found his interpretation on the *Tantrākhyāyika*, a text, I admit, sometimes to be preferred to Edgerton's reconstruction. He also endorses Hertel's view of the *Tantrākhyāyika*'s superiority to the other versions, though he does not explicitly state this. Consequently he is forced to prove, like Hertel, an unprovable thesis, which affects the value of his arguments. His attempts to support Hertel's archetypes t and K expose the limitation of his method. He can test the correspondence of the inserted stories with the purport of the frame-stories, the teaching of *nīti*, but he can never prove that a particular story was part of the original *Pañcatantra*. The fact that an inserted story is a *nīti*-story, and therefore in Geib's opinion authentic, does not prove that it has not been interpolated. Only when we presume that the original *Pañcatantra* was perfect in terms of style and contents, that it was founded on a well-planned scheme, that its sole aim was to teach *nīti*, that the *Tantrākhyāyika* is superior to the other versions, that the authors of the extant versions are mere emendators of corrupted texts, of inferior abilities, only then Geib's arguments are decisive proof. As it is now, his method can be applied to any collection of framed tales. His arguments in support of K [44] will illustrate my observations.

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41. Hertel, *Tantr.*, I, p. 130. Compare moreover the parrot's story, part of the third *vetāla*-story, in Somadeva's version.
42. Compare Harry Falk, *Quellen des Pañcatantra*, Wiesbaden, 1978.
43. Geib, *Urfassung*, p. 100.
44. Geib, *Urfassung*, pp. 157 ff.

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Geib advances nine cases in favour of Hertel's archetype K, including the story about mother Śāṇḍilī on which I have already made some remarks.

Dharmabuddhi and Duṣṭabuddhi [45] have buried a treasure at the foot of a hollow tree. Duṣṭabuddhi digs it up in secret and thereupon accuses Dharmabuddhi of the theft. The tree, in which Duṣṭabuddhi's father hides in order to voice the tree-divinity, confirms the accusation in the presence of the king's judges. According to Edgerton's reconstructed text, Dharmabuddhi supposes that there is something behind it all. He climbs the tree, has a look inside and sets fire to it. Out comes the father, half burnt. Then the king's judges perceive the truth. In the *Tantrākhyāyika*, Dharmabuddhi pretends to be guilty, when the tree has spoken. Before he can hand over the treasure, he says, he has to drive out the cobra that guards it. Hertel motivates the authenticity of the pretended confession by stating that, as the accused, Dharmabuddhi is not free to act unless he confesses [46]. Edgerton refutes this argument by denying the existence of such a legal principle in ancient Hindu law and considers the passage to be secondary [47]. I disagree with Edgerton when he says that the passage in the *Tantrākhyāyika* sounds very bizarre and badly constructed. In both versions the story is good, but in the *Tantrākhyāyika* the narration is more explicit, though the passage is not really necessary for the plot of the story. In both versions Dharmabuddhi acts as a *nītivid*: he understands that something is the matter and acts accordingly. I disagree therefore with Geib's contention that in Edgerton's reconstructed text the intelligence required to understand the situation is replaced by mere physical ability [48].

The story about the onion-thief and the one about the blue jackal [49] meet Geib's criterion for authenticity. The former is only found in the *Tantrākhyāyika*, the latter moreover in the *textus simplicior* and Pūrṇabhadra, which are both contaminated with the *Tantrākhyāyika*. Geib states that the independent disappearance of these authentic stories from the other versions is highly improbable and considers it consequently a proof in favour of the archetype K [50].

With respect to the fable about the lion and the hare [51], Geib is right when he says that the narration of the *Tantrākhyāyika* is more refined than that of the other versions.

In the story about the iron-eating mice [52], a merchant's son leaves his home-town, to try his luck abroad. Before going, he deposits an

45. Story I, 13; *Tantr.*, I, 15.
46. Hertel, *Tantr.*, I, p. 94.
47. Edgerton, *Panch. reconstr.*, II, p. 97.
48. Geib, *Urfassung*, p. 168.
49. *Tantr.*, IV, 1 and I, 8.
50. Geib, *Urfassung*, p. 168.
51. I, 6.
52. I, 15; *Tantr.*, I, 17.

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iron balance with another merchant. On his return, that merchant pretends the balance to be eaten by mice. In the *Tantrākhyāyika* the merchant is said to have no relatives; in the other versions he is poor. The absence of relatives motivates the depositing of the balance with another merchant, the poverty of the merchant his voyage abroad. Though I agree with Geib that the reading of the *Tantrākhyāyika* is more appropriate, I find his contention that the readings of the other version [53] are to be considered a *lectio facilior* questionable [54]. To conclude my observations on this story, I may draw the attention to the irregular narrative verse, which is taken from the story itself.

Two cases advanced by Geib concern verses only occurring in the *Tantrākhyāyika*.

Remains the story about the deer's former captivity [55]. This story is not a fable *in sensu stricto*. It is a story in which one of the characters is the deer that also figures in the frame-story. Whatever its function may be, it is not inserted for didactic reasons. It is an account of the deer's former adventures. It is not introduced by a narrative verse, it lacks a purport and it is interrupted by the arrival of the turtle, another character in the frame-story. Only one episode is concerned with *nīti*: a noble man saves the deer from the crowd and points out the truth to the ignorant prince. The beginning of this story, the various versions of which are examined by Geib in detail [56], is only found in the *Tantrākhyāyika*. Geib's observations endorse the hypothesis of an intermediary archetype between the original *Pañcatantra* and its extant versions.

In my opinion, all the cases discussed above can support the hypothesis of the *Tantrākhyāyika*'s being adapted. As proof in favour of the archetype K Geib's arguments do not appear to be really convincing.

Geib's method, valuable though it is not only for the study of the *Pañcatantra* but also for that of ancient Indian narrative literature in general, does not suffice for its aim. With its help Geib can examine the extent to which the *Pañcatantra*'s contents answer its main theme and its purport. Such a compliance, however, does not exclude the interference of an interpolator, so that Geib cannot prove whether a story or a verse belonged to the original. Moreover, his interpretation lacks explicite criteria. It is to be regretted that he founded his research only on Hertel's *Tantrākhyāyika*, without implicating in a positive way the other versions. Although the main theme of the *Pañcatantra* is *nīti*, it also has touches of *dharma*, which Geib has failed to expose. The hypothesis of one or more intermediary archetypes is plausible and accounts for the defective stories, some unusual insertions and the irregular narrative verses, which neither Edgerton nor Hertel have

53. Compare Edgerton, *Panch. reconstr.*, I, pp. 170 ff.
54. Geib, *Urfassung*, p. 171.
55. II, 4; *Tantr.*, II, 5.
56. Geib, *Urfassung*, pp. 106 ff.

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pointed out. I agree with Geib that Edgerton is principally not able to deal with intermediary archetypes; on the other hand, both Hertel's and Geib's arguments in favour of them are insufficient. In my opinion, a comparison of the extant versions of the *Pañcatantra* from a narratological point of view is worthwhile, especially in terms of perspective and narrative technique. The quest of the original *Pañcatantra* has not yet come to an end.

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M. A. MEHENDALE

DURATIVYATHA—

In the *Kāṭhakasaṁhitā* 25.1 we read *iṣuṁ vā etā devās samaskurvan yad upasado 'gniṁ śṛṅgaṁ somaṁ śalyaṁ viṣṇuṁ tejanam / te 'bruvan yo va ojiṣṭhas sa imāṁ visṛjatu / ... na prayājā bhavanti nānuyājāḥ / puro vā ete yajñasya yat prayājānuyājā yat prayājānuyājān kuryāt puro yajñasya kuryād durativyathaṁ syād atīkṣṇām iṣuṁ kuryāt* [1]. « What are Upasads that these the gods indeed made into an arrow, (they made) Agni the tip, Soma the socket, Viṣṇu the shaft. They said, " who among you is the strongest, let him release this (arrow) "... There are no Prayāja offerings, nor the Anuyājas. What are the Prayāja and the Anuyāja offerings they are, indeed, the forts of the sacrifice. If he were to offer the Prayāja and the Anuyāja offerings he would erect the forts for the sacrifice. (In that case his act of performing the Upasad) would not inflict excessive pain (on the enemies), (for) he would make the arrow (in the form of the Upasads) blunt ».

What is intended to be conveyed in the above passage seems to be that if the sacrificer were to offer the Prayāja and the Anuyāja offerings that would be tantamount to his erecting forts around the sacrifice. Then the arrow, in the form of the Upasad iṣṭi, will first strike against these forts, would become blunt, and consequently inflict very little pain (*durativyatham*) on his enemies.

It is, perhaps, possible to understand the passage this way. However, there appears to be one difficulty. If the above sense was intended, the end portion of the passage would have read *atīkṣṇām iṣuṁ kuryād durativyathaṁ syāt*, and not as the text actually stands.

It is therefore tempting to suggest a small emendation and read *durativyadham* « difficult to pierce through » in place of *durativyatham*. The emendation appears appropriate in the context of the shooting of an arrow. If the sacrificer were to offer the Prayāja and the Anuyāja

1. Also *Kapiṣṭhalakaṭha*, 38.4.

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offerings he would be erecting forts around his sacrifice. The Upasad-arrow will then find it difficult to pierce through this fort. The sacrificer would also make the arrow blunt, and hence ineffective, by making it first strike against the walls of the fort.

Understood this way, the passage yields better sense. In both the interpretations, *durativyatham* and *durativyadham* are considered adjectives. The former would qualify a noun like *karman* « act » supplied [2], while the latter would qualify the noun *varman* « enclosure », which suggests itself from the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* passage discussed below.

In the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* 1.26 (=4.9) we read: *devavarma vā etad yad prayājāś cānuyājāś cāprayājam ananuyājaṁ bhavatīṣvai saṁśityā apratiśarāya.* This passage is somewhat difficult to understand. Keith translates: « The fore-offerings and the after-offerings are divine armour; (this rite) is without fore-offerings and after-offerings, to sharpen the arrow and to prevent rending ». Haug's translation is much the same except that he renders *apratiśarāya* as « for preventing it from recoiling ».

The above translations are not helpful in understanding the purpose of not performing the fore- and the after-offerings which is expressed with the words *saṁśityai* and *apratiśarāya.*

Sāyaṇa explains the above pasasge in the following way: the Upasad iṣṭi should be performed without the Prayāja and the Anuyāja offerings because these offerings are like an armour and in the present case there is no use of an armour. When the arrow in the form of the Upasads is shot against the enemies, due to the sharpness of the arrow all of them would get killed by a single shot and there would be no one left amnog them to strike back. Hence an armour becomes unnecessary. But if the sacrificer were to offer the Prayāja and the Anuyāja offerings it would mean that he was in doubt regarding the sharpness of the arrow and hence, apprehending a counter-attack by the enemy, was providing for protection in the form of the armour. That would not be proper. Hence no Prayāja and Anuyāja offerings are offered in order to demonstrate faith in the sharpness (*saṁśityai*) of the Upasad-arrow and to set aside the apprehension of injury to one's side at the hands of the enemies (*apratiśarāya*) [3].

This is no doubt a good attempt to explain the significance of the two datives *saṁśityai* and *apratiśarāya.* But the explanation is, in part, strained. In view of the fact that in the *Kāṭhakasaṁhitā* the Prayāja and the Anuyāja offerings are likened to *puraḥ* « forts », it would be better to inetrpret the word *devavarma* in the *Ait.Br.* passage, not as « divine armour » (Keith) or « armour of the gods » (Haug), but as « an enclosure created by the gods, a divine defence ». The *Ait.Br.* passage

2. Cf. the way Sāyaṇa supplies *Upasadākhyaṁ karma* while interpreting the *Ait. Br.* passage discussed below.

3. Ṣaḍguruśiṣya merely says *iṣvāḥ śarasya saṁśityai taikṣṇyāya apratiśarāya apratighātāya.*

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would then mean that the Prayāja and the Anuyāja offerings are not offered because that would be like creating a divine defensive wall around the sacrifice. In that case the Upasad-arrow, when shot, would strike against this wall and would become blunt. To avoid this and to ensure the sharpness (*saṁśityai*) of the arrow, the fore- and the after-offerings are not offered. And once the sharpness of the arrow is ensured, there will be no enemy left to strike back with an arrow (*apratiśarāya*).

In the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* also (2.6.1.5) the Prayāja and the Anuyāja offerings are said to constitute the *várma* of the sacrifice and the sacrificer. The fact that in this passage it is further stated that it is on this account that a *varûtha* « a defensive enclosure » is erected taller in the front and shorter at the back shows that by *várma* is meant, not « an armour », but « a defensive wall or enclosure ». The whole passage in the Taitt. Saṁ. reads as: *yát prayājānuyājâ ijyánte vármaivá tád yajñâya kriyate várma yájamānāya bhrâtṛvyābhibhūtyai / tásmād várūtham purástād várṣīyaḥ paścâd dhrásīyaḥ.*

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V. V. MIRASHI

THE DATE OF THE *MṚCCHAKAṬIKA*

The *Mṛcchakaṭika* (*MK*) is a unique play in Sanskrit dramatic literature. The plots of Sanskrit plays are generally derived from the two Sanskrit Epics, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Some are based on harem intrigues in the lives of historic kings. See e.g. the *Mālavik-Āgnimitra* of Kālidāsa, and the *Ratnāvalī* and the *Priyadarśikā* of Harṣa. The plots of a few plays like the *Mālatī-Mādhava* of Bhavabhūti are, no doubt, taken from social life, but even in their case most of the characters are from the higher social status. The *MK* is, however, concerned with incidents in the lives of persons of a low social status like the hetaera, the masseur, the gambler, the Viṭa and the Ceṭa. Therein lies its uniqueness.

The Relation of the MK to the Cārudatta

There are several problems raised by the *MK*, and many of them are still unresolved. The *MK* bears close resemblance to another Sanskrit play, viz., the *Cārudatta* in respect of plot, characters [1], language etc. So it has been a matter of long-drawn controversy whether the *Cārudatta* is an abridged version of the *MK* or the latter is an enlarged redaction of the former with the addition of several incidents and characters. We have briefly discussed this question elsewhere [2]. Still, we may add here some more instances in support of our view.

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1. The names of some characters are, howeverm, changed in the *Cārudatta*. Thus the name of the person who commits a theft in Cārudatta's house is given as Śarvilaka in the *MK*, while it is Sajjalaka in the *Cārudatta*. Similarly, the person who had advised the Naṭī to undertake a fast is named Jūrṇavṛddha in the *MK*, while he is called Cūrṇagoṣṭha in the *Cārudatta*.

2. V. V. Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*, vol. IV (1966), pp. 85 ff.

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In both the *MK* and the *Cārudatta*, the Sūtradhāra notices great preparations going on in his house for a feast. In relply to his inquiry the Naṭī tells him that it was the day of the *pāraṇa* of her fast for securing a good husband. When the Sūtradhāra asks her if the husband is of a future life, she replies in the affirmative. Then the following dialogue occurs:

Sūtradhāra (*angrily*) — See Gentlemen! She is trying to secure a good husband in her next life at my cost.

Naṭī — Noble Sir! Be pleased. Be pleased. This my fast is for securing you as my husband in the next life.

This interesting incident is much mutilated in the *Cārudatta*. When the Naṭī tells the Sūtradhāra that her fast is for abtaining a good husband in the next life, he simply says, *savvaṁ dāva ciṭṭhadu* (Let it be). This looks unnatural. One feels that something has been omitted here. On the other hand, the speeches in the *MK* appear quite natural.

See also the following dialogue in the *Cārudatta* (Act I):

Sūtradhāra — Who advised you to undertake this fast?
Naṭī — Your revered Cūrṇagoṣṭha.
Sūtradhāra — Well done! Cūrṇagoṣṭha, Well done!

This very incident is much better treated in the *MK*. When the Sūtradhāra learns that the fast was recommended by his friend Jūrṇavṛddha, he exclaims, « O you Rogue Jūrṇavṛddha! When shall I see you, fragrant as you are like locks of a newly wedded young bride, cut off by the enraged king Pālaka? ».

As we have shown elsewhere, this passage has been misunderstood by all editors and commentators of the *MK*. The words of the Sūtradhāra are not to be taken literally. Jūrṇavṛddha was a friend of the Sūtradhāra as he was of Cārudatta. The aforementioned remark of the Sūtradhāra is purposely inserted here in order to show how cruel King Pālaka was, and to foreshadow his downfall which occurs in the last Act. The author of the *Cārudatta* has omitted this remark of the Sūtradhāra as he makes no reference to the political crisis at the end of the play; for he has omitted the last six Acts of the *MK*.

We may take another incident, *viz.*, that of the upper garment perfumed with jasmine flowers (*jātī-kusuma-vāsita-prāvāraka*). The author of the *MK* has made a skilful use of it. We find in the first Act that it was sent by the perfumer Jūrṇavṛddha as a present to Cārudatta. When the latter saw it, he was painfully reminded of his poverty, since he formerly used to shower such presents on others, while he was now reduced to such penury that his friends, knowing his fondness for perfumed garments, made such presents to him. This incident explains why Cārudatta, in the very beginning of the first Act, dwells on his miserable life due to poverty. There is no reference to this *prāvāraka* in the *Cārudatta*. Hence Cārudatta's opening remarks about the miseries of poverty are inexplicable in that play.

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The author of the *MK* has made further use of this perfumed garment skilfully. We find in the first Act that Vasantasenā who was pursued by Śakāra, Viṭa and Ceṭa gives the slip to them and stealthily enters Cārudatta's house by a side door when it was opened by Vidūṣaka. Taking her to be his maid Radanikā, Cārudatta throws the perfumed garment to her and asks her to cover with it his son Rohidāsa who was sleeping in the open. When Vasantasenā smells the fragrance of the perfumed garment, she concludes that Cārudatta was not indifferent to the enjoyment of such pleasures. That enhamces her love for him.

In the second Act we find that Cārudatta, being pleased by the daring of Karṇapūraka who brings a wild elephant under control, throws the perfumed garment as a present to him as he had then no precious ornament on his person. When Vasantenā learns about this incident, she inquires of Karṇapūraka whether the garment was perfumed with jasmine flowers. When she comes to know that it was so, she concludes that the person who made that present to Karṇapūraka must have been Cārudatta and none else. That furthers her love for him.

All these incidents are interconnected and have been woven skilfully by the author of the *MK*, while they are not noticed at all in the *Cārudatta*. This is an unmistakable proof that the latter play is an abridgement of the *MK*. In the Kerala country where the manuscripts of the *MK* have been found, Sanskrit plays are even now abridged for being put on the boards [3].

So there is no doubt that the *MK* is the original play. But there is a divergence of views as regards its author and the age in which he flourished. We now proceed to discuss this question.

Śūdraka, the Author of the MK

Sanskrit authors generally insert their names in the *prastāvanās* of their plays. The *MK* also not only mentions Śūdraka as its author but gives much information about him. He was a Brāhmaṇa well versed in the Vedas. After performing an Aśvamedha sacrifice and placing his son on the throne, he, at the age of a hundred years and ten days, ended his life by entering fire. It is difficult to believe this story. The *prastāvanā* of the *MK* was evidently written by somebody long after the age of Śūdraka. It is, however, not unlikely that the author of the play was named Śūdraka. Vāmana (*circa* A.D. 800) says after defining *ślesa* — *Śūdrak-ādi-racıteṣu prabandheṣv-asya bhūyān prapañco dṛśyate* (Many instances of this *ślesa* are noticed in the works of Śūdraka and others). He has cited two passages from the *MK*: (1) *Dyūtaṁ hi nāma puruṣasy-āsiṁhāsanaṁ rājyam* (Act II), and (2) *Yāsāṁ balir-bhavati mad-*

3. As the *Cārudatta* is an abridged version of the original play meant for the stage, it does not contain the *Bharata-vākya* as in the other Trivandrum playa.

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gṛha-dehalīnāṁ etc. (Act I). Of these, the first passage is not noticed in the *Cārudatta*. So it is evident that Vāmana knew Śudraka as the author of the *MK*.

The Date of Śūdraka

There is great uncertainty about the date of Śūdraka. In fact it seems that there were several kings of that name in ancient times. From the *MK* it appears clear that its author had a detailed knowledge of Ujjayinī. So he may have flourished there. On the other hand, Bāṇa, in the beginning of his *Kādambarī* [4], mentions a king of that name ruling in Vidiśā. The Purāṇas mention long lists of kings who flourished in ancient times. Śūdraka's name is not found therein.

Recently two Sanskrit works (1) the incomplete and fragmentary prose work, the *Avantisundarīkathā* of Daṇḍin, and (2) its metrical abridgement, the *Avantisundarīkathā-sāra*, have been published in the Dakṣiṇabhāratī Grantha-mālā. The former of these contains the following verse about Śūdraka [5]:

Śūdrakeṇ-āskṛj-jitvā svacchayā khaḍgadhārayā /
Jagad-bhūyopy-avaṣṭabdhaṁ vācā sva-carit-ārthayā //

This verse states that Śūdraka not only conquered the world more than once with the bright edge of his sword but he has also provided it with a work based on his own career.

The sense of this verse is not quite clear, but it seems to imply that Śūdraka has given indication of the incidents in his life in a literary work. Such stories are known to occur only in the *Avantisundarīkathā-sāra*.

Daṇḍin's *Avantisundarikathā* has been recovered in a fragmentary form, but its contents have been abridged in the metrical work *Avantisundarīkathā-sāra*. This work gives the following account of Śūdraka's life [6]:

« In his previous birth Śūdraka was a Brāhmaṇa named Śaunaka. After rebirth in the Aśmaka country, he came to be known as Indrāgnimitra. People called him Śūdraka also. Once upon a time he was told by a Brāhmaṇa that he would get Rāja-lakṣmī (royal fortune) after passing through several calamities. He grew up in the company of a prince named Svāti. While playing together, the friends were turned into enemies. Once upon a time Śudraka lifted up a large stone-slab. The Buddhist monk Saṅghilaka who saw that feat of his took him and

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4. See the description of Śūdraka, king of Vidiśā, in the *Kathā-mukha-prakaraṇa* in the beginning of Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*.
5. *Avantisundarīkathā* (Dakṣiṇa-bhāratī-grantha-mālā), Madras, 1924, pp. 1-2.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 41 ff.

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entered a large hollow. The monk attempted to kill him while he was engaged in *ras-oddharaṇa* (extraction of mercury), but Śūdraka put him to death, and then emerged from that hollow. Once he noticed a woman feeding on the flesh of his friend Viśvalaka, but as soon as he seized her, she was freed from a curse and went to heaven. He abducted the princess Vinayavatī and ruled over the earth surrounded by the four oceans, enjoying the company of his friends and queens ».

M. Ramakrishna Kavi, who has edited the *Avantisundarīkathā-sāra*, believed in the historicity of the aforementioned incidents of the life of Śūdraka, and inferred that he was a contemporary of the Andhra (Sātavāhana) king Svāti mentioiend in the Purāṇas. He fixed the end of Svāti's reign in 56 B.C. and identified Śūdraka with King Vikramāditya, the reputed founder of the Vikrama Saṁvat [7].

This theory about the date of Śūdraka is based on a very shaky foundation. The stories in the *Avantisundarīkathā-sāra*, like those in such Sanskrit works as the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, are purely imaginary and have no historical basis. Secondly, we have no reason to suppose that this Svāti who is supposed to have been a playmate of Śūdraka was a prince of the Andhra (Sātavāhana) family. Even supposing that the identification is correct, it cannot be useful in determining the date of Śūdraka; for the Purāṇas mention as many as five kings of that name in the Andhra (Sātavāhana) family [8]. We have no means to know which of them was a contemporary of Śūdraka. Śūdraka's name Vikramāditya occurs in a very late work, viz., the *Viṣamaśīlalambaka* included in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*. So these legends about Śūdraka deserve no credence. Though the tales in the *Avantisundarīkathā-sāra* are imaginary, the order of poets praised in the preliminary verses in the original *Avantisundarīkathā* appears to be chronological as we have shown elsewhere from the mention of the Vākāṭaka king Sarvasena and the Chappaṇṇaya Group of Poets [9]. So we are inclined to take Śūdraka also mentioned in one of the preliminary verses as historical. He is not called there the author of the *MK*, but no other person of that name is known to history.

The preliminary eulogistic verses in the *Avantisundarīkathā* mention the following authors in this order: (1) Śūdraka, (2) Bhāsa, (3) Sarvasena, (4) Chappaṇṇaya Poets, and (5) Kālidāsa. This order appears to be chronological. Kālidāsa is now proved to have flourished in the time of Candragupta II — Vikramāditya, in *circa* A.D. 400. Sarvasena ruled in *circa* 330-355, as shown by us elsewhere [10]. Bhāsa is known to have preceded Kālidāsa and probably flourished in *circa* A.D. 300. Śūdraka eulogised before Bhāsa may be placed in the second century A.D. This

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7. He is called Vikramāditya in the Viṣamaśīla-lambaka also. See *Kathāsaritsāgara* (Nirṇayasāgar Press, Bombay, Saṁvat 1837), pp. 566 ff.
8. Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, Vārāṇasī, 1962, pp. 38 ff.
9. V. V. Mirashi, *Inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas* (CII, Vol. IV, pp. liv ff.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. vii ff.

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is also supported by another evidence. In the *prāstāvanā* of the *Mālavik-Āgnimitra* Kālidasa mentions Saumilla as an old Sanskrit dramatist. No work of his is now extant, but from a verse of Rājaśekhara we learn that he collaborated with another poet named Rāmila in writing a work on the life of Śūdraka. See the following verse:

Tau Śūdraka-kathākārau vandyau Rāmila-Somilau /
Kāvyaṁ yayor-dvayor-āsīd-ardha-nārī-nar-opamam //

This verse states that the *Śūdraka-carita* composed by the two poets Rāmila and Somila appears uniform throughout like the Ardhanārī-nareśvara form of Śiva.

As Somila (who is probably identical with Saumilla mentioned by Kālidāsa) was regarded as an old poet in the time of Kālidāsa (A.D. 400), Śūdraka whose life he described must have flourished much earlier, probably in the second cen. A.D.

Scholars are shaply divided as regards the date of Śūdraka. Macdonell says that his play « not improbably belongs to the sixth century »[11]. Keith has admitted that it is impossibly to fix its date definitely[12]. Sten Konow identifies Śūdraka with Śivadatta, the father of the Ābhīra king Īśvarasena who started the so-called Kalacuri era in A.D. 249-50[13]. He overthrew the last Sātavāhana king. This political revolution is reflected in the last Act of the *MK*. In that Act we find that the cowherd Āryaka slays the reigning king Pālaka, and usurps the throne. In ancient times the Ābhīras were classed among the Śūdras. So Śivadatta may have been known as Śūdraka. Other scholars have not accepted this view of Sten Konow. S. K. De has not assigned a definite date to Śūdraka. He merely says that the *MK* is not a very late play[14]. Winternitz[15], Oliver[16] and Karmarkar[17], who accept the view that the *MK* is an enlarged redaction of the *Cārudatta*, assign Śūdraka to the fifth or the sixth cen. A.D. This is a mistaken view. The *MK* is certainly not so late. We proceed to show that on the evidence of the religious condition described in the play and some political references which occur in it it is possible to fix an approximate date for Śūdraka.

We have shown elsewhere that the political condition in the last Act of the *MK* occurred at the end of the reign of Pālaka, son of Pradyota or Caṇḍamahāsena, King of Ujjayinī. Pālaka was a cruel and despotic ruler. So people rose in revolt against him, slew him and placed a young cowherd named Āryaka on the throne. Pradyota was a

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11. A. A. Macdonell, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, London, 1917, p. 361.
12. Keith, *Sanskrit Drama*, Oxford, 1924, p. 131.
13. Sten Konow, *Das Indische Drama*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1920, p. 36.
14. S. K. De, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, Calcutta, 1947, p. 240.
15. Winternitz, *Geschichte der indischen Litterature*, Leipzig, Vol. III, 1922), p. 203. Winternitz changed his view afterwards.
16. R. P. Oliver, *The Little Clay Cart*, Urbana, 1938, pp. 25 ff.
17. R. D. Karmarkar, *Mṛcchakaṭika*, Poona, 1937, p. x.

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contemporary of Gautama Buddha. His son Pālaka is known to have been defeated by King Ajātaśatru, the King of Magadha. The latter's date is fixed as 493-462 B.C. So the religious condition in the time of the *MK* must be that prevailing in avout the middle of the fifth cen. B.C. We next proceed to see how it is described in that play.

Buddhism had then considerably spread in Central India. Those who were tormented by the calamities in worldly life or by some other happenings resorted to that religion for peace of mind. In the second Act of the play we find that the Saṁvāhaka loses ten gold coins in gambling. The gamblers harass him by their demand. So he seeks shelter with Vasantasenā. When she comes to know that he was previously serving Cārudatta, she gives her gold bangle to the gamblers in order to free him from the debt. But the Saṁvāhaka becomes so much disgusted by the harassment of the gamblers that he resolves to espouse Buddhism and become a Śākya Śramaṇa (Buddhist Monk). Next, in the eighth Act Śakāra strangles Vasantasenā and believes that she is dead. He departs after spreading a large mass of dry leaves over her body. Then there comes the Saṁvāhaka turned a Buddhist Monk, and after taking a bath he spreads his clothing over the heap of dry leaves for drying. He soon notices some motion inside it, and when Vasantasenā comes out of it, he says to her, « In the Vihāra nearby, lives my religious sister. Please take rest there for a while and then go home ».

From this scene in Act VIII, it is clear that there was at least one Vihāra then in Ujjayinī. At the end of the last Act, after the political revolution was over and Cārudatta was saved from the gallows, Śarvilaka asks him, « What should we do to this Monk? ». Then Cārudatta replies, « *Pṛthivyāṁ sarva-vihāreṣu kulapatir-ayaṁ kriyatām* (Make him the head of all Vihāras on the earth i.e. in your kingdom) ». This shows that there were then in Central India a large number of Budhist monasteries.

Even great poets are sometimes noticed committing the fault of anachronism unwittingly and describing the condition in their own days. Śūdraka is no exception to this. See e.g. the following speech of Śakāra pursuing Vasantasenā in the first Act[18]:

Andhakāre palāyamānā mālya-gandhena sūcitā /
keśa-vṛnde parāmṛṣṭā Cāṇakyen-eva Draupadī //

The reference to Cāṇakya in this verse involves the fault of anachronism. We have shown above that the political condition intended to be described in the *MK* is that of *circa* 450 B.C. when King Pālaka was ruling in Ujjayinī. Cāṇakya was not living then or before that date. He was a contemporary of Candragupta Maurya who ascended the throne of Magadha after exterminating the Nanda family in *circa* 324

18. *MK* (ed. by Hirananda Shastri), Bombay, 1910, p. 27. This is Sanskrit rendering of the original Prakrit verse.

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B.C. i.e. after more than a century and a quarter. So the reference to him in the speech of Śakāra suffiers from the fault of anachronism.

Śūdraka seems to have committed the same fault in describing the religious condition of Ujjayinī in the *MK*. That condition could not have obtained in Ujjayinī in the time of Pālaka (*circa* 450 B.C.). Buddhism did not spread much in Central India during the first three centuries after the death of the Buddha (*circa* 486 B.C.). It was only after Aśoka espoused Buddhism and appointed *Dharmamahāmātras* and *Buddhist* missionaries that Buddhism spread far and wide. So the religious condition in the *MK* which presupposes the existence of several Buddhist monasteries in Central India could not be of the middle of the fifth century B.C. It must be of a much later age. It cannot also be of as late a date as the age of the Guptas; for Buddhism was then yielding place to Hinduism. Though Śūdraka professes to describe the religious condition in the time of King Pālaka, that condition really prevailed in a much later age, *viz.*, in the early centuries of the Christial era.

As Śūdraka has unwittingly described the religious condition in his own age, he has also inserted some political references which betray his own time as we propose to show now.

After the political revolution mentioned in the tenth Act, the new king Āryaka sends the following message to Cārudatta through Śarvilaka, « Immediately after accession, your friend Āryaka offers to you the kingdom of Kuśāvatī on the bank of the river Veṇā. Please agree to this first request of your friend by accepting it ». Scholars have not so far understood the implication of this passage. Let us discuss it in some detail.

When a king of Ujjayinī offers the kingdom of Kuśāvatī on the bank of the Veṇā (modern Vaingaṅgā in the Bhaṇḍarā District of Vidarbha) to his friend, it means that his own rule then extended from the country of Ākarāvantī (modern Mālwā) in the north to the country on the bank of the Vaingaṅgā in the south. But this political condition did not obtain in the time of King Pālaka (*i.e.* in the middle of the fifth cen. B.C.). Śūdraka is unwittingly referring to the political condition in his own time. For understanding its full significance, we must first identify Kuśāvatī.

We learn from the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki that before his death Rāma distributed the countries of his empire among his own and his brothers' sons. About the kingdoms of Kuśa and Lava the *Rāmāyaṇa* says as follows [19]:

Kosaleṣu Kuśaṁ vīram-Uttareṣu tathā Lavam /
Abhiṣiñcan-mahātmānāv-ubhāv-eva Kuśī-Lavau //

Rāma gave the Dakṣiṇa or South Kosala country to Kuśa, and the Uttara or North Kosala country to Lava. Uttara Kosala was the name

19. *Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa* (Cr. Ed.), Baroda, 1975, Uttarakāṇḍa, Canto 97, vv. 17-18.

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of the country round Ayodhyā. Rāma founded Śrāvastī, and made it the capital of Lava, Dakṣiṇa Kosala comprised the modern Chattisgarh Division of Madhya Pradesh comprising the modern districts of Rāipur and Bilāspur with some adjoining territory now included in the Bhaṇḍārā District of Vidarbha. Kausalyā, the mother of Rāma, was a princess of this country. This shows that the view of some scholars that the *Rāmāyaṇa* does not contain any references to South India, and that Laṅkā, the capital of Rāvaṇa, was situated a few miles north of Jabalpur in North India is erroneous.

After making over the country of Dakṣiṇa Kosala to Kuśa, Rāma founded the city of Kuśāvatī in his name, and made it his capital. This city is described in the *Rāmāyaṇa* as situated on the slope of the Vindhya mountain (*Vindhya-parvata-rodhasi*) [20].

In the sixteenth canto of the *Raghuvaṁśa*, Kālidāsa describes that while Kuśa was ruling from Kuśāvatī, he saw one night the presiding deity of Ayodhyā, who described to him to what pitiable condition that city had been reduced after the passing away of Rāma. She importuned Kuśa to shift his capital there in order to restore its previous glory to that city. Kuśa promised to do so, and soon proceeded to do it. Kālidāsa has describes Kuśa's journey from Kuśāvatī to Ayodjyā in the sixteenth canto of the *Raghuvaṁśa*. He mentions the Vindhya mountain and the river Revā in this connection. This leaves no doubt that Kuśāvatī was situated to the south of the Narmadā and the Vindhya mountain.

The mention of Kuśāvatī as situated on the bamk of the Veṇā (modern Vaingaṅga) helps in the identification of that city [21]. The Veṇā or the Beṇā is undoubtedly the Vaingaṅgā which flows through the Bhaṇḍārā District. It has been regarded as very holy from very ancient times. The territory on both the banks of it was known in ancient times as Beṇākaṭa [22] or Beṇākārpara bhoga [23]. These names occur in the inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas and the Vākāṭakas. The city of Kuśāvatī must have been situated on the bank of this very river.

But have we any evidence that such an ancient city existed in this part of the coutnry? The description suits the town of Paunī in the Bhaṇḍārā District. It is situated on the bank of the Veṇā (modern Vaingaṅgā). Several *Stūpas* dating back to the Maurya-Śuṅga period have been discovered there in recent excavations [24]. King Bhagadatta of the Bhāra family established a *pādukāpaṭṭa*, evidently of the Buddha,

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20. See the following verse, *ibid.* Uttarakāṇḍa, canto 98, v. 4:
Kuśasya nagarī ramyā Vindhya-parvata-rodhasi /
Kuśāvat-īti nāmnā yā kṛtā Rāmeṇa dhīmatā //
21. OLIVER thinks that this Veṇā was a tributary of the Gaṅgā and flowed past Kuśāvatī and Ujjayinī! KARMARKAR thought that it was a tributary of the Narmadā, and identified Kuśavatī with Rāmnagar in Bundelkhaṇḍ!
22. See Nāsik Cave Inscription of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, *EI* (1906-8), pp. 71 ff.
23. MIRASHI, *Inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas* (*CII*, Vol. V, 1968, pp. 29 ff).
24. *Pauni Excavations*, Nagpur, 1972.

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there as recorded in a large stone inscription discovered there[25]. The place was probably his capital. The country of Beṇākaṭa has been mentioned in some inscriptions of the second century A.D. in the caves at Nāsik, which shows that the place was famous in the early centuries of the Christian era[26]. This town must evidently be ancient Kuśāvatī. There is no other so ancient a place on the bank of the Vaingaṅgā.

From the description in the *MK* it seems that this region was comprised in the empire of the king ruling from Ujjayinī. This political condition obtained only in the beginning of the second century A.D. The Kuśāṇa Enperor Kaniṣka and his successors soon extended their rule not only to such countries of North India as the Panjāb, Uttar Pradesh, Bihār, Gujarāt, Kachchha, Kāṭhiawāḍ and Mālwā, but also to Koṅkaṇ, Morthern Mahārāṣṭra and Vidarbha in the South. They appointed Kṣatrapas (or Provincial Governors) to rule over these provinces. They are known to have appointed Caṣṭana over Kachchha and parts of Kāṭhiāwāḍ, and first Bhūmaka and later Nahapāna over Koṅkaṇ and Northern Mahārāṣṭra. Their inscriptions and coins have been found in all these provinces. That Vidarbha also was placed under a Kṣatrapa became known from a memorial pillar of Mahākṣatrapa Rupiamma discovered at Paunī itself[27]. These Kṣatrapas of Veṇā-taṭa were evidently ruling as Governors of the Kuṣāṇa king of Ujjayinī.

This situation changed soon thereafter. In *circa* A.D. 125 the Sātavāhana king Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi of Pratiṣṭhāna raided Vidarbha and annexed the country to his kingdom. He next marched west and exterminated the Kṣaharāta race in battles fought near Nāsik and Kārle in Northern Mahārāṣṭra. In the grant of a field which he made soon after his victory at Govardhana near Nāsik, he describes himself as *Beṇā-kataka-svāmī*[28] (the Lord of the Beṇākaṭaka).

Gautamīputra next invaded and occupied several countries in Central India such as Saurāṣṭra (Kāṭhiāwāḍ), Ākarāvantī (Eastern and Western Mālwā) etc. as stated in a Nāsik Cave inscription of his son Puḷumāvi. But this large empire of Gautamīputra did not last long. Soon after his death, Rudradāman, the grandson of Caṣṭana, reconquered some countries of the north like Saurāṣṭra and Ākarāvantī, but he could not extend his rule to Vidarbha and conquer Veṇā-taṭa (the Pauni region)[29].

The *MK* shows that the kingdom of Kuśāvatī was comprised in the empire of the ruler of Ujjayinī. This state of things obtained only in the early period of Kuṣāṇa rule, *i.e.* in the beginning of the second century A.D. If we suppose that Śūdraka has described in the *MK* the

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25. *EI*, 24 (1937-38), pp. 11 ff.
26. *Ibid.*, 8 (1906-8), pp. 71 ff.
27. *Ibid.*, 37 (1968), pp. 201 ff.
28. *Ibid.*, 8 (1906-8), pp. 71 ff.
29. The Girnār Rock Inscription of Rudradāman mentions Eastern and Western Ākarāvantī (Mālwā) as included in his empire, but makes no mention of Vidarbha as comprised therein.

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political situation in the country as it obtained in his own time, *he must be placed in the first quarter of the second cen. A.D.*

Recently, a *Bhāṇa* (one-character play) in Sanskrit, named *Padma-prābhṛtaka* ascribed to Śūdraka has been discovered and published[30]. Before closing this subject we must discuss how far its date agrees with that of the *MK*, fixed above. Śūdraka's name occurs only in the colophon of the play, but as one of its verses has been cited under the name of Śūdraka in the anthology *Vidagdhajanavallabha*, we must credit him with its authorship. But from the religious and social condition, style of composition and language, this play appears to be later by at least two or three centuries than the *MK*. Its subject matter may be summarised as follows:

Mūladeva, son of Karṇi, sends his Viṭa named Śaśa to Devasenā, the daughter of a hetaera, to probe her mind. He meets her and comes back with the present (*prābhṛtaka*) of a lotus (*padma*) given by her. Hence this one-character play is called *Padma-prābhṛtaka.* It is written in a well developed style, full of long compounds and *alaṅkāras.* While passing by the streets of Ujjayinī, the Viṭa accosts a number of persons following different professions such as a poet, a grammarian, a Buddhist monk, a nun etc., and indulges in much social satire, pointing out their vain pretentions and foibles. In some places he draws a graphic word picture of lovely young women or of those suffering from the pangs of separation.

Some characters of this *Bhāṇa* have been mentioned by Bāṇa in his *Kādambarī*. So it is undoubtedly older than the sixth century A.D., and may even be of the Gupta age as shown by the Editors Moti Chandra and V. S. Agrawal. But this *Bhāṇa* is not likely to have been a work of the author of the *MK*. The latter play has been written in a much simpler, forcible and direct style, free from verbal acrobatics, and the society it describes is of a higher moral standard than that in the *Padma-prābhṛtaka* which is full of hypocrites, rogues and rakes. The *MK* must, therefore, have been written in a much earlier age, *viz.*, the beginning of the second century A.D. as shown above.

Nagpur.

30. *Caturbhāṇī*, edited with Hindi translation etc. by MOTICHANDRA and V. S. AGRAWAL, Bombay, 1959.

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HEINZ MODE

THE FOUR QUADRUPEDS
REFLECTIONS ON INDIAN ANIMAL PREFERENCE [1]

The art of India offers but few examples of a representative grouping of quadrupeds, displaying at the same time the expression of politico-religious ideas, their chronological-historical fixation and popular acceptance, which alltogether could be interpreted as a symbol of Indian cultural convergence and unity. One such grouping occurs on a well known seal from Mohenjo Daro, depicting a horned deity surrounded by animals, dating from the Harappa period (pl. 1; henceforth referred to as « seal 420 » [2]). The other even more important example is the famous Sārnāth pillar capital, figuring below the crowning four lions a frieze of four quadrupeds, placed between spoked wheels around the abacus. This arrangement is closely paralleled by the same succession of animals on the older moonstones from Buddhist shrines at Anuradhapura, Sri Lanka [3]. Our two Indian examples are attributed to the third millenium, respectively to the third century B.C. Close connections as well as marked differences should be noticed, as they reveal certain preferences of animal selections in the symbolical grouping of quadrupeds, which could be interpreted as characteristic of art traditions and cultural trends, referring to different aspects of popular and highart representations.

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1. A small book in my library, *Archaic and Ancient Indian Terracottas*, written by Dr. LUDWIK STERNBACH and published in Bombay, 1941, 40 years ago, has encouraged me to offer this short paper in his honour. To me this booklet has been a first inspiration to seriously consider Indian folkart.

2. This reference appears in a recent discussion of this seal by ALF HILTEBEITEL, *The Indus Valley "Proto-Siva" Reexamined Through Reflections on the Goddess, the Buffalo and the Symbolism of vāhanas*, in « Anthropos », 73, 1978, pp. 767-97. The seal bears the number 420 in volume 2 of E. J. H. MACKAY's, *Further Excavations at Mohenjo Daro*, New Delhi, 1937 (vol. 1, 1938).

3. For illustrations cp. VOLKER MOELLER, *Symbolik des Hinduismus und des Jainismus*, Tafelband, Stuttgart, 1974, Abb. 60; and H. MODE, *Die buddhistische Plastik auf Ceylon*, Leipzig, 1963, Abb. 34-40.

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Let us first of all see, what kind of animals we meet with here. Fortunately all of them can safely be identified. « Seal 420 » depicts four quadrupeds: the elephant, the tiger, the buffalo and the rhinozeros, placed to the sides of the horned deity, three of them facing the central figure, the fourth, the elephant, turning its back as if marching away. Their sequence may or may not be of importance. It can be hardly established, as either the original engraving of the impression, either the horizontal or the vertical arrangement, could be taken as of primary importance.

We cannot exclude the central figure of « seal 420 », as it offers animal features, connected with one of the siding animals, the buffalo, as regards, the buffalo-horn headdress [4]. The horns are a dominating feature of the entire seal-composition, which may be called a heraldic design in regard to its symmetrical shape and to its symbolical character. There are other seals of the Harappa period with representational designs. We refer to the seal depicting a pipal tree represented by seven oneleaved branches. Originating from a central knob in the tree two unicorn heads with elongated necks branch off in such a way, that they side the tree like a huge pair of buffalo horns (pl. 2) [5]. If we compare the heraldic composition of this seal with that of « seal 420 », again the dominating position of this hornlike arrangement is meant to be of greatest significance. But apart of these two examples, there exist two faience amulets and a pottery plaque with rather strange heraldic designs, again closely connected with our « seal 420 » (fig. 1) [6]. This time the central figure seems to be a gharial heading in a vertical direction. The design is more crowded on the pottery plaque, but the main figures are repeated in all three instances. Two bulls with lowered heads combine their horns in a way to make them appear as a horned crown above the gharial snout. Below the bulls are other quadrupeds, the elephant and the tiger, on the left side, but only on the pottery plaque, a rhizoneros, as well as three humans interspersed between the animals. This time the horned crown is not as dominant, but it is topping the composition. Besides three of the animals of « seal 420 » reapper: elephant, tiger, rhinozeros. All pictures so far mentioned seem to prove that the horns, buffalo horns, but also smaller bull horns, are not necessarily meant to identify the central figure. Beeing connected with a human body, a tree and a crocodile type animal, the horns should be considered as a symbol (of divinity?) rather than as marking a particular figure.

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4. This deity is discussed and renamed by A. Hiltebeitel (cp. note 2), but we cannot agree with all his conclusions, as we must doubt the relevance of later literary evidence in regard to this Harappa culture seal.

5. Cp. H. Mode, *Das frühe Indien*, Stuttgart, 1959, Tf. 67, above. I refer to my publication, Mode, 1959, for some further illustrations. The pipal-tree flanked by humans, cp. Mode, 1959, Abb. 28.

6. Illustrations: Mackay, 1937, pl. LXIX, 23; pl. XCI, 13, 19a; pl. XCII, 2a, 10; Mode, 1959, Tf. 72, above.

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We should mention, that quite a number of horned human figures appear on other seals and plaques. We mention only two examples, with buffalo- resp. bull-horns [7]. In both cases two horned figures appear in similar scenes: a kneeling horned figure seems to worship a second horned figure standing within a pipal tree. The sex of the figures is not clearly indicated. Some of them, the pigtailed ones, may be female. The horns have a central elevation, sometimes looking like a pointed arrow-head, in other cases like a plume of feathers, or branchlike addition to the crown.

In the light of these observations, a rather daring comparison, though based on factual materials, could be made. We refer to the so-called copper-hoards, particular to a group of human like figures, sometimes identified as weapons (fig. 2) [8]. Suppose we dare to turn these « figures » upside down. There appears above a facelike rounding a couple of buffalo horns again with a central extension, this time similar to the splittongued « antennae swords », another distinct feature of the copper hoard culture. We could not suppress this observation. If it is accepted, it may serve to solve some of the mysteries of the copper hoards and connect such archaeological finds from the Ganges region with the somewhat older materials of the Harappa civilisation. We should remind the reader, that animalhorn headdresses are still worn by Indian tribal people in ceremonial dances, to mention here only the so-calld Bison-horn Marias [9].

If the horned headdress connects our seals, the sequence of quadrupeds, so far recognised, permits us to add another 3 sided prism amulet (Harappa period) for further comparisons [10]. Two sides of the prism depict rows of animals, the upper one being the clearest to identify. The tiger with head turned back leads the procession and is followed by the rhinozeros, the buffalo and the elephant. Above this row are some more animals, most prominent a gharial swallowing or holding a fish. The gharial connects the scene with the heraldic gharial-quadrupeds group. This subject matter, including two of the quadrupeds, is repeated on a cylinder seal found at Tell Asmar in Iraq (fig. 3) [11]. Elephant and rhinozeros are figured in a typical Harappa style, showing that the Indian quadrupeds were known and recognised in Mesopotamia in the third millenium B.C. In our opinion such widespread intercon-

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7. Cp. Mode, 1959, Tf. 70, above and below. A very distinct horned figure is seen on a terracotta plaque from Kalibangan: S. R. Rao, *Lothal and the Indus Civilization*, Bombay, 1973, pl. XXXVI, C.

8. B. B. Lal, *Further Copper Hoards From the Gangetic Basin and a Review of the Problem*, in « Ancient India », 7, Jan. 1951, pp. 20-39, pl. V, VI, IX, Xa; Mode, 1959, Tf. 76.

9. Cp. Verrier Elwin, *The Tribal Art of Middle India*, Oxford, 1951, chapter VI, The Headdress, pp. 55-63.

10. J. Marshall (ed.), *Mohenjo Daro and the Indus Civilization*, vol. III, London, 1931, pl. XCVI, 14, pl. CXVIII, 10: A-C.

11. H. Frakfort, *Cylinder Seals*, London, 1939, text fig. 108.

limited remarks, chiefly applying to the grouping of four quadrupeds in

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nections justify greater efforts of comparison and interpretation. In our a heraldic or symbolic order, larger aspects must be neglected and we now return, after presenting important examples from the Harappan materials to our second main Indian object, the Sārnāth capital.

On the Sārnāth abacus four animals, elephant, lion, horse and humped bull are shown in a procession resembling the composition of the Mohenjo Daro prism (fig. 4). The elephant remains in the sequence, whereas all other animals have changed. The humped bull is a common subjects on other Harappan seals, but to our knowledge neither horse nor lion can be found on Harappan materials. It may be suggested however, that in Sārnāth the tiger has been replaced by the lion, the latter animal being taken over in the Maurya period as representative of royal power in the Near East, very prominent in the Achaemenid empire bordering the northwestern Indian frontiers up to the second half of the 4th century B.C. That the humped bull should have taken the place of the buffalo does not seem as certain. There is some evidence, that rather the bull with lowered neck, or the short-horned bull, was more closely associated with the buffalo in the Harappa period. Two horns in profile were added to form a broader buffalo-like pair of horns, as we have already seen. On a very interesting seal from Chanhu Daro, until then explained as a bull wildly attacking a human being, I have seen the sexual approach of a bull towards a woman[12]. My suggestion went to compare this with the later ritual practise of the asvamedha part of which had been the cohabitation of the selected horse with the royal spouse. In this particular case the horse may have replaced the bull. It seems more likely to me that the horse replaced the buffalo (or bull) of the Harappa period, as the only remaining animal to be replaced would be the rhinozeros. I cannot discover any connection between the horse and the rhinozeros. The latter animal seems to have vanished almost completely from later Indian art representation. The humped bull however may have its place as a representative animal.

To repeat our suggestions regarding the replacement of the older row of four quadrupeds by the new set in the Maurya period, the lion should be accepted for the tiger, the horse for the buffalo, the humped bull for the rhinozeros, whereas the elephant alone remains unchanged. We might interpret all these changes on the basis, that the old Indian animals of local origin and significance were accepted in the Harappa period, whereas a new set of representative animals, particularily lion and horse, have been taken over from ancient Near Eastern practises to symbolize royal power. The Maurya dynasty, unifying large territories of the Indian subcontinent, thus utilised for the purpose of royal and

12. Cp. Mode, 1959, pp. 59-72, pl. 66, above; comparative materials text figs. 39-45.

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politico-religious representation an animal symbolism of mixed origin, claiming sovereignty on local tradition and universal continuity alike [13].

The animal symbolism of our « seal 420 » and the Sārnāth capital seems to be separated by more or less 2000 years. There exist materials to bridge this gap. A group of fairly largesized bronze animal figures has been discovered by chance digging at Daimabad in Mahārāshtra (pl. 3) [14]. A manned chariot, drawn by two humped bulls, can be set aside for our purpose. But the other three animals, all placed on wheeled platforms, are: the elephant, the rhinozeros and the buffalo. The tiger is missing and we cannot be certain if this animal was omitted, or if this particular figure has just not been found. The parallel to our « seal 420 » is striking enough. The date suggested for the origin of these heavy bronzes (the elephant is 18 cm high and has a weight of 29 kg) has been based on stratified Daimabad materials roughly as 1300 B.C. (or somewhat earlier!). Looking at the buffalo head and horns in M. K. Dhawelikar's photograph, once again the similarity with the « anthropomorphic » objects of the copper hoard culture, dating to the second millenium B.C. and thus roughly contemporary, will be immediately noticed. Let us remember the fact that Daimabad is situated much to the south. Much further to the south, in the Nilgiri mountains, a tribal community is known, the Todas, worshipping the buffalo as a sacred animal. Tracing back the older set of quadrupeds to periods older than the Harappan civilization, there is rich evidence from rock paintings on the inner surfaces of rock shelters in Madhya Pradesh, some of them not so far to the east of Daimabad [15]. The dating of Indian rock painting is much debated, but recently a certain consensus of opinion has been reached regarding a relative chronological order within the limits of roughly fixed absolute dates. Such conclusions permit us to recognise individual representations of all the four quadrupeds of the Mohenjo Daro « seal 420 » in earliest Indian rock painting, possibly end-palaeolithic (roughly 10000-8000 B.C.; fig. 5) [16]. The buffalo in rock painting repeatedly resembles the bull with lowered head, thus adding to the possible identification of these animals as suggested above. The horned human figure appears as frequently in early rock paintings as on the Harappa materials [17]. Even if the earliest dates are not accepted, the evidence of the Harappa

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13. Some remarks regarding tigers and lions cp. H. Mode, *Tiger and Lion Cultures Reflected in Archaeology and Folklore*, in « Folklore » (Calcutta), 4, 1963, 289-96.

14. The Daimabad bronzes have been published and discussed by M. K. Dhavalikar, *Proto Paśupati in Western India*, in « East and West », NS, 28, 1978, pp. 203-11. An older publication: « Dawn of Civilization in Maharashtra », Bombay, 1975.

15. For a rich selection of Indian rock paintings refer to: V. S. Wakankar, R. R. R. Brooks, *Stone Age Painting in India*, Bombay, 1976; and L. Wanke, *Zentralindische Felsbilder*, Graz, 1977.

16. Wakankar/Brooks, 1976, p. 96, Style 1, 2; p. 64 (Raisen). Wanke, 1977, p. 78, Abb. 61.

17. Wakankar/Brooks, 1976, p. 32, Bhimbetka-Kalibangan.

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period is definitely strenghened by the multitude of rock painting, as representing Indian art of Middle India in the 3rd to 2nd millenium B.C.

We may finally look around for significant comparisons of animal preferences in Indian art of later ages. The so-called punch marked coins of the later half of the 1st millenium B.C. depict various animals as symbols. The elephant is most prominent, horse and humped bull have reached the Maurya period prominence, whereas buffalo and rhinozeros have disappeared. The position of the lion on these coins is established, although the tiger is not completely missing [18]. As we have repeatedly referred to later tribal evidence, we may not ignore the evidence of tatooing marks, placing the elephant, the tiger and the horse in a prominent position. Tribal art in general confirms this observations. Quadrupeds chiefly depicted are the elephant, the tiger, the humped bull and the horse (figs. 6, 7) [19].

The Sārnāth set of quadrupeds, although never again united in a group, remains to supply the preferred animals of the classical periods of Indian art, all of them connected with the chief deities of the Indian pantheon. We remember the elephant as carrying Indra; the humped bull, Nandi, of Śiva; the lion as vehicle of his spouse, Dūrgā; and the horse less prominent, signifying the last incarnation of Viṣnu. Besides the elephant, there are two more quadrupeds of the old set of « seal 420 » indicating their presence, serving gods of the Hindu pantheon. The tigerskin is worn by Śiva, or used by him as a seat. The buffalo appears in a somewhat deplaced position, as the great Asura, the buffalo demon defeated by Dūrgā. Yama, the god of the dead, rides on the buffalo [20].

The heraldic grouping or sequence of the four quadrupeds has to be considered as typical for the Harappa culture and as exceptional for classical Indian art. There exists another possibility of symbolic representation, already mentioned, combining features of the individual animals to form a new artificial being, what in German language is called « Mischwesen ». Such devices have an old tradition in the Harappa period, but are well known in later classical Indian art as well. Some of the gods of the Hindu pantheon bear animal features, most prominent Ganeṣa, the elephant-headed son of Śiva, but also Viṣnu in several of his incarnations, as varāha, boar-headed, or narasinha, man-

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18. Some illustrations cp. J. N. Banerjee, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, Calcutta, 1956, pl. I-II. Further materials: K. K. Dasgupta, *A Tribal History of Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1974, plates.

19. V. Elwin, 1951, figs. 118 (tiger), 176-180 (elephants), 210 (humped bulls), 212 (horses).

20. The position of the buffalo in classical Indian religion is exhaustively discussed by Hiltebeitel, 1978, who claims him to be the central figure of « seal 420 », the Proto-Mahiṣa, replacing the Proto-Śiva. Yama, being the Lokapāla of the South, leads Hiltebeitel to interpret the other quadrupeds as indicating the main directions of the compass. The Sārnāth capital confirms such interpretations, even more the moonstone-sequences from Anuradhapura, cp. note 3.

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lion. Not distinguished as gods, but very popular in later Indian art are the makara, a crocodile- or elephant-headed monster and the gaja-sinha, the elephant-lion Mischwesen.

Harappan art depicts horned tigers, threeheaded animals, bullmen and tigerwomen, and, most distinct of all a bull-horned tiger-elephant and a bull- or buffalo-horned gharial (fig. 8) [21]. These last named combinations could well be compared to the gajasinha and the makara respectively [22].

The elephant-headed tiger remains along with the elephant-headed lion a subject of later Indian art. It is noteworthy that the tiger-elephant combination should be prefered in popular art (pl. 4), playing cards, astrological drawings or the like. In just the same way the tiger as an individual animal remains to be, along with the elephant, the most popular beast of the Indian jungle in folklore and folkart. In popular feeling the tiger was never ousted by the lion. The latter animal, where-ever it appears in classical literature or art, derives its dominant position from non-Indian origins and never fully conquered the imagination of the people. Even the goddess Dūrgā, if depicted in folkart, more frequently rides the tiger and not the lion. As one of many possible examples, we may see on a folk miniature from Saurashtra, Budha, the planet Mercury, figured as riding on a tiger (pl. 5).

The makara, known in Indian art from earliest Buddhist sculptures, remained a much favoured mythological, sometimes merely decorative, motif throughout all periods of classical art development (pl. 6). But its origin, though much discussed, has not been explained beyond doubt [23]. Many changes of the type occur, but the crocodile associations of the makara, as a mainly aquatic animal range most prominent and are sometimes ascertained by the addition of a fishtail. Not rare, however, are elephant features, particularily designating the head or parts of it and the frontal pair of feet. Occasionally one may even discover hornlike prolongations of makara heads and, most surprising

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21. Cp. H. Mode, *Indische Frühkulturen und ihre Beziehungen zum Westen*, Basel, 1944, fig. 92 (elephant-tiger), fig. 138 (threeheaded bull), fig. 147 (tiger-woman). An elephant-headed bull on a Jemdet Nasr seal cp. Mode, 1944, fig. 128, and as a miniature stone sculpture from Mohenjo Daro, fig. 129. For « Mischwesen » in general cp. H. Mode, *Fabulous Beasts and Demons*, London, 1975, elephant-headed figures on p. 143.

22. Gajasinha and makara on a Vellur sculpture cp. C. Sivaramamurti, *Indien. Kunst und Kultur*, Freiburg, 1975, pl. 162.

23. Besides the classical publication of A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas*, Pt. II, Washington, 1931, chapter 4, we only mention a series of articles on the makara, profundly illustrated, published in « Arts Asiatiques », I, fasc. 3, 1954, pp. 189-207; V, fasc. 3, 1958, pp. 183-206; V, fasc. 4, 1958, pp. 272-92, by O. Viennot.

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of all, the typical upstanding leaf-like ears of the Harappa period rhinozeros figures on seals and amulets [24].

To conclude our short remarks we would name the elephant and the tiger as representing the animals of highest station, truely reflecting Indian popular feeling within a time distance of roughly ten thousend years. These two giants of the Indian jungle have survived physically, as well as in art representations, have pushed aside their ancient contemporaries the rhinozeros (almost completely) and the buffalo (most efficiently), have remained superior to foreign intruders like the horse and the lion, and have even kept the humped bull, of Harappan and of classical reputation, within the limits of a later and lesser popularity.

24. Cp. Viennot, 1954, pl. I, 3, elephant-head and crocodile-snout and elephant-forelegs; Viennot, 1954, pl. II, 6, tiger paws?; Viennot, 1954, pl. I, 6, pl. VII, 6-8, and Viennot, 1958 (fasc. 3), fig. 3, all hornlike extensions; Viennot, 1958 (fasc. 3), figs. 19, 20, rhinozeros ears!

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Plate 1: Mohenjo Daro « Seal 420 ». Photo from Casting.

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Plate 2: Mohenjo Daro. Seal. Pipal tree and unicorn heads.

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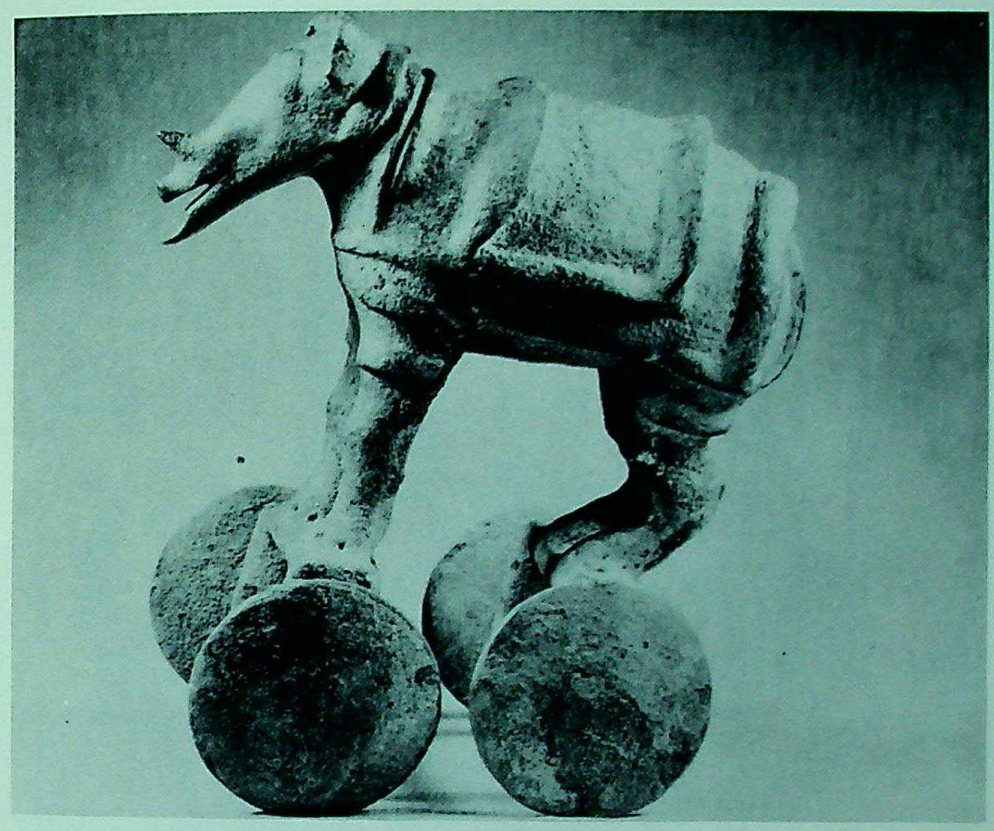

Plate 3: Daimabad. Bronze. Rhinozorus. Photo ASI.

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Plate 4: Baroda Museum. Playing Card. 18th century. Deccan.

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Plate 5: Saurashtra. Budha (Mercury). Coll. Khodidas Parmar, Bhavnagar.
Photo: Subodh Chandra, Bombay.

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Plate 6: Sānchi. Stupa I. Balustrade from A.A. V, 1955, p. 275, fig. 30.

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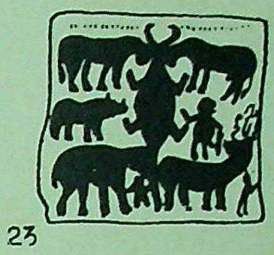

Fig. 1: Mohenjo Daro. Design of Pottery Plaque.

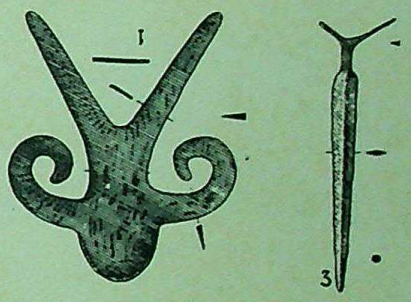

Fig. 2: « Copper hoards », a) Sheorajpūr, b) Fatehgarh from « Ancient India », no. 9, fig. 5.

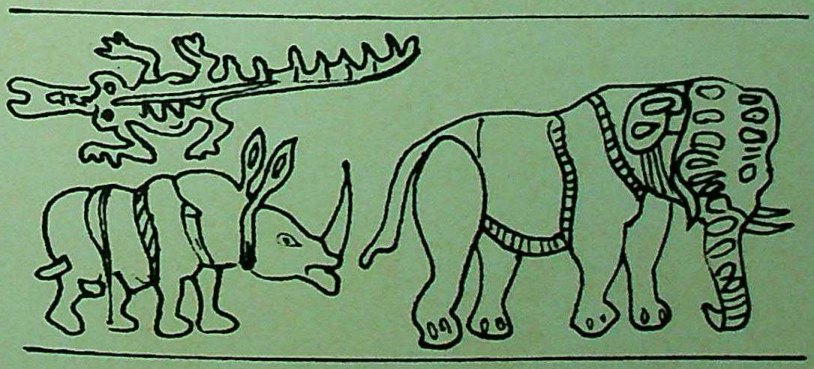

Fig. 3: Tell Asmar. Cylinder Seal from H. Frankfort, 1939, text fig. 108.

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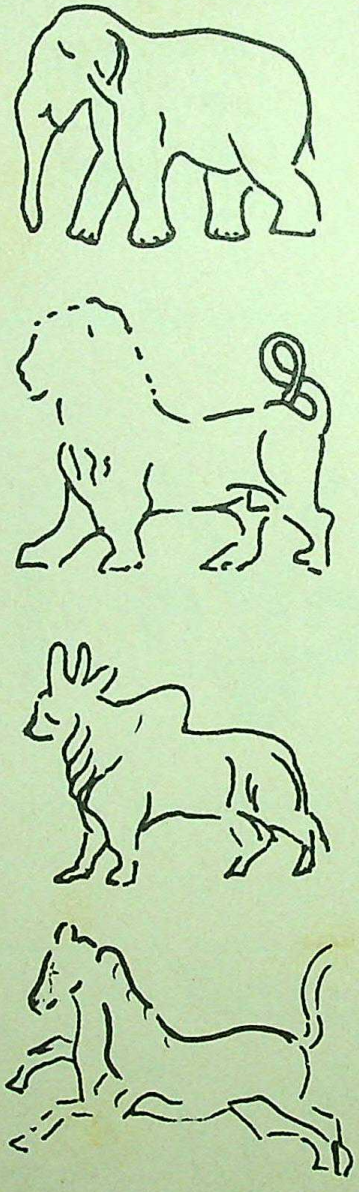

Fig. 4: Designs of animals from Sārnāth Capital.

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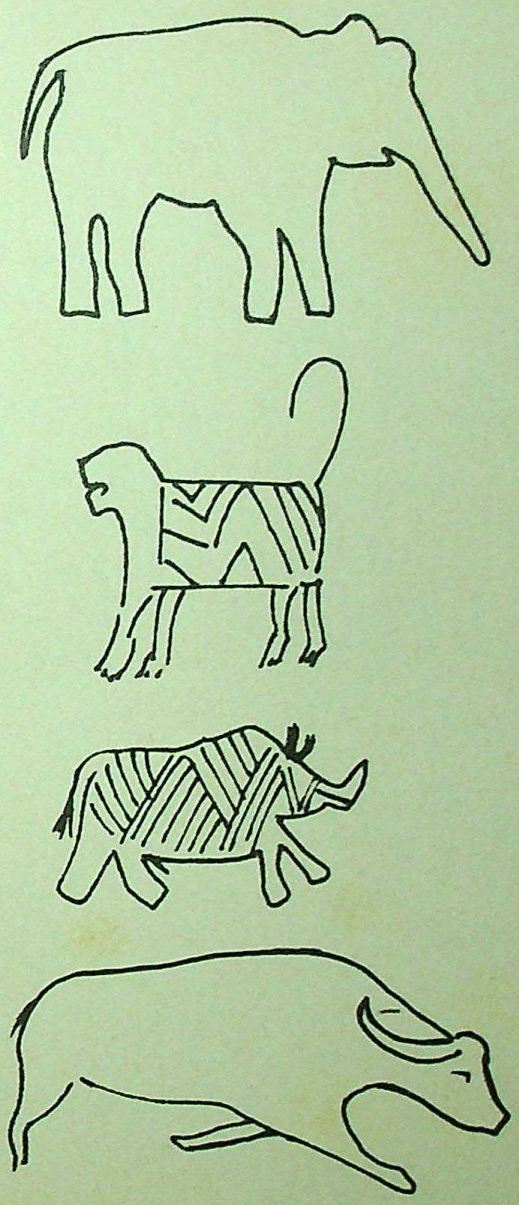

Fig. 5: Designs from rock paintings, Madhya Pradesh.

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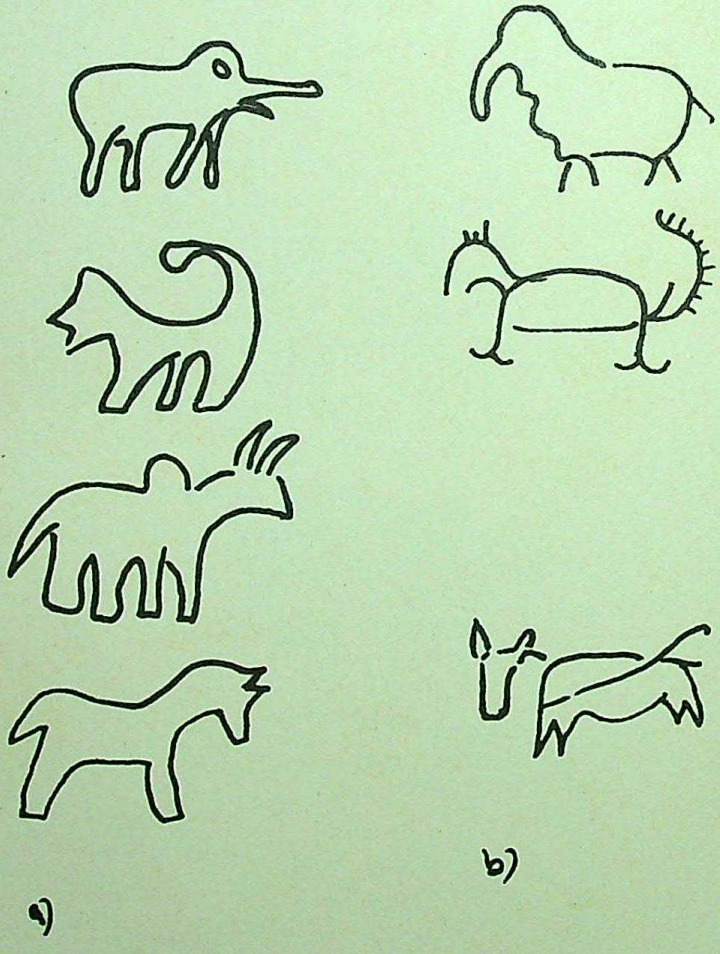

Figs. 6, 7: Designs from Punchmarked Coins. Designs from Tatooing.

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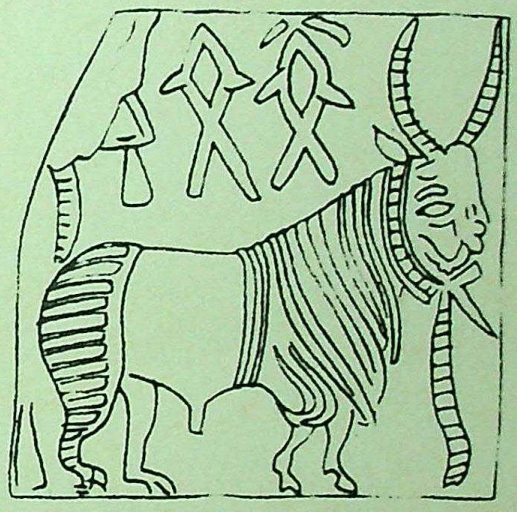

Fig. 8: Mohenjo Daro. Seal design: Elephant-Tiger.

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WOLFGANG MORGENROTH

GLOSSEN IN DER CHĀNDOGYA-UPANISHAD

Die Sprache der *Chāndogya-Upanishad* weist eine ganze Reihe volkstümicher Elemente auf, die nicht durch eine überspitzte Konjekturalkritik beseitigt werden dürfen [1]. Ohne jeden Zweifel gibt es aber eine Reihe späterer Zusätze, die im Laufe der Jahrhunderte in den Text hineingekommen sind.

Bereits 1889 hat Böhtlingk in seiner Ausgabe an einigen Stellen Glossen angenommen [2], Hillebrandt hat 1921 weitere Wörter und Sätze als Einschübe kenntlich gemacht [3], wofür er von Schayer gelobt worden ist [4]. Auch Geldner [5] und Senart [6] haben Glossen entdeckt und Morgenroth [7] hat 1958 durch Klammerung weitere Zusätze angezeigt.

Wenn wir im Nachfolgenden die Stellen einer kritiscen Überprüfung unterziehen wollen, an denen man Glossen angenommen hat, dann müssen zunächst einige grundsätzliche Bemerkungen vorangestellt werden.

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1. Vgl. dazu W. MORGENROTH, *Die Sprache der Chāndogya-Upaniṣad*, in « History and Culture of Ancient India », Moscow, 1963, pp. 223-34, und W. MORGENROTH, *Die Lehre des Uddālaka Āruṇi, Bemerkungen zur Textkritik und Interpretation*, in « Archiv Orientalni », 38 (1970), pp. 33-44.
2. OTTO BÖHTLINGK, *Khāndogyopanishad*, Leipzig, 1889.
3. ALFRED HILLEBRANDT, *Aus Brāhmaṇas und Upaniṣaden*, Jena, 1921, Wiederabdruck, 1942.
4. In « Zeitschrift für Buddhismus », 4 (1922), pp. 218-22.
5. K. F. GELDNER, *Vedismus und Brahmanismus = Religionsgeschichtliches Lesebuch*, Bd. 9, 2. Aufl. Tübingen, 1928.
6. EMILE SENART, *Chāndogya-Upaniṣad*, Taduité et annoté, Paris, 1930.
7. WOLFGANG MORGENROTH, *Chāndogya-Upaniṣad, Versuch einer kritischen Ausgabe mit einer Übersetzung und einer Übersicht über ihre Lehren*, Diss. Jena, 1958 (eine revidierte und in der Interpretation erweiterte Fassung ist in Vorbereitung).

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Unter Glossen wollen wir verstehen:

1. Worterklärungen, d.h. ein im Text vorkommendes Wort wird durch ein Wort umschrieben, das später dem Text zusätzlich und irrtümlich einverleibt wurde.
2. Kommentare, d.h. eine Textstelle wird mit anderen Worten kommentiert und dieser Kommentar gerät später zusätzlich und irrtümlich in den Text.
3. Zusätze, d.h. irgendein Wort des Textes wird näher erklärt, ohne daß der Inhalt der Erklärung zum Inhalt des Textes gehört.

Eine Glosse darf angenommen werden, wenn:

1. Zwei gleichbedeutende Wörter aufeinanderfolgen, ohne daß sie durch ca verbunden sind.
2. Ein Wort oder Satzteil gegen das Prinzip der Parallelität im Satzbau verstößt, das in der *Chāndogya-Upanishad* eine große Rolle spielt.
3. Eine Wortfolge gegen elementare Regeln der Syntax verstößt.
4. Der Gedankengang des Textes durch eine Wortfolge unterbrochen wird.

1. pratyāsvara iti, I, 3, 2

Der einhellig überlieferte Text lautet:

samāna u evāyaṃ cāsau ca.
uṣṇo 'yab uṣṇo 'sau.
svara itīmam ācakṣate, svara iti pratyāsvara iti amum.

Müller [8], Deussen [9], Tuxen [10] und Hume [11] übersetzen nach der Überlieferung. Die Sonne hat nach ihnen zwei Bezeichnungen. Böhtlingk [12], Little [13], Senart [14] und Papesso [15] lassen nur die zweite Bezeichnung für Sonne gelten, weil das verbindende ca fehlt. In dem *svara iti* sieht Böhtlingk eine fehlerhafte Wiederholung des Satzanfangs [16].

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8. Max Müller, *The Upanishads*, translated, in SBE 1, Oxford, 1879.
9. Paul Deussen, *Sechzig Upanishad's des Veda*, Leipzig, 1897.
10. Paul Tuxen, *De aeldste Upanishader overs.*, Kjbenhavn, 1921-22.
11. R. E. Hume, *The Thirteen Principal Upanishads*, Translated from the Sanskrit, 2ed. rev., London, 1931.
12. Böhtlingk, a.a.O.
13. Charles E. Little, *A grammatical index to the Chāndogya-Upaniṣad*, Chicago, 1900.
14. Senart, a.a.O.
15. Valentino Papesso, *Chāndogya-Upaniṣad*, Traduzione, introduzione e note, Bologna, 1937.
16. Böhtlingk, a.a.O., p. 97, zu p. 4,5.

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Da sich auch in der Gleichung *uṣṇo 'yam uṣṇo 'sau* die Bezeichnungen genau decken, ziehe ich *svara iti* als die eigentliche Lesung vor und betrachte *pratyāsvara* als Glosse. Damit ist das Fehlen des *ca* erklärt. Nach dem einleitenden *samāna* und *evāyam cāsau ca* erwartet man ja eine völlige Übereinstimmung der beiden Glieder.

2. eṣa praṇavah, I, 5, 1

Der einhellig überlieferte Text lautet:

atha khalu ya udgīthaḥ sa praṇavaḥ,
vaḥ praṇavaḥ sa udgītha iti,
asau vā āditya udgīthaḥ, eṣa praṇavaḥ,
om iti hy eṣa svarann eti

Das *eṣa praṇavaḥ* ist mit Sicherheit eine Glosse, denn erstens ist es die Wiederholung des vorher bereits Gesagten und zweitens zerreißt es an dieser Stelle den Gedankengang. Überdies fehlt eine solche Wiederholung in I, 5, 3. Ich übersetze deshalb:

Und nun ist das, was der Hochgesang ist, die Silbe *om*
[und] das, was die Silbe *om* ist, der Hochgesang;
deshalb ist jene Sonne fürwahr der Hochgesang,
(dieser ist der Silbe *om*),
denn *om* tönend geht sie einher.

3. praśaṃsākāmāḥ, II, 9, 3

Die Handschritten lesen übereinstimmend:

atha yat prathamodite sa prastāvaḥ.
tad asya manuṣya anvāyattāh.
tasmāt te prastutikāmāḥ praśaṃsākāmāḥ
prastāvabhājino hy etasya sāmnaḥ.

Daß *praśaṃsākāmāḥ* eine Glosse ist, hat bereits Böhtlingk vermutet [17], Diese Vermutung ist richtig. Der Khaṇḍa ist klar gegliedert. Die einzelnen Abschnitte des Khaṇḍa zeigen parallelen Bau und vielfältige Wortspiele. An unserer Stelle hat nur prastuti Existenzberechtigung (*prastāva-prastuti*!).

Das *praśaṃsākāmāḥ* muß als Glosse in den Text gekommen sein. Wir übersetzen:

Was ferner unmittelbar nach dem Aufgehen ist, das istder *prastāva.*
An diesem (Stande) der (Sonne) sind die Menschen beteiligt.
Deshalb lieben sie das Loben (*prastuti*);
(lieben sie das Preisen)
denn sie haben Anteil am *prastāva* des Sāmanliedes.

17. Böhtlingk, a.a.O.

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4. jyog jivati, II, 11 ff.

Im oft wiederkehrenden Refrain:

sarvam āyur eti, jyog jivati
mahān prajayā paśubhir bhavati, mahān kīrtyā
mahāmanāḥ syāt, tad vratam.

Hat Hillebrandt als erster vermutet, daß *jyoj jivati* eine Glosse ist, die den Satz *sarvam āyur eti* kommentiert [18].

5. samśāmyati tan nidhanam, II, 12, 1

pāram gacchati tan nidhanam, II, 13, 1

In II, 11-21 werden lo verschiedene Sāmanlieder als « in etwas verwoben » bezeichnet. Ihre fünf Teile (*hiṃkāra, prastāva, udgītha, pratihāra* und *nidhana*) werden mit verschiedenen Erscheinungen gleichgesetzt. Die zehn Khaṇḍas weisen parallelen Bau auf. In Khaṇḍa 12 und 13 wird die Gleichsetzung des *nidhana* zweimal *vorgenommen*:

upaśāmyati tan nidhanam, 12, 1
saṃśāmyati tan nidhanam
kālaṃ gacchati tan nidhanam, 13, 1
pāraṃ gacchati tan nidhanam

Da die übrigen acht Khaṇḍas diese Verdoppelung nicht haben, handelt es sich wohl um Glossen, in denen die Textworte *upaśāmyati* und *kālam* mit *samśāmyati* und *pāram* umschrieben werden [19].

6. atyantam ātmānam ācāryakule 'vasādayan, II, 23, 2

Der überlieferte Text lautet:

yajño 'dhyayanaṃ dānam iti prathamaḥ,
tapa eva dvitīyaḥ,
brahmacāry ācāryakulavāsī tṛtīyaḥ,
atyantam ātmānam ācāryakule 'vasādayan.
sarva ete puṇyalokā bhavanti...

Die Stellung des erweiterten Partizips *avasādayan* nach dem *tṛtīyaḥ* deutet auf eine Glosse, die das *ācāryakulavāsī* erläutert [20].

7. sarvataḥ pṛṣṭheṣu, III, 13, 7

Bereits Böhtlingk hat hier eine Glosse vermutet [21]. Das *sarvataḥ* erklärt das *viśvataḥ* der sonst gleichlautenden vorausgehenden Zeile. Für eine Wiederholung dieser Art gibt es keinen plausiblen Grund.

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18. Hillebrandt, a.a.O.
19. Diese Auffassung findet sich bereits bei Böhtlingk (a.a.O.), Little (a.a.O.) und Senart (a.a.O.).
20. So schon Böhtlingk (a.a.O.), Little (a.a.O.) und Senart (a.a.O.).
21. Böhtlingk, a.a.O.

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8. nadathur ivāgner iva jvalata, III, 13, 8

Das Licht jenseits des Himmels ist identisch mit dem Licht im Innern des Mannes:

tasyaiṣā dṛṣṭir
yatraitad asmiñ charīre saṃsparśenoṣṇimānaṃ vijānāti
tasyaiṣā śrutir
yatraitat karṇāv apigṛhya ninadam iva nadathur ivāgner
iva jvalata upaśṛnoti

Böhtlingk hat mit allgemeiner Billigung durch seine Nachfolger das einhellig überlieferte *nadathur* in den Akkusativ *nadathum* geändert und dieses *nadathum* auf *ninadam* bezogen.

Dieser Bezug ist ohne Zweifel richtig. Ich vermute jedoch, daß eine Glosse vorliegt. In ihr ist ein Nominativ durchaus möglich, da die Satzstruktur nicht unbedingt beachtet werden muß. Ich übersetze:

Ihn sieht man,
wenn man in diesem Leibe durch Berühren Wärme erkennt;
ihn hört man,
wenn man bei zugehaltenen Ohren so etwas wie einen Ton
(wie ein Prasseln [ist es] wie von einem brennenden Feuer) hört

9. apipāsa eva sa babhūva, III, 17, 6

Der einhellig überlieferte Text lautet:

tad dhaitad ghora āṅgirasaḥ kṛṣṇāya devakīputrāyoktvovāca:
apipāsa eva sa babhūva
so 'ntavelāyām etat trayam pratipadyeta

Die Kommentare beziehen das apipāsa eva sa babhūva auf Ghora. Entsprechend übersetzen Müller « and he never thirsted again (after other knowledge) », Böhtlingk « da er kein Verlangen empfand », Deussen « nämlich er war frei von Begierde », Tuxen « thi han var uden Attraa », Hertel « denn er hatte kein Verlangen mehr » [22].

In den Anmerkungen zum Text seiner Ausgabe schlägt Böhtlingk jedoch zwei Konjekturen vor, weil die Stellung des *apipāsa eva sa babhūva* außerordentlich ungewöhnlich sei und man nach dem *uvāca* die direkte Rede erwarten müsse [23]:

— *apipāsa eva so 'bhūt* « er empfindet kein Verlangen mehr, in der Todesstunde nehme er... »;
— *yo 'pipāsa eva babhūva* « wer so weit gekommen ist, daß er kein Verlangen mehr spürt, der nehme ».

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22. Böhtlingk, Müller, Deussen und Tuxen a.a.O. — Johannes Hertel, *Die Weisheit der Upanishaden*, 2. Aufl. München, 1922.
23. Böhtlingk, a.a.O., p. 100, zu p. 34,5,5.

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Ähnliche Erwägungen stellt Senart[24] and und übersetzt: « Un homme est affranchi de la soif (du desoir). Genauso Papesso[25] « Egli si è liberato dalla sete (del desiderio) egli... ».

Da der durch die Konjekturen gewonnene Inhalt des Satzes durch nichts gefordert wird, wenn er auch nicht direkt im Widerspruch zur Umgebung steht, glaube ich nicht an ihre Richtigkeit. Wie die Kommentare beziehe ich den Satz auf Ghora. Die unmögliche Stellung deutet auf eine Glosse. Ich übersetze:

Eben dieses sagte Ghora Āṅgirasa dem Kṛṣṇa Devakīputra
(er war ohne Verlangen): In der Todesstunde muß man zu diesen
drei [Sprüchen] seine Zuflucht nehmen.

10. nīhāraḥ, III, 19, 2

Daß es sich bei diesem Wort um eine echte Glosse handelt, beweist die Aufgliederung des Textes:

tad yad rajatam seyam pṛthivī
yat suvarṇam sa dyauḥ.
yaj jarāyu te paryatāh,
yad ulbam sa megho nīhāraḥ,
yā dhamanayas tā nadyaḥ,
yad vāsteyam udakaṃ sa samudraḥ.

11. panthā, V, 10, 2

In *eṣa devayānaḥ panthā iti* ist *panthā* offensichtlich eine Glosse zu *yānaḥ* und zu übersetzen ist einfach « dieses ist der Götterweg ».

12. naite saṃvatsaram abhiprāpnuvanti, V, 10, 3

eṣa somo rājā tad devānām annam, taṃ devā bhakṣayanti, V, 10, 4

Im Gegensatz zur Schilderung des Götterwegs wird die Schilderung des Väterweges durch die beiden hier genannten Sätze unterbroche Ihr Inhalt, der den Gedankengang unterbricht, deutet auf eine Glosse. Ich übersetze:

Diejenigen, die im Dorfe Geopfertes und Gespendetes mit einer
Gabe gleichsetzen,

gelangen zum Rauch,
aus dem Rauch in die Nacht,
aus der anderen Monatshälfte in die 6 Monate, in denen sie [die
Sonne Mo] nach Süden geht,
(nicht gelangen sie zum Jahr),
aus den Monaten in die Väterwelt,
aus der Väterwelt in den Raum,

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24. Senart, a.a.O., p. 43, Anmerkung 3.
25. Papesso, a.a.O.

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aus dem Raum in den Mond.
(Dieser König Soma, das ist der Götter Speise, den essen die Götter)
In dem wohnen sie...

13. tac chaśvat saṃvartate, VI, 13, 2

In der Lehre des Uddālaka Āruṇi nimmt der Versuch mit dem in Wasser aufgelösten Salz einen wichtigen Platz ein. Daß in diesem Abschnitt der Satz *tac chaśvat saṃvartate* als Kommentar eines späteren Schreibers aufzufassen ist, habe ich an anderen Stelle nachzuweisen versucht [26].

14. tad airaṃ madīyam saraḥ, tad aśvatthaḥ somasavanaḥ,

tad aparājitā pūr brahmaṇaḥ prabhuvimitaṃ hiraṇmamya, VIII, 5, 3

Dieser lange Satz unterbricht den Gedankengang des Abschnitts. Die Nennung der beiden Seen in der Brahmanenwelt (*ara* und *ṇya*) haben spätere Schreiber dazu verführt, weitere Dinge anzuführen, die sich ebenfalls dort befinden. Im folgenden Satz wird aber direkt an die beiden Seen angeschlossen. Schon Senart hat diesen Satz als Einschub späteren Datums aufgefaßt [27].

15. sa om iti vaho dvāram iyate, VIII, 6, 5

Diese Stelle gehört zu den schwierigsten Passagen der Chāndogya-Upanishad. Sie steht in einem Abschnitt, der von der Verbindung der Brahmanenwelt mit dem Raum im Herzen handelt. Diese Verbindung wird durch die Adern des Herzens und die geichfarbigen Strahlen der Sonne hergestellt. Beim Schlafen schlüpft man in diese Adern, beim Tode steigt man an ihnen zur Sonne, dem Eingangstor der Brahmanenwelt empor. Es heißt im Text:

atha yatraitad asmāc charīrād utkrāmati,
athaitair eva raśmibhir ūrdhvam ākramate.
sam om iti vā 'hodvā mīyate
sa yāvat kṣipyen manaḥ, tāved ādityaṃ gacchati.
etad vai khalu lokadvāraṃ viduṣāṃ prapadanaṃ nirodho 'viduṣāṃ.

Die Wortfolge *sa om iti vā 'hodva mīyate* ist einhellig überliefert. Die Kommentare [27a] sagen dazu:

Śaṅkara: sa om ity oṃkāreṇātmānaṃ dhyāyan yathāpūrvaṃ vā haiva, ud vordhvaṃ vā vidvāṃś ced itaras tiryaṅ vety abhiprāyaḥ. mīyate pramīyate gacchatīty arthah.

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26. Wolfgang Morgenroth, *Die Lehre des Uddālaka Āruṇi*, in «Archiv Orientalni», 38 (1970), pp. 40-2.
27. Senart, a.a.O.
27a. Kommentare nach Ānandāśramasaṃskṛtagranthāvali 14 (1913), 63 (1910) und 79 (1915).

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Ānandagiri: vā heti: nipātadvayasyāvadhāraṇarūpam arthaṃ kathayati — eveti: ucchabdārtham āha — ūrdhvam iti vāśabdena dyotitaṃ vikalpaṃ darśayati — vidvāṃś ced iti: yadi vidvān pramīyate tadordhvam eva gacchati yadi tv avidvān pramīyate tadā tiryag eva gacchatīti vibhāgaḥ.

Raṅga-Rāmāṇūja: sa vidvān oṃ sad iti nirdeśo brahmaṇas trividhaḥ amṛtaḥ (...) tasyod iti nāma (...) iti pramāṇaprasiddhaṃ param ātmānam āha kīrtayati kīrtayann eva mīyate pramīyate ca Nityananda: om ity ākāraṇenā 'tmānam maraṇakāle 'pi dhyāyan vā haivod ūrdhvaṃ vā mīyate gacchati, avidvāṃs tu tiryag gacchatīti abhiprāyaḥ...

Deussen hat sich am engsten and die Kommentare gehalten. Er liest *sa om iti vā ha ūrdhvam īyate* und übersetzt « dann steigt er entweder (oder, als Nichtwissender, auch nicht) mit den Gedanken an *om* in die Höhe »[28]. Böhtlingk[29] weist daraufhin, daß die Stellung des *ha* nach *vā* recht verdächtig ist. Er hatte ja vor Deussen eine andere Lesung vorgeschlagen[30]: *sa om iti vāha, ud va nīyate* und übersetzt « man sagt entweder *om* oder wird (ohne *om* gesagt zu haben) hinaufgeführt ». Böhtlingk hat also nur das *mīyate*, mit dem er nichts anzufangen wußte, in *nīyate* geändert. Senart schließt sich im ersten Teile Böhtlingk und im zweiten Teile Deussen an. Er liest *sa om iti vāha*, ūrdhvam īyate und übersetzt « le temps de dire om! et il est emporté vers les régions superieures »[31].

Auch Hillebrandt[32] folgt im zweiten Teil Deussen. Er wendet sich aber mit Recht gegen die Annahme eines « entweder-oder » im ersten Teil, eines Aufsteigens mit oder ohne *om*. Seine Lesart *sa om iti vāhaḥ*, d.h. übersetzt « *om* ist das Fahrzeug, er (oder "es") eilt empor » findet in dem *oṃkararatham āruhya* der freilich viel jüngeren Amṛtanāda-Upanishad eine Stütze.

Die richtige Lösung hat vielleicht Geldner gefunden[33]. Er faßt den ersten Teil wie Hillebrandt und nimmt im zweiten Teil lediglich den Ausfall der Silbe ra an. Er liest *sa om iti vāho dvāram īyate*, was heißt « mit dem Wort *om* als Wagen erreicht er die Pforte ». Diese von Papesso übernommene Auffassung Geldners macht allerdings die Annahme notwending, daß es sich auch bei diesem Satz um einen späteren Einschub handelt. Die Übersetzung lautet:

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28. Deussen, a.a.O.

29. Otto Böhtlingk, *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, 49, p. 91.

30. Otto Böhtlingk, *Khāndogyopaniṣad*, Leipzig, 1889, p. 107, zu p. 89,5.

31. Senart, a.a.O.

32. Alfred Hillebrandt, *Weitere Bemerkungen zu den Upaniṣads*, in ZDMG 69, 1915, p. 104.

33. Geldner, a.a.O., p. 151, Anmerkung 857.

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Und wenn er aus diesem Leib auszieht, dann steigt er an eben diesen Strahlen empor.
(Mit dem Wort *om* als Wagen erreicht er die Pforte)
So schnell ein Gedanke aufschießt, so schnell gelangt er zur Sonne. Sie fürwahr ist die Weltenpforte, der Eingang für die Wissenden, die Absperrung für die Nichtwissenden.

16. *veśma*, VIII, 14, 1

In *prajāpateḥ Sabhāṃ veśma prapadye* ist *veśma* ohne jeden Zweifel Glosse zu *Sabhām*.

Unter den hier behandelten Glossen und Einschüben sind eine ganze Reihe gesicherter Fälle, die beweisen, daß es solche späteren Zusätze in der Chāndogya-Upanishad tatsächlich gibt. Diese sicheren Fälle berechtigten uns zu der Überlegung, ob nicht in einigen weiteren, für die Interpretation schwierigen Textpassagen mi Glossen gerechnet werden muß. Wir dürfen wohl daran festhalten, solange keine anderen und besseren Erklärungen gefunden sind.

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BAREND A. VAN NOOTEN

THE RĀMOPĀKHYĀNA AND THE RĀMĀYAṆA

Several studies in the past one hundred years have shown that the Rāmopākhyāna (*Mahābhārata* 3.258-275) has many passages in common with the Vālmīki *Rāmāyaṇa* (hereafter abbreviated R) and Sukthankar correctly concludes[1] that it is a condensation of the R. Elsewhere Sukthankar states, « *A priori*, then, whenever our Mahābhārata shows close *verbal* agreement with the *older* books of the Rāmāyaṇa, the presumption would be that we have to look upon the Rāmāyaṇa as the source... ». Since Sukthankar wrote these words, a critical edition of the R has appeared which enables us to examine even more closely the points of correspondence between the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa. Its critical apparatus furnishes us with a wealth of variant readings from manuscripts hailing from all over India and Nepal. Those combined with the readings of the less copious variants of the Mahābhārata's critical edition should enable us to come to an accurate understanding of the relationship between the two stories, as well as in a more general sense, the interdependence of the two epics in their earlier stages.

In the present study I have compared those passages of the Rāma episode in the Mbhr which show literal, or almost literal agreement with passages drawn from the R, in an effort to determine whether the former were borrowed from one recension, or from one version, or even from one manuscript to the exclusion of any other one. It is obvious that wherever all the Rāmāyaṇa manuscripts have the identical reading, such a closer definition of the source is impossible. But wherever a variant from the accepted text of the Rāmāyaṇa shows closer agreement

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1. V. S. SUKTHANKAR, *The Rāma Episode* (*Rāmopākhyāna*) *and the Rāmāyaṇa*, in « A Volume of Studies in Indology », presented to P. V. Kane, 1941, pp. 472-87. See the references to Jacobi, Hopkins and Sluszkiewicz, p. 472 n. 1 and 2. See now also P. L. Vaidya in the introduction to the Critical Edition of the Yuddhakāṇḍa (pp. xxxi-vi) and V. Rāghavan in « The Greater Rāmāyaṇa » (Varaṇasī, 1973), pp. 11-31.

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with the Mahābhārata text than the accepted Rāmāyaṇa text does, we have marked it and recorded it. In a few instances a variant in the Rāmāyaṇa manuscripts will agree not with the accepted Mahābhārata text but with one of its variants. These passages have been noted also.

In this study I have confined myself to the correspondences listed by Sukthankar in Appendix I « Critical Notes » of his edition of the *Vanaparvan* of the Mahābhārata (*BORI* 1942, pp. 1106-1108). Most of them are quite short, a quarter or at most half a verse. Sukthankar lists about 60, but of these about 30 proved to be unusable because they were literally the same in both the texts and their variants. The remaining 29 or 30 do furnish us with some evidence as to their provenance. There may be more such passages, since Sukthankar does not claim to have collected them all[2], but I doubt whether they would affect the results of my findings. The evidence very clearly points to a borrowing by the Mahābhārata from a Northern text of the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa and, with less certitude, to a Northeastern text.

Correspondences

In the following paragraphs a Mahābhārata passage, with or without its variant readings, is listed followed by the corresponding passage in the Rāmāyaṇa, with its variants, if any. The symbols representing the mss. are listed in the conspectus below, p. 20. A designation such as « all NE mss. » means « all NE mss. used for that particular passage, in the Critical Edition ».

1) hatvā gṛdhraṃ jaṭāyuṣam, Mbhr 3.258.2d no vvll.
hatvā gṛdhraṃ jaṭāyuṣam, VR 1.1.42d, found in all N mss. and D_9 as a variant of gṛdhraṃ hatvā jaṭāyuṣam.

2) kāmarūpabalānvitān, Mbhr 3.260.7d, no vvll.
kāmarūpabalopetāḥ, VR 1.16.495*:7a, an interpolation after 1.16.12 found in 15 S mss. and D_{109}.

3) raṃjayām āsa hi prajāḥ Mbhr 3.261.6b in all S mss. exc. G_3, as a variant to ramayām āsa hi prajāḥ.
rañjayām āsa hi prajāḥ, VR 1.17.532*:5, found in all NE mss. and $D_{9.12}$ as an interpolation. after 1.17.21.

4) saṃbhārāḥ saṃbhriyantāṃ vai, Mbhr 3.261.15c in D_c D_{n1} D_2 as a variant to saṃbhārāḥ saṃbhriyantāṃ me.
saṃbhārāḥ saṃbhriyantāṃ vai, VR 1.11.11c in M_{104} (S) as a variant to saṃbhārāḥ saṃbhriyantāṃ te.

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2. SUKTHANKAR, *op. cit.*, pp. 476-77.

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5) āśiviṣas tvāṃ saṃkruddhaś caṇḍo daśatu durbhage Mbhr 3. 261.17cd, in mss. B D G_3, as a vl to ... daśati...
āśiviṣas tvāṃ daśatu mūḍhe paṇḍitamānini, VR 2.8.133* found in all NE mss. (exc. $Ñ_1$) as an interpolation after 2.8.1.

6) pṛthivyāṃ rājarājo 'smi, Mbhr 3.261.1245*, found in all N mss. (exc. $K_{1.3.4.}$) and G_3 as an interpolation after 261.23.
pṛthivyāṃ rājarājo 'smi, VR 2.10.195*, found in all NE mss. (exc. Ñ) and 2 W (D_1 D_{201}) as an interpolation after 10.12.

7) There are two variants of this passage, both found also in the Rāmāyaṇa:

7a) ābhiṣecanikaṃ yat te rāmārtham upakalpitam, Mbhr 3.261.25ab.
ābhiṣecanikaṃ dravyaṃ rāmārtham upakalpitam, VR 2.13.260*, found in all NE mss. and M_{204} as a variant for 2.13.3cd abhiṣekāya rāmasya dvijendrair upakalpitam.

7b) abhiṣecanikaṃ yat..., Mbhr 3.261.25ab, in $K_{3.4}$ D_4 T_2 G_1
abhiṣecanikaṃ dravyaṃ..., R 2.13.261*, found in 2 W mss. (D_1 D_{201}) as a variant to 2.13.3cd.

8) kiṃvīryaḥ kiṃparākramaḥ, Mbhr 3.258.4b, no vvll.
kiṃvīryaḥ kiṃparākramaḥ, R 3.32.2b, found in al NE mss., 2 NW mss. ($Ś_1$ D_2) and D_9, as a vl. to kiṃrūpaḥ kiṃparākramaḥ.

9) viśeyaṃ vā hutāśanam, Mbhr 3.262.27d, no vvll.
praviśeyaṃ hutāśanaṃ, R 3.43.34b, in all NE mss. (exc. B_{103}), 2 NW mss. ($Ś_1$ D_1) and D_9, as a vl. to pravekṣyāmi hutāśanam.

10) This entry has two variants in both texts:

10a) vyapaviddhabṛṣīkaṭaṃ, Mbhr 3.263.22b, in T $G_{1.2.4}$ as a variant of 10b).
vipraviddhabṛṣ (or -ṣ-)īkaṭam, R 3.58.7^b in the W recension (2 mss.).

10b) vyapaviddhabṛṣīghaṭaṃ, in N and the remaining S.
vipraviddhabṛṣ (or -ṣ-)īghaṭam in all NW and NE.

11) haṃsakāraṇḍavāyutā Mbhr 3.263.40b with vl °sevitā (G_4).
haṃsakāraṇḍavāyutāṃ, R 4.1.43b, in three NE mss. ($Ñ_2$ V_{401} B_1) and D_9 as a variant to kāraṇḍavanisevitām.

12) kā tvarā maraṇe punaḥ, Mbhr 3.264.27d, N and M, corresponds to kā tvarā maraṇe punaḥ, R 4.16.331* in N NE.
A variant with tava for punaḥ is found in both Mbhr (mss. D_c $D_{1.2}$) and R (D_9, a N-E ms.).

13) sa mālayā tadā vīraḥ śuśubhe kaṇṭhaśaktayā, Mbhr 3.264.34ab, the accepted text as found in N (exc. $K_{3.4}$ D_1) and G_3.
sa mālayā tadā vīraḥ śuśubhe kaṇṭhaśaktayā, R 4.12.37ab as found

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in Ś Ñ V_1 $D_{1.2.4}$, i.e. mss. of the NW W and NE recensions, as a variant to: sa tathā śuśubhe vīra latayā kaṇṭhaśaktayā.

14) There are two variants in both texts of this passage:

14a) mukhāc choṇitam udvaman, Mbhr 3.264.37b, S (exc. G_3).
mukhāc choṇitam udvaman, R 4.47.19b, $Ś_1$ $D_{2.12}$ $Ñ_1$, all N mss.

14b) vaktrāc choṇitam udvaman, Mbhr 3.264.37b, N (exc. V) and G_3.
vaktrāc choṇitam udvaman, R 4.47.19b, S and V, the accepted text.

15) The following passage occurs once in the Mbhr, with minor variants, and twice in the R, both times with important variants. The variants for the second occurrence of the passage however, (R 6.32.21ab) do not seem to be the source of the Mbhr reading and so have been omitted.

15a) golāngūlo mahārājā gavākṣo nāma vānaraḥ, Mbhr 3.267.4cd in ms. D_5 only, corresponds to:
golāngūlo mahārājo gavākṣo nāma vānaraḥ, R 4.38.18ab in the mss. $Ñ_2$ V_1 $B_{1.103.304}$ D_9, all NE mss.

15b) golāngūlo mahārāja gavākṣo bhīmavikramaḥ, Mbhr 3.267.4cd in mss. $K_{1\text{-}3}$ D_1, corresponds to:
golāngūlo mahārājo gavākṣo bhīmavikramaḥ, R 4.38.18ab in mss. $Ñ_1$ V_1 $D_{6.10.11}$ $T_{2.3}$ $G_{1.2}$ $M_{1.3}$, or all S (exc. $D_{5.7}$ G_3) and $Ñ_1$ V_1.

16) cāturvarṇyasya rakṣitā, Mbhr 3.621.1245*, in an interpolation found in N (exc. $K_{1.3.4}$) and G_3.
cāturvarṇyasya rakṣitā, R 5.33.11b S W and D_8, the accepted text.

17) tāpasīveṣadhāriṇī, Mbhr 3.264.42b, with vvll -veśa- in $K_{1.2}$.
tāpasīveśadhāriṇī, R 5.13.415*:3b, in an interpolation after vs. 37 in most NE mss. (exc. $Ñ_1$).

18) The following passage occurs in two versions in both Mbhr and R:

18a) avaṃdhyo nāma medhāvī vṛddho rākṣasapuṃgavaḥ, Mbhr 3.264.55ab, in mss. K_4 D_1.
avaṃdhyo nāma medhāvī vidvān rākṣasapuṃgavaḥ, R 5.35.12a, in ms. D_1.

18b) avindhyo nāma medhāvī vṛddho rākṣasapuṃgavaḥ, Mbhr 3.264.55ab, all other mss.
avindhyo nāma medhāvī vidvān rākṣasapuṃgavaḥ, R. $Ś_1$ and S. the accepted text.

19) There are two readings for the following passage:

19a) śvetaṃ parvatam ārūḍha eka eva vibhīṣaṇaḥ, Mbhr 3.264.66cd, ms. K_3.

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śvetaṃ parvatam ārūḍha eka eva vibhīṣaṇaḥ, R 5.25.617*, in an interpolation after verse 25 found in $D_{4.8}$.

19b) śvetaparvatam ārūḍha eka eva vibhīṣaṇaḥ, Mbhr 3.264.66cd, accepted text.
śvetaparvatam ārūḍhas tv eka eva vibhīṣaṇaḥ R 5.25.617*, in mss. $Ñ_1$ B_4 $D_{2.3.9}$.

20) There are two readings for the following passage:

20a) caturbhiḥ saha rākṣasaiḥ, Mbhr 3.267.46d in G_4.
caturbhiḥ saha rākṣasaiḥ, R 6.10.12d and 11.5b, in mss. of the S recension and $Ñ_2$ V_{1-4} $B_{1-2.4}$ D_9, $Ś_2$ D_{12}. It is the accepted reading.

20b) caturbhiḥ sacivaiḥ saha, Mbhr 3.267.46d, accepted text.
caturbhiḥ sacivaiḥ saha, R 6.10.12d and 11.5 in most N and no S mss.

21) hantāsmi tvāṃ sahāmatyaṃ, Mbhr 3.268.15a, in Ś K B_1 D_{c1} $D_{1.2}$ $TG_{1.2.4}$, corresponds to:
hantāsmi tvāṃ sahāmatyaṃ R 6.31.68a Ñ $V_{1.2}$ and S (exc. $T_{2.3}$ G_1 M_1), the accepted reading.

22) kṛtakarmā vibhīṣaṇaḥ, Mbhr 3.273.5^b, accepted text.
kṛtakarmā vibhīṣaṇaḥ, R 6.39.31b, N only, as a variant to the accepted reading: sthāpayitvā vibhīṣaṇaḥ.

23) śarān āśīviṣopamān, Mbhr 3.273.20d.
śarān āśīviṣopamān, R 6.76.5b, in N (exc. D_{1-3} B_1) and D_{10} D_{11} T_1 G_2, as a variant to: śarān agniśikhopamān.

24) There are two versions of the following passage:

24a) yāvad bhūmir bhaviṣyati, Mbhr 3.275.48d, M_1.
yāvad bhūmir bhaviṣyati, R 6.88.53d, $ŚD_{8.12.13}$.

24b) yāvad bhūmir dhariṣyati, Mbhr 3.275.48d, accepted text.
yāvad bhūmir dhariṣyati, R 6.88.53d, all other N and S, the accepted text.

25) puṣpakeṇa vimānena khecareṇa virājatā, Mbhr 3.275.52ab.
khecareṇa vimānena kāmagena virājatā, R 6.110.23ab B_1 D_{1-3}, as a variant to the accepted text: yayau tena vimānena haṃsayuktena bhāsvatā.

26) daśāśvameghān ājahre jāruthyān sa nirargalān, Mbhr 3.275.69^{cd} Ś $K_{3.4}$ B_{2-4} D (exc. D_1) G_3 M_2.
daśāśvameghān ājahre jāruthyānn anirargalān, R 6.116.82cd, B_1, as a variant to the accepted reading: śatāsvameghān ājahre sadaśvān bhūridakṣiṇān.

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Discussion

In the preceding paragraphs I have listed 26 passages consisting of quarter verses and half-verses, showing correspondences between the Rāmopākhyāna and various manuscripts of the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa.

A few of the correspondences are not as cogent as evidence for borrowing as others are. For instance, the substitution of *vai* for *me* or *te* at the end of a śloka (no. 4), or the variant *bṛṣīghaṭa-* for *bṛṣīkaṭa* (no. 10), as well as the transposition of words in a śloka (no. 1) do not by themselves furnish strong evidence for this borrowing. However cumulatively and viewed in conjunction with the many correspondences of the Mbhr text with interpolations in the accepted text of the Rāmāyaṇa (nos. 3, 6, 17), the data present an undeniable impression that borrowings from certain mss. of the Rāmāyaṇa to the exclusion of others is genuine.

There can be little doubt that the majority of the passages listed present significant evidence that certain of the R mss. to the exclusion of others have served as the source for the Rāma episode in the Mbhr. Three questions can be raised immediately:

1) Is it possible to determine the ms., or version or recension of the R which has been the source for the Rāma episode?

2) Is it possible to determine whether the episode was borrowed into one particular ms., version, or recension of the Mbhr?

3) Is it possible to determine the point in time in the text history of the epics when this borrowing took place?

The answers to these questions are to some degree influenced by the text-historical model we adopt for the transmission of the epic texts. Anyone who has worked on both epics is aware of the differences in the character of their texts. The Mbhr text characteristically is less fluid and presents fewer variations to the accepted text than the Rāmāyaṇa. Although both texts have been edited with the same set of rigorous text-critical standards, the Rāmāyaṇa has many more instances where the selection of the critical readings is more doubtful, more subject to controversy than is the case with the Mbhr. This greater fluidity of the R text suggests that it has been preserved as an oral epic up to a more recent date than the Mbhr. In spite of these differences, the model adopted by the editors of the Rāmāyaṇa is the following: from the hypothetical original text, a version came into existence in Northern India which at a fairly early date spread to South India, thus creating a « Southern recension ». Both Northern and Southern recensions continued developing more or less independently, with this difference that the Southern recension tended to be more conservative in comparison

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with its northern counterpart. The Northern recension developed two or three versions of its own (W, NW, NE) which differed in wording, interpolations, omissions and grammar. The Southern recension was written in at least three scripts, besides Devanāgarī, each of which qualified as a version in its own right. So at the commencement of their work the editors of the Rāmāyaṇa were faced with numerous mss. that required to be allocated to certain versions which in turn could be grouped into recensions. In the case of a conflict between northern and southern readings preference was given to the Southern recension, because it had remained exempt from the random alterations and interpolations that had occurred to the N texts as a result of their continued transmission in a land where Indo-Aryan languages were spoken and developing.

Date of Borrowing

For simplicity's sake, we shall adopt this model of the development of the Rāmāyaṇa texts. If we then inquire in what period the Mbhr may have borrowed from the R, there are a priori two possible periods: either before or after the Southern recension of the Rāmāyaṇa had branched off. In the first instance we could expect the point of correspondence between the R and the Rāma episode to be consistent in both N and S recensions. The N may have elaborated some of the passages more fully and omitted others, but by and large the number of differences should not be significantly different. If on the other hand the borrowing took place after the branching off of the S recension, again there are two possibilities: the Mbhr borrowed either from the N recension or from the S. If the episode had been borrowed from the S, we would expect all passages to agree with the S and only a limited number with the N viz. in those instances where the N had borrowed verses from the S.

If on the other hand, the Rāma episode had been borrowed from the N recension, the majority of agreements would be with mss. of this recension and those agreements that would match S readings would be either passages that had belonged to the «original» text before the split took place, or else later borrowings from the N by the S. There would not be any agreements of Mbhr passages with the S mss only.

With these theoretical considerations in mind let us now examine the results of the comparison. The accompanying table I shows those passages where the Mbhr readings agree with readings of the S recension of the Rāmāyaṇa. They are grouped by versions (Devanāgarī, Telugu, Grantha, Malayālam) in columns to show whether they are exclusive to the S recension or are shared by one or more of the N versions. A few points are obvious:

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1) Only a few of the passages common to the two epics are found in the S recension. In fact, only eleven out of the possible 28 or so have correspondents in the S.

2) Except for no. 4, not a single corresponding passage is confined to the S recension only. All the remainder are found at least once in the N also. The exception is a trifling substitution of *vai* for *te* at the end of a verse and is one of the weakest pieces of evidence for a common origin.

3) On the whole, any of the passages in the S recensions is shared by all other S mss. Exceptions are 6, 7, 4. This fact points to a single original S recension from which each version derives.

TABLE I

Correspondences of the Rāmopākhyāna with the Southern Recension of the R

Shared with Northern Recension	Version: Devanagari ($D_{5\text{-}7.10\text{-}11}$)	Telugu ($T_{1\text{-}102}$)	Grantha (G)	Malayalam (M)	Total
W	2	2	2	2	1
NW	18b	18b	X	X	1
NE	15, 21	14, 15, 21	14, 15, 21	7a, 14, 15, 21	4
W NW	—	—	—	—	—
W NE	23	—	23	—	1
NW NE	20a	20a	20a	20a	1
W NW NE	24b	24b	24b	6, 24b	2
exclusive S	—	—	—	4	1
other S only	—	—	—	—	—
					11

(An X indicates that no mss. were available for that passage).
(A number refers to the numbers listed above under « Correspondences »).

4) Three-quarters of the correspondences in the S recension are shared by the S and the NE version of the N recension. That would point to a strong influence of this recension in the branching off of the S.

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From these facts we can conclude that the Rāma episode in the Mbhr was not borrowed from the S recension of the Mbhr. We can draw one more conclusion: if the borrowing had taken place before the S recension had branched off, one can argue that then the S would have contained about as many correspondences as the N. Since that is not the case, and since almost all its correspondences are also in N, it is clear that the Southern recension of the Rāmāyaṇa branched off after the Rāma episode had been adopted into the Mahābhārata.

We can now examine the N recension and try to determine whether any of its versions may have served as the source for the Rāma episode to the exclusion of the other ones. In Table II the evidence is tabulated. For each version (W NW NE) the passages are listed in accordance with their exclusive or joint occurrence with other versions. The results are not entirely unambiguous. Of the 31 passages, 13 occur in the W, 19 in N, and 25 in NE. It is clear that the majority of the borrowed passages occur in the NE version and it would be tempting to conclude that this version was the sole source for the Rāma episode. However, six passages have been borrowed that occur in the W and/or NW only and they cannot be disposed of easily. Two of them, passages 10a) and 19a), may or may not record important variants *bṛsīkaṭam* for *bṛsīghaṭam* and *śvetaṃ parvatam* for *śvetaparvatam*, respectively, but the statements in passages 2), 16), 18a), and 18b) contain variants which cannot be attributed to mere chance. Passage 16), for example, *cāturvarṇyasya rakṣitā*, is used in the Mbhr to describe King Janaka and in the R to describe Rāma, but in the latter work it occurs only once and in the Mbhr here in an interpolation and only once more (3.61.41d). In other words it is not a commonplace formula.

TABLE II

Passages in the Northern Recension of the Rāmāyaṇa

Version	Passage Number	Total	All W	All NW	All NE
W exclusive	2, 10a	2	2		
NW exclusive	18a, 18b	2		2	
NE exclusive	5, 7, 11, 12a, 12b, 15a, 15b, 17, 21	9			9
W+NW	16, 19a	2	2	2	
W+NE	23	1	1		1
NW+NE	3, 8, 9, 10b, 20a, 24b, 24a	7		7	7
W+NW+NE	1, 6, 13, 14a, 20b, 22, 25	8	8	8	2
Totals		31	13	19	25

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In conformity with these facts we have to conclude that the Rāma episode was borrowed from a version that was very close to the reconstructed NE version but also contained passages found now only in the W and NW. The large number of passages shared by NW and NE (15) points to a rather closer connection between these versions than between the W and NW at that time.

The evidence, furthermore, shows that there is a paradoxical situation in the text history of the Rāmāyaṇa: on the one hand the Rāma episode has borrowed from a NW-NE precursor of the present texts; on the other hand the S recension has derived from a text heavily influenced by the NE version. In the model proposed by the editors of the Cr. Ed. the NE version has been accorded a place at the same rank as NW W. It would seem that the text-historical model might need revision and that perhaps the NE version should be given a more prominent place in the earlier stages of the development of the text. Alternatively, and perhaps closer to the truth than the model proposed, is a conception of a set of recited texts existing side by side in various oral versions, with some disappearing without leaving a trace and others surviving as mss. that now, several centuries later, call for a slot in the monolithic stemma. This model for the R is more attractive but at the same time begs the question of a responsible text reconstruction. As such it should not remain more than a hypothetical model.

One can next raise the question which of the groups of mss. of the NE recension is closest to an ancestor from which the Rāma episode derived. That question cannot be answered in any satisfactory way, as Table III shows: of the 25 occurrences of common passages, none of the ms. groups has a clear majority. The conclusion must be that the ancestor gave rise to all the separate script versions. But even this conclusion does not carry too much weight. It should be implemented with detailed studies of the versions and their lineage using more passages than the Rāma episode provides.

The Mahābhārata

One may want to use the same method that we have applied to the Rāmāyaṇa to try to determine which recension of the Mbhr had borrowed the Rāma episode. There are problems here. For one thing, most of the passages listed agree with the accepted text of the Mbhr supported by the full weight of the critical apparatus, so that it is difficult to isolate any particular version. Furthermore, as was mentioned earlier, the accepted text of the Mbhr has relatively fewer variants per verse than the R text. I intend to pursue this matter on another occasion,

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but from the present material it appears that the Mbhr mss. signalled by the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa are equally distributed between N and S, without preference for any recension. By itself that fact would point to unexpected evidence that the Rāma episode was borrowed into the Māhābhārata before the latter split up into a N and S recension.

TABLE III

Passages in the NE version of the Rāmāyaṇa

ms. group	Passage Number	Total	All D	All Ñ	All V	All B
D exclusive	12a, 24a	2	2			
Ñ exclusive	14a	1		1		
V exclusive	14b, 20a	2			2	
B exclusive	25	1				1
D+N		0				
D+V		0				
D+B		0				
Ñ+V	13, 15b	2		2	2	
Ñ+B		0				
V+B	6	1			1	1
D+Ñ+V	21	1	1	1	1	
D+Ñ+B	8, 10b, 17	3	3	3		3
D+V+B	15a	1	1		1	1
Ñ+V+B	5, 7, 12b	3		3	3	3
D+Ñ+V+B	1, 3, 9, 11, 20b, 22, 23, 24b	8	8	8	8	8
Totals		25	15	18	18	17

CONSPECTUS OF MANUSCRIPTS OF THE VĀLMĪKI RĀMĀYAṆA REFERRED TO

1. Western Version.

D_3 Ujjain no. 5600, A.D. 1731, used for Ar Ki Su Yu.
D_4 Jodhpur Bandha no. 5, 1732, used for Ki Su Yu.
D_{103} Baroda Or. Inst. no. 3937, 1717, used for Bā Ay (D_3).
D_{109} Vallabha-Vidyanagar. 1848, used for Bā (D_4), Ay (D_5), Ki (D_{11}).
D_{201} Baroda Or. Inst. no. 14142, 1455, used for Ay only (D_1).

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2. North-Western Version.

$Ś_1$	Śāradā ms. Baroda Or. Inst. no. 14061, n.d., used for all kāṇḍas.
$Ś_2$	New Delhi, privately owned, n.d., Yu (sarga 11 ff.), Ut.
D_1	Poona *BORI* 825, 1594 (Bāla); 1773 (remaining kāṇḍas), used for Bā Ay (D_2), Ar Ki Su Yu (D_1). Classified as « Western » in Bā Ay Ki Su.
D_2	Baroda Or. Inst. no. 12864, 1581, used for Bā (D_5), Ar Ki Su Yu (D_2).
D_8	Jodhpur Bandha no. 5, 1779, used for Ki (D_{13}), Su (D_{11}), Yu (D_8).
D_{12}	Jodhpur Bandha no. 4, n.d., used for Bā (D_{13}), Ki Yu (D_{12}), Su (D_{10}).
D_{107}	Hoshiarpur no. 1805, 1817, Bā only (D_7).
D_{111}	Hoshiarpur no. 2967, n.d., Bā only (D_{11}).

3. North-Eastern Version.

a) Devanāgarī mss.

D_{13}	Varanasi, privately owned, n.d., used for Yuddha only.
D_{307}	Hoshiarpur, VVRI no. 3018, 1829, Ar only.

b) Nepalī mss.

$Ñ_1$	Baroda Or. Inst. no. 14156; A.D. 1020, used for all kāṇḍas.
$Ñ_2$	Baroda Or. Inst. no. 14157; A.D. 1675, used for all kāṇḍas.

c) Maithilī mss.

V_1	Baroda Or. Inst. no. 4, Addenda, 1748, used for Ar. (V_2), Ki (V_3), Su Yu Utt (V_1).
V_2	Baroda Or. Inst. no. 57, Addenda, 1841, used for Yu Ut.
V_3	Darbhanga, Mithila Res. Inst. no. 807, undated, used for Yu Utt.
$V_{101,\ 102,\ 103,\ 104}$	Baroda Or. Inst. nos. 14137, 14133, 14130 and 14134, 1360, 1559, 1831, 1836, resp. used for Bā.
V_{201}	Baroda Or. Inst. from Darbhanga, n.d., used for Ay only.
V_{401}	Darbhanga no. 809, n.d., used for Ki only.
V_{402}	Baroda Or. Inst. no. 4 Addenda, 1648, used for Ki only.

d) Bengālī mss.

B_1	Copy of Paris Bibl. Nat. no. 348, 1671, used for all kāṇḍas.
B_2	Calcutta Bāngīya Sāhitya Pariṣad no. 4139 (ka), 1798, used for Yu Ut (B_2).
B_3	Calcutta, Asiatic Soc. Bengal no. G 393, n.d., used for Su (B_2), Yu (B_3), Ut (B_2).
B_4	Calcutta, Bang. Sāh. Par. no. 1168, n.d., used for Yu only.
B_{102}	Śāntiniketan Viśvabhāratī no. 776, 1789, used for Bā, Ay Ar (B_2).
B_{103}	Calc. As. Soc. of Bengal no. G395, 1832, used for Bā Ay Ar (B_3) and Ki (B_2).
B_{104}	Id. no II.A.39, n.d., used for Bā only (B_4).
B_{204}	Calc. Univ. Libr. no. 764, n.d., used for Ay only (B_4).
B_{304}	Calc. As. Soc. of Bengal no. G4430, n.d., used for Ar (B_4) and Ki (B_3).
B_{404}	Cal. Bangīya Sāhitya Pariṣad no. 1434 (kha), 1798, used for Ki only (B_4).
$B_{503\text{-}4}$	Calc. Bangīya Sāhitya Pariṣad no. 94 and 1434 (gha), resp. used for Su only ($B_{3,\ 4}$).

II. Southern Recension.

1) Devanāgarī mss.

D_5	Ujjain no. 1357, 1766, used for Ar (D_4), Ki Yu Ut (D_5).

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D_6	Baroda Professor Bhatt, 1774, used for all kāṇḍas: Bā (D_4), Ay (D_{g1}), Ar (D_{g1}), Ki Yu Ut (D_6), Su (D_5).
D_7	Poona no. 844, 1776, used for Ar (D_{m1}), Su (D_8), Yu Ut (D_7).
D_9	Ujjain no. 1611, 1781, used for Bā (D_{10}), Ay (D_4), Ar (D_5), Ki (D_7), Su (D_6), Yu Ut (D_9).
D_{10}	Ujjain no. 1633, 1831, used for Bā Ki (D_8), Su (D_7), Yu Ut (D_{10}).
D_{11}	Jodhpur unnumbered, n.d., used for Bā (D_t), Ay Ar (D_{t1}), Ki (D_{10}), Su (D_9), Yu Ut (D_{11}).

2) Telugu mss.

T_1	Madras Adyar no. 72372, n.d., used for all kāṇḍas.
T_2	Id. no. 75597, n.d., used for Bā Ay Ar (T_3), Ki Su Yu (T_2).
T_3	Id. no. 74122, 1808, used for Ki Su Yu Ut (T_3).
T_{102}	Id. no. 72393, n.d., used for Bā only (T_2).

3) Grantha mss.

G_1	Baroda no. 6362, 1818, used for all kāṇḍas.
G_2	Trippunithura no. 152, n.d., used for all kāṇḍas.
G_3	Ahmedabad, privately owned, n.d., used for all kāṇḍas.

4) Malayālam mss.

M_1	Trippunithura no. 158, 1690, used for Bā Ay (M_2), Ar Ki Su Yu (M_1).
M_2	Id. no. 953, 1642, used for Su Utt.
M_3	Chundampatta, n.d., used for Ki Su Yu Ut.
M_5	Trivandrum no. 13366, n.d., used for Yu Ut.
M_{103}	Kumplangad, 1823, used for Bā (M_3), Ar Ki (M_2).
M_{104}	Trippunithura no. 159, n.d., used for Bā (M_4), Ay (M_3).
M_{204}	Chunangad, privately owned, n.d., used for Ay (M_4), Ar (M_3). It shows « influence of the N recension », Introduction AyK. p. xix.

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AMALIA PEZZALI *

BODHISATTVA ET PRAJÑĀPĀRAMITĀ, L'ESSENCE DU MADHYAMAKA

Le grand tournant dans l'histoire du bouddhisme est représenté par l'événement du Mahāyāna ou « grand véhicule», qui se produit à peu près au début de l'ère chrétienne, autour du sixième siècle de la naissance du Buddha.

Le Mahāyāna se donnait de soi-même sa propre dénomination pour indiquer qu'il était la « route maitresse » et le plus fidèle interprète de la parole du Buddha.

En effet, depuis le début, au sein du bouddhisme il y avait eu des adeptes qui montraient un fort attrait pour la mystique. Ils furent eux, probablement, qui firent développer le courant du bouddhisme mahāyānique [1].

L'idéal de sainteté évolue, alors, dans le sens qu'on ne se soucie plus de devenir « parfait » (*arhant*) en parcourant un chemin strictement fixé et en pratiquant une discipline marquée par une observance scrupuleuse et pédante pour rejoindre le nirvāṇa [2]. Maintenant on s'interesse plutôt à parvenir à la « bouddhéité », c'est-à-dire à conquérir l'état de buddha, tout en restant dans le cycle des existences (*saṃsāra*) pour pouvoir aider tout être à se sauver. Cesse ainsi l'exaltation de la vie monastique comme le seul chemin sûr pour vaincre au plus vite la soif (*tṛṣṇā*) ou désir et ses conséquences, conception qui s'appuyait, en effet, sur un calcul très froid d'avantage personnel, et on se tourne vers l'idéal plus généreux du « bodhisattva », ce nouveau saint, qui peut si bien être un laïque et qui accomplit des bonnes actions (*kuśalakarma*), animé de grande compassion (*mahākaruṇā*). Les adeptes du Mahāyāna ne sont plus attirés par des vertus établies sur le renoncement, mais on choisit plutôt d'imiter les exploits du Buddha dans ses vies anté-

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1. Cf. E. FRAUWALLNER, *Die Philosophie des Buddhismus*, Berlin (Akademie Verlag), 1956, p. 143 (Texte der Indischen Philosophie 2).

2. Cf. O. BOTTO, *Buddha e il buddhismo*, Fossano (Esperienze), 1974, pp. 136-38.

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rieures, remplies d'amour pour les êtres, préférant réaliser des perfections (*pāramitā*) mieux adaptées à des gens qui restaient dans leur milieu habituel.

Dans le Mahāyāna la bouddhologie se formule avec une majeure complexité parce que le Buddha historique perd de l'importance. Les masses qui se convertissaient au bouddhisme, éprouvaient la nécessité d'avoir affaire à un Buddha vivant et un saint disparu à jamais dans le nirvāṇa n'était guère utile. Pour répondre à cette attente on insiste à identifier le Buddha avec sa doctrine et on développe la théorie des trois corps (*trikāya*) du Buddha, le corps de la Loi (*dharmakāya*), le corps joyeux (*saṃbhogakāya*) et le corps apparitionel (*nirmāṇakāya*).

Du point de vue spéculatif le bouddhisme, qui depuis le début avait nié l'existence d'un sujet (*pudgalanairātmya*) comme entité permanente (*ātman* ou *pudgala*), obéissant à sa dynamique intérieure, ira plus loin et niera aussi l'existence de l'objet (*dharmanairātmya*) comme entité en soi (*svabhāva*).

L'individu n'avait été conçu que comme un ensemble de cinq aggrégats (*skandha*), qui se dissout au moment de la mort. Or ce sont les éléments de l'existence (*dharma*) qui maintenant sont mis en jeu. Ils n'existent pas, mais il y a seulement leur manière d'être (*dharmatā*).

Les deux écoles du Mahāyāna, l'école mādhyamika et l'école vijñānavāda ou yogācāra, donnèrent chacune leur réponse au problème qu'une telle conception soulève, ainsi que les différentes sectes du « petit véhicule » (*hīnayāna*) avaient élaboré chacune une interprétation particulière de la parole du Buddha.

Les idées nouvelles furent exprimées dans des oeuvres appelées, dans leur ensemble, les *Mahāyānasūtra*. Ces *sūtra* auraient été prêchés par le Buddha lui-même à une assemblée choisie de bodhisattva, et conservés ensuite dans des endroits sûrs et bien surveillés pour être diffusés en temps convenable.

Nāgārjuna, le fondateur ou en tout cas un des premiers philosophes de l'école mādhyamika, selon la légende, aurait récuperé les *Mahāyānasūtra* dans les palais des *nāga* dans la profondeur de la mer et les aurait fait connaître au monde. En effet, on peut plutôt dire qu'il donna une base philosophique aux idées nouvelles éparpillées dans les *Mahāyānasūtra* du début, à savoir les différents *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra*, qui constituent la première littérature du « grand véhicule ».

Nāgārjuna donna, donc, à ces idées le fondement spéculatif qui leur était nécessaire et, ensuite, il développa toute une interprétation en utilisant sa fameuse dialectique et son sens critique si perspicace de façon à aboutir à la conclusion que tout est vide (*śūnya*) comme entité en soi (*svabhāva*).

La manière d'être des choses (*dharmatā*) est la vacuité (*śūnyatā*). Elle est la vertu de sagesse (*prajñāpāramitā*) que le bodhisattva doit acquérir, lumière et synthèse de toutes autres perfections (*pāramitā*). Elle n'a pas de dualité (*advayadharma*) et est juste là la cause par

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laquelle la vacuité (*śūnyatā*) peut-être à bon droit considérée comme la vraie nature des éléments conditionnés (*saṃskṛtadharma*).

Le sage de l'école mādhyamika n'adhère à aucune vue particulière, voire opinion (*dṛṣṭi*), parce que toute vue particulière est un extrême (*anta*) et pour cela elle éloigne du chemin du milieu (*madhyamā pratipad*). Par contre la perfection de la sagesse (*prajñāpāramitā*) n'a aucun aspect déterminé (*nimitta*). Tout ce qui est limité ne peut être accepté que du point de vue empirique, en tant que projection phénoménale. Mais déterminé et indéterminé sont eux aussi des opposés et comme tels ils sont vides (*śūnya*) en soi. Ils s'identifient toutefois sur le plan de la vacuité (*śūnyatā*). Le bon chemin sera alors à être percé entre deux possibilités de saisir ou repousser. C'est bien l'attitude de Nāgārjuna qui s'abstient également d'affirmer et de nier. Il précise qu'il faut viser à la connaissance indiscriminée (*prajñāpratyakṣa*) qui est la perfection du savoir (*prajñāpāramitā*). Il ne s'agit donc pas d'une connaissance discursive (*prapāñcajñāna*), mais d'une connaissance intuitive. On sera alors bien loin des déterminations, divisions et particularités.

Pour Nāgārjuna chaque chose (*dharma*) est vide (*śūnya*) de nature propre (*svabhāva*) et elle n'existe que par rapport à son contraire.

La connaissance (*jñāna*) est illusoire. Si, en effet, il n'y a ni sujet ni objet par cette raison même la connaissance est sans fondement.

Dans la vacuité (*śūnyatā*) il n'y a qu'égalité (*samatā*) de tout, il n'y a ni commencement ni fin. Elle est indépendante de toute chose (*aparapratyaya*), elle n'a pas de dualité (*advaya*) ni d'unité (*ekārtha*), parce que dualité et unité sont des conceptions (*saṃkalpa*). La vacuité (*śūnyatā*) est calme (*śānta*), indéterminée (*animitta*), indifférenciée (*nirguṇa*) et ineffable (*anabhilāpya*). Elle est le chemin du milieu (*madhyamā pratipad*), percé entre l'être et le néant.

L'ignorance à supprimer, pour Nāgārjuna, est la « non découverte » de la vacuité (*śūnyatā*), une ignorance qui cache la vacuité dans le « fourreau » du connaissable (*jñeya*). Les phénomènes contingents se réduisent à l'identité ou égalité (*samatā*) dans une inexistence foncière.

La vacuité (*śūnyatā*) n'est pas du tout ce que notre esprit peut bâtir sous le nom de réel, c'est-à-dire une construction mentale, simple imagination (*saṃkalpa*) du réel. Elle ne transcende pas les éléments (*dharma*) parce qu'elle est leur nature propre (*dharmatā*). Transcendance et immanence, pour Nāgārjuna, sont des extrêmes (*anta*), donc, des constructions imaginaires. Ainsi il n'a pas de sens non plus de faire une distinction entre l'ordre gnoséologique et l'ordre ontologique, toute division appartenant purement au plan phénoménal.

Le madhyamaka soutient que la libération (*mokṣa*) de la douleur (*duḥkha*) à poursuivre comporte le dépouillement de toute construction mentale (*saṃkalpa*); il faut surmonter toute opposition et toute dichotomie, en d'autres termes on doit quitter le règne de l'agitation et des concepts et franchir tout ce qui a affaire avec la vérité de surface

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(*saṃvṛtisatya*), c'est-à-dire avec le monde relatif, et par conséquent avec la transmigration (*saṃsāra*).

Par son criticisme Nāgārjuna se charge de déblayer la voie de toutes ces vues fausses (*dṛṣṭi*) et élimine ainsi tout obstacle; on peut finalement entrer dans le nirvāṇa qui est le vrai calme (*śānti*).

La dialectique de l'école mādhyamika conduit à la vacuité (*śūnyatā*), qui est perfection du savoir (*prajñāpāramitā*), elle ne fait pas le vide (*śūnya*) pour le remplir de Dieu, mais on peut quand même admettre que la tendance mystique déjà présente dans le bouddhisme s'accentue ici et apparait évidente dans le *Bodhicaryāvatāra* de Śāntideva [3].

Pour l'école mādhyamika le bodhisattva, le héros du « grand véhicule », dans son chemin ascétique, ou « dans sa descente dans la carrière de l'éveil ou de l'illumination » (*bodhicaryāvatāra*) se trouve à faire face à deux perspectives [4], il doit viser à la perfection de la sagesse (*prajñāpāramitā*) et, pourvu de grande compassion (*mahākaruṇā*), il doit aider les êtres à devenir mûrs (*sattvaparipācana*) pour obtenir l'excellente connaissance omnisciente (*anuttara sarvajñājñāna*).

Le bodhisattva est bien lié a tous les êtres et il ne peut pas, même pour un seul moment, penser à son propre bonheur d'une façon égoïste (*svahita*). Dans son progrès spirituel il doit toujours tenir compte des autres (*parahita*) et de leur salut. Mais il faut savoir clairement que le chemin du bodhisattva, comme de tout bouddhiste, est une voie de connaissance (*jñānamārga*) et que l'aspiration du saint mahāyāniste se réalise dans une telle perspective. Le bodhisattva pour parcourir ladite voie ne doit pas accumuler nombre d'informations ou étudier plusieurs sciences, mais il doit plutôt acquérir la perfection du savoir (*prajñāpāramitā*), qui est le nec plus ultra de la sagesse (*prajñā*). Et ce savoir est bien le chemin du milieu (*madhyamā pratipad*), un chemin droit qui ne se perd pas dans des domaines particuliers, mais il va au de là des extrêmes (*anta*), des différentes opinions (*dṛṣṭi*), parce qu'il se développe dans une dimension diverse: de la vérité de surface (*saṃvṛtisatya*) on passe à la vérité absolue (*paramārthasatya*) qui n'est pas sûrement l'opposé de la précédente parce qu'elle n'est pas sur le même plan [5].

Le bodhisattva, quand il commence son chemin spirituel, comme première chose, doit produire la pensée de l'illumination ou de l'éveil (*bodhicittam utpādayati*) et doit formuler l'intention de viser à l'illumination, ou éveil, suprême et parfaite (*anuttarā samyaksaṃbodhi*) et assurer le bonheur à tous les êtres. Naturellement cela est possible seulement avec l'exercise (*śikṣā*) de la perfection du savoir (*prajñāpāramitā*) qui une fois de plus se présente comme le soutien et le but du

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3. Cf. A. Pezzali, *Śāntideva, mystique bouddhiste des VII et VIII siècles*, Firenze (Vallecchi), 1968, pp. 119, 130-34.

4. Cf. E. Lamotte, *Le traité de la grande vertu de sagesse, de Nāgārjuna (Prajñāpāramitāśāstra)*, IV, Louvain (Inst. Orient. de l'Univ.), 1976, p. V.

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chemin. Sans la *prajnāpāramitā* le bodhisattva ne pourra jamais réaliser son voeu. Son chemin est bien sûr très long. Il doit s'approcher de la *bodhi* graduellement et acquérir toutes les vertus en détruisant totalement les passions (*kleśa*). Il doit arriver à connaitre la réalité (*tathatā*) des éléments, leur façon d'être (*dharmatā*), c'est-à-dire connaître tous leur aspects (*sarvākārajñatā*) ou en définitive qu'ils sont sans caractère (*alakṣana*).

Après la période préparatoire le bodhisattva entre dans la première terre, qui est « joyeuse » (*pramuditābhūmi*) et puis l'une après l'autre il parcourt toutes les dix terres (*daśabhūmi*). Son but est de parvenir à la dixième terre, qui est appelée la « terre du nuage de la Loi » (*dharmameghābhūmi*) parce que c'est là que le bodhisattva aura l'illumination, ou éveil, suprême et parfaite (*anuttarā samyaksaṃbodhi*).

A la différence de l'*arhant*, le bodhisattva, quand il arrive à la fin de son chemin, renonce à entrer dans le nirvāṇa sans conditions restantes (*parinirvāṇa*) pour accomplir son voeu de sauver les êtres. Ainsi à cause de son propre idéal, le bodhisattva doit renoncer à la sagesse des Buddha, il s'arrête à un savoir à peine inférieur et il réalise un pseudo-nirvāṇa (*apratiṣṭhitanirvāṇa*) qui ne le détache pas, en effet, du *saṃsāra*. Son savoir lui donne la libération (*vimukti*), parce qu'il détruit définitivement les passions (*kleśa*), même s'il n'élimine pas leur relents (*vāsanā*) ou imprégnations. Le bodhisattva peut tout de même abandonner son corps de chair (*māṃsakāya*) et prendre un nouveau corps, né de l'élément fondamental (*dharmadhātujakāya*), qui lui permettra d'exercer la grande compassion (*mahākaruṇā*) et sauver les êtres.

En effet, le bodhisattva connaît les différents chemins des êtres, mais il sait aussi qu'il y a un seul chemin: la vacuité (*śūnyatā*), qui est la manière d'être des choses (*dharmatā*), c'est-à-dire il a la conviction que les *dharma* sont sans caractères (*alakṣaṇa*).

En autres mots, à la fin de son chemin, le bodhisattva possède la connaissance des chemins (*mārgajñatā*) et la connaissance des aspects de chemins (*mārgākārajñatā*).

Dans son parcours, le saint du Mahāyāna, après avoir obtenu l'équipement en mérites (*puṇyasaṃbhara*) acquiert le lignage (*gotra*) des Buddha. C'est alors que paraissent en lui les graines (*bīja*) des perfections (*pāramitā*) et il devient ainsi un débutant (*ādikarmika*). Tout de suite nait en lui la pensée de la *bodhi*, qui le transforme en bodhisattva. Alors en présence d'un buddha ou d'un bodhisattva plus avancé il prend le voeu (*praṇidhi*) de se consacrer au salut des tous les êtres et il commence la pratique des vertus.

Les six perfections (*pāramitā*): du don (*dāna*), de la moralité (*śīla*), de la patience (*kṣānti*), de l'énergie (*vīrya*), de la méditation (*dhyāna*)

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5. Cf. K. Venkata Ramanan, *Nāgārjuna's Philosophy as presented in the Mahā-Prajñāpāramitā-Śāstra*, London (Books from India Ltd.), 1976², pp. 138-41.

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et de la sagesse (*prajñā*) sont suivies par la perfection de l'habileté des moyens salvifiques (*upāyakauśalya*), le voeu (*praṇidhāna*), la force (*bala*) et la connaissance (*jñāna*), par rapport aux dix terres (*bhūmi*), ou étapes du chemin [6].

En réalité, les vertus propres au bodhisattva, qui peut bien être un laïque, sont le don (*dāna*) de soi même, de tout ce que lui appartient et des ses mérites, et la sagesse (*prajñā*), qui est la pénétration (*vipaśyanā*) du vrai caractère des *dharma*, c'est-à-dire qu'ils sont sans caractère (*alakṣaṇa*).

Quand le bodhisattva arrive à la huitième terre qui est « immobile » (*ācalabhūmi*) sa conviction que les dharma ne naissent pas (*anutpattikadharmakṣānti*) [7] est définitive. Il a alors la certitude d'arriver à la bouddhéité en entrant dans la «position de bodhisattva » (*bodhisattvaniyāma*) ou « de la Loi » (*dharmaniyāma*). Il pourra ainsi parcourir les trois dernières terres d'une façon aisée, en faisant le bien des êtres sans aucun effort.

Le nirvāṇa est là où cessent concepts et discours, où il n'y a plus de connaissance discursive (*prapāñcajñāna*); parce qu'on sait que les *dharma* ne naissent pas, on est dans la béatitude (*śiva*).

Mais le bodhisattva ne s'arrête pas là, il pense plutôt à appliquer ses mérites (*puṇyapariṇāmanā*) aux êtres, à les rendre contents en satisfaisant leur désirs.

On l'a déjà dit, le but du bodhisattva a deux perspectives: acquérir la vraie sagesse (*prajñāpāramitā*) et faire mûrir les êtres pour la suprême omniscience omnisciente (*anuttara sarvajñājñāna*).

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6. Cf. H. Dayal, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature*, Delhi (Banarsidass), 1970², pp. 165-269.

7. Cf. Lamotte, *Traité*, IV, p. VI.

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MARIO PIANTELLI

THE CONCEPTION OF THE TWO *DṚṢṬI*-S IN ŚAṄKARA'S BṚHADĀRAṆYAKOPANIṢADBHĀṢYA I, 4, 10

Τὸ μὴ δῦνόν ποτε πῶς ἄν τις λάθοι;

Heraclitus of Ephesus, *apud* CLEMENS of Alexandria, *Paedagogus*, II, 99, 5.

The passage in Śaṅkara's commentary on *BĀU* I, 4, 10 [1] dealing with the distinction between *nityā* and *anityā dṛṣṭi*-s gives us a poignant analysis of the difficulties as well as of the implications to be discovered in the process of individuating *ātman* through his role as *sākṣin* in actual experience.

Such a distinction, which is outlined following the thread of thought developed in the same *upaniṣad* under the venerable name of Yājñavalkya [2], is not always present to the mind of expositors and critics of *Kevalādvaitavāda*. They consequently quite often happen to misunderstand the very core of the *sākṣin*'s doctrine [3]. The following brief considerations endeavour to bring into attention the set of ideas contained in the aforementioned discussion on the part of the great *Ācārya*, amongst the richer and most interesting items found in his whole masterpiece.

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1. The abbreviation « *BĀU* » stands henceforth for « *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad* ».
2. See *BĀU* II, 4, 14; III, 4, 2; III, 7, 23; IV, 3, 23 ff.
3. Cfr. for instance: O. LACOMBE, *L'Absolu selon le Védânta. Les notions de Brahman et d'Atman dans les systèmes de Çankara ed Râmânoudja*, Paris², 1966, pp. 231 ff., who writes of a « *jugement réflexe* » being the form of actualization of the « *conscience de Soi* » and theorizes some sort of experience of *ātman* in which « *le sujet personnel qui se sert des organs et des normes se saisit immédiatement lui-même sans leur secours* »; N. K. DEVARAJA, *An Introduction to Śaṅkara's Theory of Knowledge*, Delhi-Varanasi-Patna, 1962, pp. 180 f., where he constructs *ātman*'s undeniability as pertaining to « empirical self », accusing Śaṅkara of confounding it with « pure *cit* » in his « enthusiasm to vindicate the self-established character of the self »; D. SINHA, *The Idealist Standpoint. A Study in the Vedantic Metaphysic of Experience*, Calcutta, 1965, pp. 140 ff., who asserts that « *Cit*-essence » is « obtained from within the region of " purified " subjective experience in the wake of transcendental reflection » and it is « marked by *knowability* » (italics by the author) at its terminal stage; K. SATCHIDANANDA MURTY, *Revelation and Reason in Advaita Vedānta*, Delhi-Varanasi-Patna², 1974, p. 255, who speaks of an « intuition of the One without the manifold » in which the self « perceives itself as the One ».

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I.i. *Introduction of the Role as* Sākṣin *as a Means of Individuation of* Ātman.

The argument given in *BĀU* III, 4, 2 for the unknowability of *ātman* is not felt by Śaṅkara simply to answer such a purpose. In his mind, it implies, side by side with its admitted function in the complex texture of the *upaniṣad* [4], a clear definition of the very notion of *ātman* as related to the field of actual experience. Such a definition appears to be needful, in so far as we otherwise would lack any concrete presentation of ultimate Reality, since it transcends in itself each and every objectual content of our awareness [5]. In the case that the upholder of *aupaniṣada* soteriology were unable to point out his *svābhāvikātman* in terms of what we directly undergo [6], as requested on the part of both adversaries and pupils, his views would prove to be stranger to that very consciousness which they purpourt to discover in the ever-abiding light of *Brahman* [7].

In the *Bhāṣyakāra*'s discussion, the full definition is reached step by step. A *prima facie* formulation desumed from *BĀU* III, 4, 2 is firstly presented, in order to show the difficulties arising from the attempt to enucleate the subject inside the field of our several cognitive processes in everyday life. Only in face of the failure to cope with such difficulties is the final formulation, as found in the text of the *upaniṣad*, brought out. The peculiar genitives of internal object that characterize the text under discussion are, in this way, introduced as following by logical necessity from the inefficiency of a plain linguistic expression of *ātman*'s role as *sākṣin*. Far from being acknowledged as some idiosyncrasy of the *Śruti*'s dicta, they are seen as an indispensable device to convey a portrayal of a Reality in itself metalinguistic.

The *prima facie* formulation as expressed in the sketchy statement « *draṣṭā śrotā mantā vijñātā sa ātmeti* » lends itself to different readings. On one hand, it closely follows the structure of Yājñavalkya's own exposition, with the obvious view of preparing the ground for the proof of the soundness thereof; on the other hand, the first two *nomina agentis* seem to bring in something more. Being employed to describe the same entity, they point out the unity of experiencing behind the various sense-processes. Now, such unity is held by the canonical *Naiyāyika* systema-

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4. Namely justifying the elusion of Uṣasta's pressing questions.

5. See for instance Śaṅkara's remarks *ad Kenopaniṣad* (*pada*) I, 4: « *Viditaṃ nāma yad vidikriyayātiśayenāptaṃ vidikriyā karmabhūtam / kvacitkiñcitkasyacitviditaṃ syād iti sarvam eva vyākṛtaṃ viditam eva tasmād anyad eva ity arthaḥ* » and *ad* II, 3: « *avijñātam amatam aviditam eva brahma vijanātāṃ samyagviditavatām ity etat* ».

6. « *Pratyakṣam* » in the text under discussion.

7. For such a danger, cfr. for instance the criticism in regard of the *Madhyamika*-like character assumed by apophatic approach to Reality when not riding at the anchor of actual experience in *Upadeśasāhasrī* (*padyabandha*) III, 3: « *paratra cen niṣedhārthaṃ śūnyatāvarṇanaṃ hi tat* // ».

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tization to furnish us with a ground for inferring *ātman*'s existence apart from the senses and over them [8]. It is difficult to resist the suggestion of the idea that Śaṅkara is keeping well in view this argument, while treating the very theme to which it pertains. Taking into account the third *nomen agentis*, one is bound to note that it brings into the picture even the objects of experience consisting in internal feelings brought out through the *antaḥkaraṇa*: in point of fact, the appellation « *mantṛ* » is immediately evocatory of *matisādhana* [9].

But there is also a third level of reading. Since, instead of Gautama's *sparśana*, the function of hearing is singled out to be juxtaposed to *darśana* in our text, the full team of *nomina agentis* in it actually covers the scope of the entire human knowledge. *Ātman* is individuated as the single common subject of each one of the several forms of such knowledge gained through the various *pramāṇa*-s [10].

The line of argumentation for which Śaṅkara is possibly indebted to *Nyāya* is thereby made more substantial, and all-embracing in its implications: it is extended enough to infer a *sākṣin* whose role is intimate to every kind of objectual experience.

I.ii. *Difficulties Implicit in the Aforementioned Means of Individuation.*

The objection arisen against the *prima facie* formulation of *ātman*'s description shows how keen was Śaṅkara's awareness of the impasses to be met while maintaining, in the fashion of the *Naiyāyika*-s, the doctrine of an unitary role of *sākṣin* in the plurality of our experiences as the individuating feature thereof.

Albeit such a role be construed as a proof of actual existence, it, when closely examined, is discovered not to be useful at all for pointing out a concrete entity. As it is expressed in the *prima facie* statement, it but sums up a bundle of several distinct roles, each one of them being adventitious in regard of *ātman* in himself. Nor can we hope to make away with their adventitiousness simply by taking them all together: as every one fails, when considered in its own likeness, to give us a criterion for understanding *ātman* as he is, in his peculiar, substantial reality, they are not able to succeed, even when collectively adhibited to it, in such a task. The core of the problem is to be found in the relation between *ātman* and his field of experience: does it entail any kind of ultimate solidarity or continuity binding them, or does it prove to be merely extrinsic in regard of the subject?

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8. Cfr. for instance *Nyāyasūtra* III, 1, 1-3.

9. Cfr. Vātsyāyana's remarks *ad Nyāyasūtra* III, 1, 16: « *evam mantuḥ sarvaviṣayasya matisādhanam manaḥkaraṇabhūtaṃ sarvaviṣayaṃ vidyate yenāyam manyata iti* ».

10. The *draṣṭṛ* being the subject of the cognitive processes collected under the head of *pratyakṣa*, the *śrotṛ* of the apprehension by way of authority and the diad *mantṛ-vijñātṛ* of the other processes of knowledge in which mediate as well as immediate understanding plays a prominent part, beginning with *anumāna*.

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The objection under discussion takes up the second view, which is a well-known tenet of the *Kāṇāda*-s, and as such may lawfully be brought in when criticizing the coherence of a cognate *darśana*'s position. Besides, there is some evidence that to Śaṅkara's mind this view appeared to be quite sound in the logical perspective. While dealing with the doctrine of the adventitiousness of *caitanya* [11], he marshals his arguments on the mere ground of *Śruti*'s utterances, as usual when he feels that a tenet be scarcely confutable on the basis of actual experience and of its extention by way of a rational approach.

In point of fact, the strenght of the critic's contention in our passage could not — at least on the face of it — be greater. Let us admit, for the sake of the argument, that some kind of solidarity or continuity between *ātman* and experience be given. The desirability of such an admission is evident, since we are not aware of any independent feature of *ātman*, beside his role or roles inside the field of experience, enabling us to individuate him therein [12], and his solidarity with such field is an obvious condition for pointing him out through its medium.

But then, the manifoldness which everybody ascertains to affect the very field under consideration, together with mutability, *duḥkhatva* and other undesirable features which are intimately interrelated with it, shall of necessity affect *ātman* too, compromising his unity, immutability and freedom. If we deny that such is the case, it is very difficult to see how we shall be able consistently to deny even the ultimate adventitiousness of *ātman*'s involvement in his roles, which connect him with his field of experience. The dilemma is, either *ātman* is found to be affected by experience's limitations, or his relationship with the ground of such limitations does not, in reality, concern him in his own nature: the price to pay for the lofty notion of the *sākṣin* seems to be the absence of any cue in respect of *ātmānubhava* to be discovered thereby!

I.iii. *Solution of the Difficulties.*

To unweave the riddle, *ātman*'s role inside the pale of our experience must be construed in such a way, as to allow for his utmost independence from the changing features in objectual world and in the knowledge thereof, at the same time accounting for the actual *svarūpatva* of his function of *sākṣin* in our cognitive horizon. Śaṅkara endeavours to meet both these requirements, while turning to advantage the text of *Śruti* in *BĀU* III, 4, 2. He manages to accomplish such remarkable feat by a redoublement of *ātman*'s position in the cognitive processes. He delineate a distinction between a first, inferior position, which is fully

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11. See *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya* II, 3, 18.

12. Cfr. Śaṅkara's remarks *ad Kenopaniṣad* (*pada*) I, 2: « *Yadi hi śrotrādivyāpāravyatiriktena svavyāpāreṇa viśiṣṭaḥ śrotrādiniyoktā avagamyeta dātrādiprayoktṛtvāt tadedam ananurūpam prativacanaṃ syāt / na tv iha śrotrādīnām prayoktā svavyāpāraviśiṣṭo lavitrādivad adhigamyate /* ».

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solidary with these processes, founding his roles in their regard, but whose adventitiousness in respect of *ātman* himself is openly admitted, and a second, superior one, which is not adventitious and can be identified with the true *sākṣitva*. The distance of this second position of *ātman* from the cognitive processes, which it nevertheless makes possible, is granted by its connection with them via the first one, acting, as it were, in the wise of some kind of separating filter between *ātman* and the negative features of objectual world.

II.i. *The Redoublement of Going in Nāgārjuna's* Mūlamadhyamakakārikā *as a Possible Source of Inspiration for Śaṅkara's Solution.*

The idea of the redoublement may have been suggested to the *Ācārya* by previous works. The first association that it recalls to our mind, is with an older paradoxical construction, whose original scope and function scarcely had anything to do with the problems pertaining to *ātman*'s individuation.

A cue for such association is to be found in the first of the two examples brought as a support to the objection advanced against the *prima facie* formulation. This example tends to show the unsatisfactoriness of any definition given in terms of a process of action in which the role of agent is played by the definiendum, precisely by pointing out the adventitiousness implied by such a criterion: « *na hi gamir eva gantuḥ svarūpam* ». To our knowledge, the first appearence of a structurally identical assumption, albeit of opposite sense, is found in the reduction on the part of the *Mādhyamika*-s of the ultimate reality of the *gantṛ* to his *gamikriyā* [13]. Such reduction, which seems to be suggested by the equipollency between *bhāva* and *kriyā* held by the *Sautrāntika*-s in the perspective of their doctrine of *kṣaṇamātrāstitva*, or by a similar conception, is introduced by the subtle dialecticians of the School of Void but for the sake of showing the absurdity of the whole process of action as envisaged through the deforming media of our linguistic categories. Of course, in the case of their tenets it would be quite wrong to read the ultimate reality of the *gantṛ* in the same light in which we read *svarūpatva* in other schools' treaties: here the metaphysical background is — abysmally! — different and the *gantṛ* is merely endowed with a *prajñaptisattā* for the sake of the argument. Yet, there is an undeniable familiar ring when we take into account the formulation of *Mādhyamika*-s side by side with Śaṅkara's one. Such being the case, we are entitled to look a little closer at their construction, in search of further parallel features. Perusing the text in which Nāgārjuna, apparently for the first time, introduced the example under

13. Cfr. for instance the clear statement made by Candrakīrti in his *Prasannapadā* II, 16, symmetrically opposed to the one put by Śaṅkara in the objector's mouth: « *vinā ca gamanaṃ gantṛvyāpadeśo nāsti* ».

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discussion, we shall find a distinction between two kinds of going. In its first version [14], this distinction is outlined between the going-in-itself, on which the *gamyamāna* depends for his being precisely such, and the going in its concrete, phenomenical occurrence, that takes place with the *gamyamāna* as its locus. In its second version [15], the distinction is conceived between going-in-itself on one side and actual going on the other, depending on the *gantṛ*, who is individuated through the former one.

Here we have a redoublement of the *gantṛ*'s ranking, as it were: while he proves to be utterly dependent from the going-in-itself, he is in his own turn dominant in regard of the actual going, which depends on him for its taking place. To construct his paradox, Nāgārjuna seemingly takes into account both the possible ways of understanding in terms of dependence the relation between an agent and his action [16].

Leaving aside the obvious remark that in the buddhist teacher's presentation the redoublement is simply instrumental, for the sake of criticizing the naive model of the process of action as implied by the teachings of other *darśana*-s, and is far from attending a serious attempt to understand such a process, the structural affinities with the redoublement adopted by Śaṅkara is unmistakable.

II.ii. *The Two* Śakti-*s in* Yogasūtra *as Another Possible Source of Inspiration for Śaṅkara's Solution.*

A second association recalled by the treatment on the part of Śaṅkara of the redoublement, is the one with the presentation of the *sākṣin* to be found in Patañjali's *Yogasūtra*. That one be committed to accept or to dismiss the authenticity of the *vivaraṇa* ascribed to the *Ācārya* which is found attached to this text, his allegiance to the concept of the *puruṣa*, as held by both *Sāṃkhya* — and *Yogadarśana*-s, in so far as it is not in contrast with the *aupaniṣada* tenets, cannot be denied [17].

Now, if we peruse the *sūtra*-s in search of some common feature with the passage under discussion, we shall firstly discover that the choosing on the part of Śaṅkara of the formulation « *dṛṣṭer draṣṭā* », of all possible ones, for his discussion, while it could depend on mere

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14. Cfr. *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* II, 5 f.: « *gamyamānasya gamane prasaktaṃ gamanadvaye / yena tad gamyamānaṃ ca yac cātra gamanam punaḥ //* » etc.

15. Cfr. *Ibidem*, II, 11: « *gamane dve prasajyete gantā yady uta gacchati / ganteti cājyate yena gantā san yac ca gacchati //* ».

16. In the first version of the distinction, Nāgārjuna takes in that relation merely in the sense of a dependence of the action on the agent, with the result of redoubling the agent himself, instead of his ranking in regard of the action: so the paradox concerns a first *gantṛ*, who is the agent of the atemporal and abstract action of going-in-itself, and a second one, who is the agent of empirical going.

17. See Śaṅkara's remarks *ad Brahmasūtra* II, 1, 3: « *yena tv aṃśena na virudhyete teneṣṭam eva sāṃkhyayogasmṛtyoḥ sāvakāśatvam / tad yathā 'saṅgo hy ayam puruṣaḥ* » etc.

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order of presentation in *Śruti*'s text, corresponds to the conception of Patañjali too. In his aphorisms, the theorist of *Yoga* selectes the very same role as individuating the nature of the subject: « *draṣṭā dṛśimātraḥ* »[18], while the term « *dṛśi* » finds a truly enthusiastic reception by the *Ācārya* in his own treating of the pure subject[19]. On the other hand, when describing the *kleśa* known as « *asmitā* », the *Sūtrakāra* distinguishes between a *dṛkśakti*, which is tantamount for the *sākṣin* himself, and a *darśanaśakti*, which is pertaining to the cognitive processes as apart from him[20]. We have here a redoublement that, when one recollects the *dṛśi* equipollent to the *puruṣa*, gives us two separate and distinct seeings, just as in Śaṅkara's construction. It is certainly difficult to dismiss the possibility that he is somewhat indebted to Patañjali for the formulation thereof.

III.i. *Introduction of the Genitives of Internal Object and Shifting from the Process of Action to the Cognitive One.*

Having shown the apparent untenability of the role as *sākṣin*, if presented in its *Naiyāyika*-like rough-cast formulation, as a criterion of *ātman*'s individuation, Śaṅkara causes his *uttarapakṣin* to quote in full the formulation given in *BĀU* III, 4, 2, with its genitives of internal object. The reaction of the opponent to such move is calculated to afford a hooking point for the gnoseological development of the fuller formulation: the *Bhāṣyakāra* makes him take for granted the distinction between *dṛṣṭi* and *draṣṭṛ*, following the very pattern of those between *gami* and *gantṛ* and between *chidi* and *chettṛ* that he himself has just being tracing, then proceed to show the adventitiousness implicit even in this richer formulation of the criterion. But, in delineating such new criticism, the opponent cannot any more stick to his former thread of

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18. *Yogasūtra* II, 20.

19. Cfr. for instance *Upadeśasāhasrī* (*padyabandha*) II, 3: « *dṛśir ekaḥ svayaṃsiddhaḥ* »; X, 1: « *dṛśisvarūpaṃ gaganopamam param* »; X, 2: « *dṛśis tu śuddho'ham avikriyātmako* »; XII, 9: « *dṛśirūpe sadā nitye darśanādarśane mayi kathaṃ syātām* »; XIV, 44: « *dṛśisvarūpeṇa hi sarvadehināṃ viyad yathā vyāpya manāṃsi* »; XVIII, 205: « *dṛśir evānubhūyate* ».

20. *Yogasūtra* II, 6: « *Dṛgdarśanaśaktyor ekātmatevāsmitā* ». As Vyāsa puts it, « *puruṣo dṛkśaktir buddhir darśanaśaktir iti* »; Bhoja develops the latter half of this statement: « *darśanaśaktī rajastamobhyām anabhibhūtaḥ sāttvikaḥ pariṇāmo 'ntaḥkaraṇarūpaḥ* ». Another distinction between two *śakti*-s is to be found in *Yogasūtra* II, 23, where they are said to be respectively *svaśakti* and *svāmiśakti*, where the second one obviously corresponds to *dṛkśakti* as well as to *citiśakti* spoken of in the same text, IV, 34). The term « *dṛkśakti* » may originally have been introduced referring to a more dynamical conception than that of the *puruṣa*: the connection of Patañjali's text with *Pāśupata* praxis (on which see D. N. Lorenzen, *The Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1972, p. 189 and n. 80) suggests the possibility that he is re-employing a key-word of that *darśana*, denoting a positive feature of *siddhi* as acquisition of *aiśvarya* as well as of *duḥkhānta*, which embodies the fivefold knowledge discovered in the subject once separated from his limited mind (cfr. on this argument *Pāśupatasūtra* I, 18 ff.).

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thought, treating experience as any simple process of action. As a matter of fact, he is now confronted with a formulation that stresses the character of role in a specifically cognitive process ascribed to the suggested element of individuation and a different argument has to be furnished, taking into account such freshly brought in perspective. This shifting of point of view is not bereft of importance: it is connected with the absolute otherness of knowledge in regard of action recurring as a sort of *leit-motive* in Śaṅkara's works [21] and the difference of treatment forced upon the *pūrvapakṣin* in the ensuing discussion may be considered as a further argument in favour of such idea.

III.ii. *Different Positions of Subject in the Process of Action and in the Cognitive One.*

While the subject as acting is, quite obviously, separated from his action, both because he may well dispense with it and because it, as it were, flows out from him as something extraneous, which but the principle of imputability will keep in connection with him (till his fruition of the action's results), the subject as knower is not playing so clean-cut a part in the cognitive process. His relation with *viṣaya*-s is deeper and more intimate: they are, true enough, something less real than he is, and as such absolutely different from him, but they keep depending on the subject for their very subsistence as *viṣaya*-s, just as Nāgārjuna's empirical going depends on the *gantṛ*. So they do not become, as the action's products, something exterior and more or less independent in regard of the subject's role.

In Śaṅkara's perspective, of course, their dependence is, from the point of view of absolute reality, as illusory as their separate subsistence and identity qua *viṣaya*-s: such a relation will plainly be severed at the moment of *mukti*, on the side of *viṣayin*. Nevertheless, on the side of *viṣaya*-s the intimateness thereof will persist, nay be intensified, their otherness being somewhat sublated.

Such being the case, the cognitive role's approach is much apter to convey the actual solidarity with the element — whose apparent extrin-

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21. The very independence and autonomy of *Vedānta* as a *pramāṇa* in its own right in face of Vedic *karmakāṇḍa*, against the *Mīmāṃsaka* tenets, depends on the otherness under discussion; the objective validity of knowledge, which is related only to the state of actual facts, as contrasted with *puruṣatantratva* of action, is the best guarantee of the meaningfulness of the *aupaniṣada* statements about *Brahman*, disproving the *Mīmāṃsaka* view that such statements are simply concerned with some fictitious mental representation for the sake of *upāsana*. Again, it is but the absence in the case of knowledge of those limitations regarding time, which pertain to action and its result, that enables us to maintain the eternity of the permanence in the state of *mukti*, while the peculiar structure of knowledge's results, being concerned only with the annihilation of mistakes and not of actually existing things, is the basis of the all-important ontological judgement pronounced in regard of the world considered as *māyā*.

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sicity is under discussion — employed to individuate the definiendum, than the approach through a process of action. On the other hand, when considered from the point of view of the subject himself, his relation with the process of knowledge as a whole is looser than the acting's relation with the process of action, which does not admit of an indifferent plurality of actions being correlated to the subject's role, but implies just one of them under such role (e.g. the *gantṛ* is such only in regard of the specific action of *gati*). The subject as knower not being submitted to any such limitation, since in his role there is scope for every possible object, he is disentangled from the dependence on a particular event. So, on the subject's side we find a road already traced for *ātman*'s independence in regard of changing features in objectual experience, while on the object's side the cognitive role's approach affords us a certain ease in conserving the continuity with the individuating element.

By trying to cut across the structural relationship binding *dṛṣṭi* with *draṣṭṛ*, in order to prove the first's adventitiousness in regard of the second, the opponent admirably serves Śaṅkara's purpose: that very task will actually be performed by the *uttarapakṣin*, founding on the ground of their ultimate dichotomy the entire gnoseological perspective of the *Ācārya*, whereas the solidarity between the experience and *sākṣin* will be left untouched.

III.iii. *Solidarity of the Subject with the Cognitive Process, notwithstanding his Independence therefrom.*

The opponent shifts to a new argument by maintaining that the subject as knower — in the selected instance the *draṣṭṛ* — cannot possibly be individuated through his role in the cognitive process either, since such a role is too wide, consisting as it does of the mere witnessing the cognitive process as an object, in the same way as any other object in our experience. The apparent specification given by the genitive of internal object is actually concerning not the subject as such, but his spectacle, which admittedly can be considered adventitious [22].

One is bound to remark that the independence of *ātman* is so vindicated, preparing the ground for the distinction of the two *dṛṣṭi-s*. But, before introducing that distinction, the setting apart of the subject from objectual experience would be premature indeed, because then we should not be able to keep his solidarity with it, as the opponent perceives. Therefore, Śaṅkara takes good care of refuting the objection at this stage, by pointing out that the witnessing on the part of the subject is a permanent feature of his.

In point of fact, while the subject as acting can easily be separed by such role, with which we can dispense as well as with the specific

22. « *Draṣṭā tu yadi dṛṣṭeḥ yadi vā ghaṭasya draṣṭā draṣṭaiva* ».

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action correlated with it, the case is quite different with the subject as knower. Because of the dependence on him of experience as a whole, he does not admit of any breach of his solidarity with his knowership, or with his knowing, for that matter, whenever the cognitive process takes place [23].

In support of his view, Śaṅkara appeals to the very structure of our experience: if there were an absolute discontinuity between the subject and his role as knower, there would be not only the implication of the possibility of his dispensing with it, a conclusion that *Kāṇāda*-s willingly accept and that indeed seems not to be unreasonable, but also of its dispensing with him, becoming in some way separated and autonomous in regard of the knower. We would face some instances in which objectual experience takes place without actually being witnessed by a subject, just as any other object winessed by us can subsist independently from our witnessing it. But such is not the case: not only our experience does not present these instances, but the very idea of them is not consistent with the structure of cognitive process as apprehended in our daily life.

III.iv. *Introduction of the Two* Dṛṣṭi-*s*.

While exposing his argument, Śaṅkara skilfully lets in a hint to an altogether different position of the subject in experience. He admits of a breach of solidarity, which is found to open between our witnessing and the object witnessed, intermittently present as it is in the cognitive process. Now, this second feature of such process, while not affecting *ātman*'s continuity with it as a whole, implies the existence of a second, inferior, role of his in regard of it [24]. The core of the solution is so reached: a critical examination of the genitive of internal object leads to the distinction between two dimensions, one permanent and the second fleeting, in experience, and to the consequent redoublement of *ātman*'s position in it.

The inferior position, which is structurally near to Nāgārjuna's empirical going, is continuous with cognitive process in its concreteness, but, depending as it does on the vicissitudes thereof, lacks a solidarity with *ātman* himself; it corresponds to *ātman*'s role as knower envisaged by the *Vaiśeṣika* doctrine, which is in this way absorbed into the wider perspective of Śaṅkara's construction. In contrast with it, the superior

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23. « *Na kadācid api dṛṣṭir na dṛśyate draṣṭā* ».

24. In contrast with the permanent character of the first role, which can be regarded as the exact counterpart of the permanent fact of being witnessed, the second one, as related to the different objects, is called « *anityā dṛṣṭi* », implicitly agreeing that the view expressed in the counter-objection does not apply in its instance, because the second role proves not to be solidary at all with *ātman*: « *tatra dṛśyā yā dṛṣṭiḥ sā kadācin na dṛśyetāpi yathā 'nityayā dṛṣṭyā ghaṭādi vastu* ».

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position, which we could somehow assimilate to Nāgārjuna's atemporal going-in-itself [25], being always solidary with *ātman* and therefore enabling us to individuate him through its medium, is not affected by the ephemeral contents in experience, but only entertains a relation with the cognitive process in itself. It is the unchanging ground of experience, the witnessing going on throughout each and every alteration undergone by the aforesaid contents. It is also the only available distinctive feature of subject inside our gnoseological horizon: either we treat it as his *svarūpa*, or we are left in the lurch with his utter inaccessibility to thought.

III.v. *Relation between the Two* Dṛṣṭi-*s.*

But if, by our individuation of him, we are able to recognize *ātman* as the *sākṣin* always present at the very bottom of our witnessing, as we *feel* such a witnessing, we are not empowered thereby to bring him before us, as it were, encompassing him like an object, as it is so often the case with the subject in Western philosophical outlook. The fact of witnessing in its higher dimension, being rid of solidarity with its contents, evidently cannot become one more instance of them, just as an abstract entity cannot become a concrete one. Yet *ātman*, as envisaged by Śaṅkara, is far from abstract. The *Bhāṣyakāra*'s device of individuation brings *sākṣin* inside the field of our awareness with immediate evidence as the very stuff, as it were, of which such awareness is made.

Instead of being too far from the scope of experience for our discovering him as a phenomenon inside it, *ātman* in his superior role is too near, as it were, to its core for allowing the involved cognitive operation, mediated through an intellectual ascertainment. Such is the price we need pay for the non-relational use of a relational definition: a result somewhat similar to the one obtained dealing with an abstract idea of the subject, it is true, even if the setting apart of the definiendum in respect of every and all particular features in actual experience is here achieved in a way *toto coelo* different from abstracting. At any rate, we are not able to seize hold of the permanent dimension in our experience, in the same way as an item thereof. The better we can do, on the intellectual level, is to work out a coherent structure of interpretation using symbols instead of actual concepts. Śaṅkara makes clear such limitations from the very beginning of his presentation of the two dimensions of experience.

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25. But the *Advaitin*'s notion is a much solider counterpart of the slender paradoxical construction of the Buddhist dialectician: through it, Śaṅkara invites our attention to the very fundamentals of our existence as knowing beings: our life's primordial reality, the less external one, whose absence or eclipsing is never met regardless of what is taking place in front of us. To a shrewdly conceived structure devised to show the inconsistencies of language's pattern relating to experience, what corresponds in the *aupaniṣada* theorization is a deep and sound approach to experience's inmost and concretest face, preceding every interpretation of it.

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The device of this presentation is a *praśna* arising from the previous introduction on the part of the *uttarapakṣin* of the idea of *anityā dṛṣṭi*: « *kiṃ dve dṛṣṭī draṣṭur nityādṛśyānityā dṛśyeti* »; the knowability of *ātman*'s two roles becomes in this way of opposite sign in regard of their permanence and solidarity with *āman* himself. We have here the full measure of Śaṅkara's genius in coordinating the exigencies of his views with the natural features of gnoseological perspective: are we faced with an objectifiable *anityā dṛṣṭi* and an unobjectifiable *nityā* one? Well then, *anityā dṛṣṭi* will prove to be the object witnessed by *ātman*, who, as a subject, will be recognized to be the same as the *nityā* one, which is his own *svarūpa. Nityā dṛṣṭi* consequently witnesses as *sākṣin* the *anityā* one: such is the only relation intelligibly configurable between them: not an ontological, but a gnoseological one. On one side we have the whole objectual world, together with the inferior dimension of cognitive processes connecting us with it, including our role in respect of such connection as well; on the other side, there is the subjective counterpart of the fact of being witnessed by us, the only constant feature uniting the ephemeral events of our daily experience into some sort of continuity and perennity: « *nityam eva paśyan* ». Our role on the first side becomes, as it were, the shadow of this second, superior one: a shadow occasionally cast to touch objectual world in its intermittent manifestation, and participating in its objectual character by the very act of touching it. The nexus is one-sided between the two *dṛṣṭi*-s: while the *anityā* one, as a shadow, can subsist only in the presence of the casting *nityā* reality and of the objects touched through it, its own presence, as well as the objects' one, can very well be dispensed with by the superior *dṛṣṭi*.

III.vi. *Implications of the Aforesaid Relation.*

The apophatical trend in the *Upaniṣad*-s, constituting the backbone of the *Kevalādvaita* reading of *Brahman*'s trans-notional presentation therein, finds in the articulation of the two *dṛṣṭi*-s a new perspicuity. The one-sidedness of such articulation explains *ātman*'s inaccessibility to objectual apprehension: « *nivartate hi draṣṭur viṣayadṛṣṭyākāṅkṣā tadasambhavād eva / na hy avidyamāne viṣaye ākāṅkṣā kasyacid upajāyate / na ca dṛśyā dṛṣṭir draṣṭāraṃ viṣayīkartum utsahate / yatas tām ākāṅkṣeta* ». The fact that Śaṅkara chooses to configurate *ātman*'s hypothetic apprehension as taking place through his inferior role in experience, is quite significant. He refuses to make appeal to any « intuitional » approach in substitution of normal cognitive processes, which at their best can but give us the indirect approach to *ātman* we have been discussing[26]. That depends on his considering cognitive process as an

26. « *Na ca draṣṭur nityaiva dṛṣṭir ity evaṃ vijñāte draṣṭṛviṣayāṃ dṛṣṭim anyām ākāṅkṣate* ».

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inseparable whole. To suppose that the *sākṣin*, in his superior role alone, could directly apprehend himself, is to show a bad awareness of the structural limitation to be found in our experience: bereft of his inferior role, *ātman*'s presence would coincide with pure and simple being, nor could we speak any more of apprehension [27].

Such gnoseological necessity to look upon the hypothetic apprehension of the subject as involving both his roles implies, of course, the ultimate refutal of the hypothesis itself, owing to the irresoluble contradictions involved therein: the statement of Yājñavalkya in his answer to Uddālaka [28] is thus shown fully to be consistent with the genitives of internal object in *BĀU* III, 4, 2.

This approach is employed by the *Bhāṣyakāra* elsewhere too, and it can be considered typical of his outlook in the matter. When dealing with *ātman*'s hypotetic relationship with objectual world, as exemplified by *avidyā*, in his commentary upon *BhG*. XIII, 2 [29], he works up such relationship's unknowability much in the same form here taken into account [30].

There, true enough, the argument introduced by the *Ācārya* to strengthen his point seemingly gives us a picture somewhat differing from the one so far thought representative of his views. Taking in the structural limitation pointed out in *Yogasūtra* IV, 19 [31], Śaṅkara shows the gnoseological impossibility of witnessing our own relation with objectual experience when we are already engrossed in it. Such witnessing would require a second witness, whose relation with it would in its turn be apprehended by a third one, and so on, against our actual experience, that does not include anything of that sort. While such an argument somehow assimilates the apprehension of the relation to that of objectual world itself in the *bhāṣya ad BĀU* I, 4, 10, its very form apparently implies a witnessing of objectual experience and — by way

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27. Śaṅkara is quite explicit on this point while commenting upon *BĀU* III, 9, 28, 7: cognitive processess are bodily phenomena and their eventual cessation in *mukti* will not let any place for self-knowledge. On the other hand, the actual possibility of individuating *ātman* in the way under discussion depends on cognitive processes, for their absence would make it unattainable: see for instance Śaṅkara's remarks *ad BĀU* IV, 3, 30: « *upādhibhedavyāpārānivṛttāv anubhāsyamanatvād anupalakṣyamānasvabhāvam* ».

28. *BĀU* III, 7, 3-23.

29. The abbreviation « *BhG* » stands henceforth for « *Bhagavadgītā* ».

30. There is on one hand the superior role of the subject as knower, identical with him, and on the other side the objectual experience. The only relation between them is the merely gnoseological one between witness and witnessed: « *yadi punaḥ avidyā jñeyānyad vā jñeyaṃ jñeyam eva / tathā jñātāpi jñataiva na jñeyam bhavati* ». Any other, ontological, relation is inaccessible to our cognitive approach.

31. « *Ekasamaye cobhayānavadhāraṇam* ». In Patañjali's exposition, this limitation is brought in as an argument against the « *scio me scire* » held by Buddhist *Yogācāra*-s to be characteristic of each *kṣaṇa*, or against some akin doctrine as those developed by *Pūrvamīmāṃsā*, whose final presentation only is known to us. The *regressus ad infinitum* in the immediately following *sūtra* corresponds to the argument in Śaṅkara's commentary.

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of hypotesis — of the relation with it on the part of *nityā dṛṣṭi*, against Śaṅkara's position in the passage under discussion in the present article.

Otherwise, the consequence of the presence of a second witness could not be pointed out as an absurdity, since in the case of *anityā dṛṣṭi* such presence should be taken as granted. But if this analysis of Śaṅkara's argument *ad BhG.* XIII, 2 is correct, the implication shall be a construction of the hypothetical apprehension of the relation with objectual experience as taking place without a normal cognitive process, just as the apprehension of *anityā dṛṣṭi* on the part of the *nityā* one. The objectification of the relation would so be quite different from the objectification rejected in the case of self-apprehension in our passage, a feat proving impossible through *anityā dṛṣṭi*.

If we stick to the gnoseological framework without taking into account its ontological background we cannot but be puzzled by the apparent incongruity just pointed out. Once such background is taken in, however, and the judgement attained through the gnoseological approach is considered in ontological terms, the perspective as a whole is found to be perfectly consistent. While unknowability through *anityā dṛṣṭi*, a limited and ultimately vanishing set of cognitive processes, does not necessarily bring with it a lack of reality[32], the unknowability through the *nitya* dimension of experience is tantamount to such deficiency, since the *sākṣin*'s superior role does not admit of any limitation whatsoever and furnishes us with a unique standard of ontological judgement based on gnoseological fact[33]. So, if Śaṅkara had treated *sambandhagrahaṇa*, while commenting upon *BhG.* XIII, 2, in the same way as *draṣṭur viṣayadṛṣṭi* in the passage under consideration, he would have implicitly admitted of an absolute real relation between *ātman* and objectual world, against his own tenets, while if he had treated *draṣṭur viṣayadṛṣṭi* in the same way as *sambandhagrahaṇa* not only he would have denied the possibility of self-knowledge on the part of *ātman*, but his reality as well, showing Yājñavalkya's definition to be self-contradictory and inconsistent. Of course, in Śaṅkara's view, *nityā dṛṣṭi* cannot possibly apprehend itself, at least in the same way as it apprehends the *anityā* one, but it is always present as witnessing, in a more evident wise than the witnessed, and such evidence is through *nityā dṛṣṭi*'s *svayamprakāśatva*. We have just spoken of the absence of any limitation in regard of *nityā dṛṣṭi*. But one could well argue that such is not apparently the case, since Śaṅkara's adaptation of Pata-

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32. It brings with itself such lack in the case of an object which would normally be knowable through such processes, e.g. a hare's horn, which would be perceivable if present. But in *ātman*'s case that unknowability is but the negative side of the immediateness of his absolute reality, the foremost condition for existence of experience itself.

33. So it is the fact of being witnessed by him that rescues objectual world from pure and simple inexistence, notwithstanding its *anityatva*, and allows us to bring in *anirvacanīyatā* as an intermediate ontological condition for it.

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ñjali's argument seems to imply that the witnessing on the part of *nityā dṛṣṭi* of *avidyā* and objectual world as well takes place in time, being limited to one single witnessed, in a given instant [34].

Now, the atemporality of *ātman* is an important tenet of *Kevalādvaitavāda* [35]. Such being the case, how are we to read the aforementioned implication?

Should we contrast the limitations pointed out *ad BhG.* XIII, 2, admittedly pertaining to an opponent under the sway of *avidyā*, with the freedom from them enjoyed by the knower of Reality? The point is, the *Ācārya* is not prepared to acknowledge *avidyā* as something really capable to limit *nityā dṛṣṭi*. According to his view, it is but an object like every other one: otherwise it would become an intrinsic characteristic of the subject, making *mukti* no longer possible [36]. It is therefore uncanny to extend *avidyā*'s influence as limitating factor to the enlightening on the part of *nityā dṛṣṭi* of the *anityā* one, which includes *avidyā* itself. Probably the whole matter should be regarded on both sides, objectual as well as subjectual: from the point of view of the witnessed, every instant is a limited field, excluding from the enlightment taking place in respect to it the possibility of enlightening at the same time any other thing, whereas from the point of view of the witness each and every instant's contents is enlightened together with the other ones, in past, present and future. The unknowability of the *sambandha* proves to be relative to a particular instant, in the limited perspective of the identification with it on the part of the

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34. The very core of Śaṅkara's argument runs along these lines: « *na hi tava jñātuḥ jñeyabhūtayā avidyayā tatkāle sambandhaḥ grahītuṃ śakyate avidyayā viṣayatvenaiva jñātuḥ upayuktatvāt* ».

35. In *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya* II, 3, 7, Śaṅkara clearly states that past, present and future are relative to the witnessed and not to the witness: « *tathāham evedāniṃ jānāmi vartamānaṃ vastv aham evātītam atītaraṃ cājñāsiṣam aham evānāgatam anāgatataraṃ ca jñāsyāmīty atītānāgatavartamānabhāvenānyathā bhavaty api jñātavye na jñātur anyathābhāvo'sti sarvadā vartamānasvabhāvatvāt* ». *Ātman*'s perennial presentiality as contrasted with temporal mutations of objectual world seemingly implies that *nityā dṛṣṭi* simultaneously, as it were, witnesses each and every form of the *anityā* one in past, present and future: such conclusion is in harmony with Śaṅkara's statement while commenting upon *Taittirīyopaniṣad* II, 1, concerning *Brahman*'s omniscience regardless of time and space (« *sarvabhāvānāṃ ca tenāvibhaktadeśakālatvāt kālākāśādikāraṇatvāt niratiśayasūkṣmatvāc ca / na tasyānyad avijñeyaṃ sūkṣmaṃ vyavahitaṃ viprakṛṣṭam bhūtam bhavad bhaviṣyad vāsti / tasmāt sarvajñaṃ tad brahma* ») and with his application of the very same omniscience to *Brahman*'s knower in the same passage: here it is stated that the enlightment on the part of *nityā dṛṣṭi* of an indefinite plurality of *kāma*-s takes simultaneously place: « *saha yugapat ekakṣaṇopāruḍhāneva ekayopalabdhyā savitṛprakāśavan nityayā brahmasvarūpāvyatiriktayā* ». The implication of *ātman*'s atemporality is quite clear, as Sureśvara shows in his *vārtika*, II, 122: « *Ekayākramavartinyā vyāpnoti kramavartinaḥ* / ».

36. Cfr. for instance Śaṅkara's remarks ad *BĀU* IV, 4, 6: « *viṣayatvopapatteś ca / yasya cāvidyābhramo ghaṭādivad vivikto gṛhyate sa nāvidyābhramavān* / » etc. In the very passage occasionating the present discussion, *avidyā* is equated with the other *jñeya*-s: « *avidyā jñeyā anyad vā jñeyaṃ jñeyam eva* ».

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ignorant being, but such unknowability involves *ātman* himself in so far as he is witnessing that instant. The *sambandha* being inexistent, the question is but hypothetic, however one would like to know wether in Śaṅkara's view the enlightment of it on the part of *nityā dṛṣṭi* could alternatively be construed as not related to the instant, and so taking place simultaneously with the enlightment of all the structure of objectual world, from the point of view of absolute Reality. In that case, the unknowability of the *sambandha* would be even stronger as argument against its existence!

IV.i. *Proof of* Anityā Dṛṣṭi.

The inferior role of *ātman* in cognitive processes is discovered inside the scope of our everyday experience. For its individuation, Śaṅkara refers to the possibility of ascertaining the actual failing of seeing in beings normally provided with it. The intermittent presence to our awareness of seeing and blindness[37] goes against the idea that the higher role of *ātman* in cognitive processes, beside being solidary with him, be solidary with them also, granting their non-sublatability.

The inferior role, due to its solidarity with objectual experience, is exposed to the very vicissitudes of it and its contents, beginning with vanishing from the horizon of experience itself. We directly perceive the fact that experience can dispense with each and every object as well as with their whole, e.g. in *suṣupti* or *samādhi*. But the instance brought in by the *Ācārya* has the merit of leaving alone our normal waking knowledge while sublating the sector of its role corresponding to seeing proper: by extension, *ānitya dṛṣṭi* can be enlarged till it comprehends the whole of such role, since the sublatability of it in relation to a single kind of apprehension implies the possibility of repeating the feat in relation to the rest of them too. The *Kāṇāda* views about *ātman*'s position in regard of experience are so vindicated. The problem is, on what basis are we entitled to speak of a *nityā dṛṣṭi* which does not conform to such views?

IV.ii. *Proof of* Nityā Dṛṣṭi. Śabdapramāṇa.

The first argument put forth by Śaṅkara is the authority of *Śruti*'s utterance, in the form of Yājñavalkya's statement about the *avināśitatva* of *sākṣin*'s role in each perceptive and cognitive process[38]. When analysing such statement in his commentary *ad BĀU* IV, 3, 23, he, significantly enough, deals once again with the instance of *dṛṣṭi*, developing it in a neat picture articulated in the frame we are already familiar with. After explaining the somewhat criptic « *paśyan vai na paśyati* » in the

37. « *Andhānandhatvadarśanāt* ».
38. See *BĀU* IV, 3, 23-30.

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sense of actual presence of our experience in *suṣupti*, the *Bhāṣyakāra* introduces the statement under discussion as an answer to an objection expressing the very difficulty we have been taking into account. The opponent is made to contend *aupaniṣada* position on the ground that in actual experience we have but the inferior role of subject, bereft of *nityatva*, since it disappears in deep sleep. In the instance of *dṛṣṭi*, when the adventitious working of the *kāraṇa*-s, namely the eye and the *sensorium commune*, ceases, we are left undoubtedly without seeing, neither is there any cue in experience for a second seeing which is not lost thereby. As a matter of fact, if we were left without *Śruti*'s teaching, we could not discover the superior role of *sākṣin* at all. Only thanks to such teaching we are enabled to reflect on it in a rational outlook and eventually to realize its actual presence.

The first step is to show that *avināśitatva* makes sense at all. The instance quoted by Śaṅkara to prove the possibility of a *nitya* dimension of experience as the very *svarūpa* of the subject — a favourite of his [39] — puts the solidarity between *ātman* and his superior role in a form compatible with everyday experience. The second step is a trial that *Śruti*'s statement must undergo not to be discarded as valueless for cognitive purposes. Once again the difference between a definition given in terms of a process of knowledge and a definition given in terms of a process of action is brought under consideration. The opponent is made to remark that apprehension, as exemplified by seeing, is an action [40], and as such cannot but be adventitious. So Yājñavalkya's assumption is not effectual. The argument is corroborated on linguistic ground: if we are to make use of a new reading of experience suggested by *Śruti*, since such suggestion follows an acknowledged linguistic pattern — the opponent somewhat optimistically implies — we are bound to accept such pattern as reflecting Reality's true articulation. Now, the term «*draṣṭṛ*» by its very structure refers to a subject as agent: therefore the process of *dṛṣṭi* should be considered an action [41]. Before dealing with this contention on its own ground, Śaṅkara denies the adventitiousness brought in by the opponent by simply quoting for the second time the *avināśitatva* statement he is trying to justify. Far from being a *petitio principii*, this quotation occasionate the discussion on the status of the passage, whose authoritativeness' defence is a logically prior step to the linguistic analysis. The opponent is made to rise the point of the limits of *Śruti*'s validity as a means of knowledge, in so far as it deals with normal experience, whose data it cannot overcome [42]. In order to show that here we have no conflict with experience, and therefore the statement can

39. The simile of fire's *auṣṇya* is employed in countless passages by Śaṅkara.
40. «*Dṛṣṭiś ca draṣṭā kriyate*».
41. «*Dṛṣṭikartṛvādd hi draṣṭety ucyate*».
42. «*Na hi nyāyaprāpto vināśaḥ kṛtakasya vacanasatenāpi vārayituṃ śakyate*». Cfr. Śaṅkara's well-known remarks *ad BhG* XVIII, 66: «*Na hi pratyakṣavirodhe śruteḥ prāmāṇyam*».

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be accepted as a useful, nay indispensable source of knowledge in its own right, Śaṅkara introduces the instance of *prakāśakatva* on the part of luminous objects. Its solidarity with them is not in doubt: here we have a structure like the one under discussion, which so is proved to be perfectly possible. True enough, on mere grammatical ground enlightening can be construed as an action, just as it is the case with *dṛṣṭi*, but the interpretation along linguistic pattern of the process is patently inadeguate. Action implies a temporal discontinuity, which is responsible for its adventiousness in regard of the agent, whereas in the instance of *prakāśakatva* such discontinuity is not to be found [43].

The enlightening, since it implies the idea of a luminous source independent from illuminated objects, is a particularly well chosen simile amidst the wealth of them found in the *Upaniṣad*-s. It forms, as it were, an intermediate step between the process of action and the cognitive one. By introducing such example, Śaṅkara shows that there are, in actual experience, instances of phenomena which, albeit they allow for a subject, an object and something that takes place between the two, cannot possibly be construed as processes of action. What Śruti does, is but to point out another instance of those peculiar phenomena, where that something between subject and objects is non-adventitious in regard of the former [44].

The linguistic argument is then taken into account. After having disposed of the apparent *gauṇatva* of the term « *draṣṭṛ* » [45], Śaṅkara restates it at lenght [46] and refutes it simply by quoting the instance of *prakāśayitṛ*, as an evident case of conflict between the literal implications of the agency suffix and our understanding of the referent. The terms in « *-tṛ* » are so proved to individuate, side by side with agents (their natural referents), also subjects of processes in a more general way.

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43. It would imply the absurdity of a luminous source not illuminating: « *na hy aprakāśātmanaḥ santaḥ prakāśaṃ kurvantaḥ prakāśayantīty ucyante* ».

44. « *Svabhāvika* » in the passage under discussion.

45. This difficulty arises if we construct the term as describing the subject in terms of his *nityā dṛṣṭi* instead of the « normal » *anityā* one. Śaṅkara's awareness of the importance thereof can be seen by his treatment of *dhātvartha* as connected with the *nitya* dimension of experience while discussing the well-known definition « *satyaṃ jñanam anantam brahma* » in *Taittirīyopaniṣad* II, 1, under the term « *jñāna* »: there he traces such connection to a misconception on the part of non-discriminating people, the true one being but with the *anitya* dimension of experience. Here, on the contrary, the true role as *sākṣin* is shown to be the superior one, solidary with *ātman*. The adventitious, inferior role cannot consistently be attributed to it as separated from the former: but only if such were the case, we could manage to find out a *mukhyārtha* in the sense required by the difficulty: « *yadi hi anyathāpi ātmano draṣṭṛtvaṃ dṛṣṭaṃ tadāsya draṣṭṛtvasya gauṇatvam* ». It can be remarked, by the way, that the impossibility of configurating here the two *artha*-s permits us to escape a redoublement of subject like the one implied by Nāgārjuna's two goings.

46. *Inter alia*, he quotes the homologous terms « *chettṛ* », « *bhettṛ* » and « *gantṛ* », two of which are introduced in the passage ad *BĀU* I, 4, 10 too, a further indication of the close touch, in the *Ācārya*'s views, of *BĀU* IV, 3, 23 with that passage.

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Having in this way accomplished the passage from the process of action to the cognitive one, and vindicated both meaningfulness and relevance of the *avināśitatva* statement, Śaṅkara makes the opponent, even it forced to admit that his argument does not apply in the case of *prakāśayitṛ*, still deny that such is the case in regard of *draṣṭṛ*: after all, if we are not able to conceive of a lack of solidarity between enlightening and enlightener, that does not imply that we cannot conceive of it in the case of seeing and seer also! The answer is the quotation, for the third time, of the *avināśitatva* statement: having shown that it is not contrasting with normal experience and that our linguistic structures can be stretched till they somehow encompass a wider field of reference than their natural one, so as to be conceived as compatible with it, there is no reason left to refuse its import as a means of knowledge in its own right. Hence the objection falls as a matter of course: such is the way with *śabdapramāṇa*.

IV.iii. *Proof of* Nityā Dṛṣṭi. Anumāna.

After the introduction of *Śruti*'s teachings, with their decisive cognitive import, the use of other *pramāṇa*-s appears somewhat doubtful: not only their reach is admittedly radically different in respect of *Śruti*'s one, so that their introduction would mean the possible inapplicability of *Śruti* to the case under discussion, but *ātman* is well-known to transcend such reach [47]. Yet Śaṅkara thinks it useful to bring in even an *anumāna*, just in case that somebody appeal to immediate experience against *avināśitatva* [48]. Inside such experience's scope, the *Bhāṣyakāra* points out repeatedly [49], there is a cue to something more than *anityā dṛṣṭi*: namely, the fact that even bereft of their bodily visual apparatus blind people are noticed to see in their dreams. From such fact, that is in itself but an instance of *anityā dṛṣṭi*, having as its object instead of external world the internal play of *vāsanā*-s [50], still inside the pal of objectual universe, we can infer that *nityā dṛṣṭi* subsists even when the *anityā* one, depending on the adventitious *kāraṇa*-s' work, subsides.

47. Cfr. Śaṅkara's remarks on *ātman*'s *atīndriyatva ad BhG* XIII, 12 as well as his innumerable statements on his self-revelation without the help of any *pramāṇa*.

48. Such an objection is presented *ad BĀU* IV, 3, 23: « *paśyāmi na paśyāmīty anubhava* ». That we have here an *anumāna* is said *ad BĀU* I, 4, 10.

49. Discussing *BĀU* I, 4, 10 (« *andhasyāpi ghaṭādyābhāsaviṣayā svapne dṛṣṭir upalabhyate* ») as well as *BĀU* IV, 3, 23 (« *uddhṛtacakṣuṣāṃ ca svapne ātmadṛṣṭer aviparilopadarśanāt* »).

50. See *ad BĀU* I, 4, 10: « *svapnabuddhāntayor vāsanāpratyayarūpaṃ* ».

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S. S. PRASAD *

THE BHĀGAVATA AND THE DHARMAŚĀSTRAS

The *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* attributed to Vyāsa alongwith all the other *Purāṇas*, enjoys an enviable position in the history of Indian literature. It is considered to be the ripen fruit of the *Vedas*. It is not only important from the philosophical, literary and linguistic but also from the religious point of view.

The *Bhāg* is replete with the materials of the *Dharmaśāstra* literature. The Chap. II of the book-vii gives a detailed account of the duties of the different caṣtes [1], stages [2] and the fair sex [3]. Again Chapters XVII and XVIII of book-xi deal with the same topics. The consequences of those who go through the paths of smoke (*dhūmamārga*) and ray (*arcimārga*) are described in Chapter XXXII of book-iii. Besides this, we find casual references to the different topics of the *Dharmaśāstra* in the *Purāṇa*.

The *Manusmṛti*, the pivot round which the *Smṛti* literature revolves, is referred to here [4]. Not only this, even some of the passages of the

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1. MS. X.
2. *Ibid.*, II, III and VI.
3. *Ibid.*, IX.
4. *Bhāg.*, III.22.38.
   yaḥ pṛṣṭo munibhiḥ prāha
   dharmān nānāvidhāñ chubhān
   nṛṇāṃ varṇâ-śramāṇāṃ ca
   sarva-bhūta-hitaḥ sadā.

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MS tally verbatim with those of the *Bhāg*[5], while some others find place in the *Purāṇa* with some changes[6].

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5. (a) *Bhāg.*, IX.19.14.
na jātu kāmaḥ kāmānām upabhogena śāmyati
haviṣā kṛṣṇa-vartmeva bhūya evâbhivardhate.
CF. MS. II.94.
na jātu kāmaḥ kāmānām upabhogena śāmyati
haviṣā kṛṣṇa-vartmeva bhūya evâbhivardhate.

(b) *Bhāg.*, IX.19.17.
mātrā svasrā duhitrā vā na viviktâsano bhavet
balavān indriyagrāmo vidvāṃsam api karṣati.
CF. MS. II.215.
mātrā svasrā duhitrā vā na viviktâsano bhavet
balavān indriyagrāmo vidvāṃsam api karṣati.

6. (a) *Bhāg.*, XI.17.25.
reto nâvakirej jātu brahma-vrata-dharaḥ svayam
avakīrṇe'vagāhyâpsu yatâsus tripadīṃ japet.
CF. MS. II.180-81.
ekaḥ śayīta sarvatra na retaḥ skandayet kvacit

* *

svapne siktvā brahma-cārī dvijaḥ śukram akāmataḥ.
snātvā'rkam arcayitvā triḥ punar mām ity ṛcaṃ japet.

(b) *Bhāg.*, XI.21.8.
akṛṣṇasāro deśānām abrahmaṇyo'śucir bhavet
kṛṣṇasāro'py asauvīra-kīkaṭâsaṃskṛteriṇam.
CF. MS. II.23.
kṛṣṇasārastu carati mṛgo yatra svabhāvataḥ
sa jñeyo yajñiyo deśo mlecchadeśas tv ataḥ paraḥ.

(c) *Bhāg.*, I.7.53.
brahma-bandhur na hantavya ātatāyī vadhārhaṇaḥ.
CF. MS. VIII.380.
na jātu brāhmaṇaṃ hanyāt sarvapāpeṣv api sthitam.

(d) *Bhāg.*, I.7.57.
vapanaṃ draviṇâdānaṃ sthānān niryāpaṇaṃ tathā
eṣa hi brahma-bandhūnāṃ vadho nânyo'sti daihikaḥ.
CF. MS. III.379-80
mauṇḍyaṃ prāṇāntiko daṇḍo brāhmaṇasya vidhīyate.
rāṣṭrād enaṃ bahiḥ kuryāt samagra-janam akṣatam.

(e) *Bhāg.*, X.29.24.
bhartuḥ śuśrūṣaṇaṃ strīṇāṃ paro dharmo hy amāyayā.
CF. MS. V.155.
patiṃ śuśrūṣate yena tena svarge mahīyate.

(f) *Bhāg.*, X.29.26.
duḥśīlo durbhago vṛddho jaḍo rogy adhano'pi vā
patiḥ strībhir na hātavyo lokepsubhir apātakī.
CF. MS. V.154.
viśīlaḥ kāmavṛtto vā guṇair vā parivarjitaḥ
upacaryaḥ striyā sādhvyā satataṃ devavat patiḥ.

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In addition to this peculiar trait, Vyāsa, the author of the *Bhāg* defines *dharma* in his own way.

According to Manu *dharma* is that good which is pursued by the learned without attachment or detachment but associated with the concurrence of the heart[7]. Further he says that *dharma* is four fold — performance of the injunctions of the *Vedas* and *Smṛtis*, pursuing the usual practices of exemplary persons and performance of such actions which may bring mental satisfaction to the performer[8]. Later on other books of *Smṛti* literature widened the connotation of *dharma.* It denoted morality in general and fundamental virtues. Bṛhaspati reckons kindness, patience, purity etc. as the universal *dharma.* Vājñavalkya considers self-knowledge obtained through «*Yoga*» as the highest «*dharma*».

Now the different castes have got *dharma* of their own. As opposed to the male-folk, the female-folk claims altogether a separate *dharma* of her own.

But the *Bhāgavata* makes use of the word in an altogether different sense. It is comprised of the adoration of God devoid of worldly interests of those people who are by nature free from jealousy and have merciful outlook towards all. The thing in the hand is absolutely real, bestower of supreme bliss and undoer of three-fold misery[9].

Śrīdharasvāmin says that adoration of God is not considered here to be a characteristic of *dharma*[10]. It consists of total absence of worldly interest and jealousy, but at the same time it is marked with mercy. Thus it is not an acquisition but the nature of a man got rid of all sorts of impurities. Shaking off all these impurities the spirit attains to its natural form and comes closer to the absolute truth. Perceiving such a relationship is *dharma* or adoration of God. Further the *Purāṇa* adds

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(g) *Bhāg.*, XI.26.22.
athāpi nôpasajjeta strīṣu straiṇeṣu cârthavit
viṣayendriya-saṃyogān manaḥ kṣubhyati nānyathā.
CF. MS. II.213.
svabhāva eṣa nārīṇāṃ narāṇām iha dūṣaṇam
ato'rthān na pramādyanti pramadāsu vipaścitaḥ.

7. MS. II.1.
vidvadbhiḥ sevitaḥ sadbhir nityam adveṣa-rāgibhiḥ
hṛdayenâbhyanujñāto yo dharmas taṃ nibodhata.

8. *Ibid.*, II.6.
vedo'khilo dharma-mūlaṃ smṛti-śīle ca tadvidām
ācāraś caiva sādhūnām ātmanas tuṣṭir eva ca.

9. *Bhāg.*, I.1.2.
dharmaḥ projjhita-kaitavo'tra paramo nirmatsarāṇāṃ satāṃ
vedyaṃ vāstavam atra vastu śivadaṃ tāpa-trayonmūlanam.
śrīmadbhāgavate mahāmunikṛte kiṃ vā parair īśvaraḥ
sadyo hṛdyavarudhyate'tra kṛtibhiḥ śuśrūsubhis tatkṣaṇāt.

10. ŚRĪDHARA, *Śrīdharī*, I.1.2.
kevalam īśvarârādhana-lakṣaṇo dharmo nirūpyata iti.
adhikārito'pi dharmasya paramatvam āha.

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that motivelessness and serenity of the soul which induce to devotion, are reckoned to be the supreme *dharma* [11]. On the contrary any *dharma*, which does not lead to devotion, is labour lost [12].

Thus the *Bhāgavata* furnishes a new meaning of *dharma* which is quite unique in the realm of Indian Philosophy and religion.

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11. *Bhāg.*, I.2.6.
sa vai puṃsāṃ paro dharmo yato bhaktir adhokṣaje.
ahaitukyapratihatā yayā"tmā samprasīdati.
12. *Ibid.*, I.2.8.
dharmaḥ svanuṣṭhitaḥ puṃsāṃ viṣvaksena-kathāsu yaḥ.
notpādayed yadi ratiṃ śrama eva hi kevalam.

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B. N. PURI *

THE RĀSHṬRAKŪṬAS AND THEIR NORTHERN CONTEMPORARIES

The history of the Rāshṭrakūṭas in relation to their north-Indian contemporaries — The Gurjara-Pratihāras and Pālas is one of perpetual clash and conflict lasting over several generations. It was not only an attempt to establish supremacy by this southern power over its northern counterparts, but also to contain the expansionist move of the Pratihāras in the north alone. It was evidently an experiment and exercise in armed diplomacy and clever manoeuvring. Geographical factors no doubt stood in the way of any power holding the other one in perpetual hegemony. The results despite long struggles were indecisive, and both the Pratihāras and the Rāshṭrakūṭas reigned supreme in their respective areas. The Pālas who at one time enjoyed the patronage and friendship were not spared either, and they also faced the brunt of the Pratihāra onslaught of course with a minor shrinkage of their territory without losing their independence. A study of this tripartite struggle in the context of Rāshṭrakūṭa history could be made on the basis of the available epigraphic source material. Reference might as well be made to the Rāshṭrakūṭa attitude towards the Arabs who were firmly entrenched in Sindh. In this area, too, the approach of this southern power was one of maintaining friendly relations with them. On the other hand, the Pratihāras, with their great ruler Bhoja in particular, were enimical towards the Arabs. This inter-play of forces highlights the history of the Deccan in relation to that of the North for about two centuries.

Dantidurga (c. A.D. 735-55), the founder of the Rāshṭrakūṭa empire, originally the feudatory of the Chālukyan ruler Vikramāditya II, availed of the opportunity of his suzerain's death in AD 747, to fruition his political ambitions. Clever in his diplomatic moves as also in his mili-

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tary exploits, Dantidurga had his encounters against the Gurjara kingdom of Nandīpurī and the Chālukyan one of Navasāri which he annexed to his growing kingdom. Southern Gujarat was given by him to his cousin Govinda, son of Dhruva, while central Gujarat annexed to his kingdom served as the base for his northern expedition towards Malwa. He defeated the Gurjara king who was made to serve as the door keeper in his *Hiraṇyagarbhadāna*[1] ritual. It seems that the Rāshṭrakūṭa ruler was not interested in annexing the Gurjara kingdom, as the line continued hereafter. This was followed by the Rāshṭrakūṭa ruler's march towards Berar and Mahākośala and thence Kaliṅga, as is evident from his Samangad plates[2]. The whole of the Madhya Pradesh and central and southern Gujarāt, thus, came under his political influence or very likely under his subjugation. His expanding power and influence eventually landed him into conflict with his so-called Chālukya suzerain line and its ruler Kīrtivarman II lost to him. The Chālukyan power was not eliminated and it survived the shock. Dantidurga's death, sometime in A.D. 755, no doubt, put a halt to the Rāshṭrakūṭa expansionist zeal, but only temporarily. Krishṇa I, successor and uncle of Dantidurga, soon afterwards defeated the Chālukyan adversary and put an end to the

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1. EI. 18.252. This record of Amoghavarsha, dated in the Śaka Saṁvat 793, was discovered in the Thana district of the Maharashtra State. It is important for showing the contemporaneity of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Govinda III, the Pratihāra ruler Nagābhaṭa, Chakrāyudha of Kanauj and the Gauḍa king Dharmapala (cf. JBBRAS. 22.116). The Ellora plates of Dantidurga, the earliest record of the family, are dated in Sam. 663, very possibly of the Śaka era, corresponding to A.D. 742 (EI. 21.26). Mirashi, on the other hand, reads the date as 463 in the Kalachuri era of A.D. 250-51 (*Proceedings - Oriental Congress*, XV, Summary of Papers 97-98), thus pushing his accession to 463 + 250 = A.D. 713 or more than 25 years. His Samangad Grant (IA. 11.108) is dated in the year 675, A.D. 753-54, thus suggesting that he ruled for more than forty years in case Mirashi's contention is accepted. According to D. R. Bhandarkar, the reference to the *Hiraṇyagarbha* ceremony being performed by Dantidurga at Ujjaiyini, as recorded in the Sanjan plates, and the Gurjara lord being made the door-keeper, is confirmed from a stanza occuring in the Daśāvatara cave temple inscription at Ellora (Ar. sur. west. India, V, p. 88). This inscription gives Mahārāja Sarva as another name apparently for Dantidurga, and claims that in that very Ujjain, in order to enjoy a diversion with other princes, he instituted a *mahādāna* worthy of kings (*op. cit.*, p. 239).

2. EI. 11.108. It is suggested by Altekar that the varied and valuable military experience acquired by Dantidurga in the course of expeditions in the south and north and the victories, proved an asset to him. Soon after his return from Kāñchī in c. A.D. 744, he launched his scheme of conquest. The death of the Chālukyan emperor in A.D. 747 helped his plans. Dantidurga who was related to the Chālukyas on the maternal side, and his patrimonial principality lying in Berar and western Madhya Pradesh, he decided to extend his territory towards the east and west so as to excite the least possible apprehension in the mind of the Chālukyan emperor. After annexing Central Gujarat, Dantidurga invaded Malwa then under the Gurjara-Pratihāras where there was a feud at that time between Śiluka and Devarāja. Taking advantage of the situation Dantidurga marched on Ujjainī and brought it under his sway. The invasion of Malwa was of the nature of a raid, and did not annex it (*Early History of the Deccan*, EHD., ed. Yazdani, Vol. I, p. 254).

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Chālukyan line[3]. The Rāshṭrakūṭas now became masters of Mahārāshṭra and northern Karṇāṭaka.

The next ruler to take up cudgels against the rulers of the North was Dhruva Dhāravarsha (c 780-93) who had wrested the kingdom from his brother Govinda I and was evidently keen to expand his area of influence. His victories in the south consolidated his position and he could afford to have an eye on the kingdoms in the north. Rajputana and Malwa in close proximity to his expanding power was the target for him. Its ruler at that time was the Gurjara-Pratihāra king Vatsarāja — no less ambitious. Earlier he had taken up the cause of Govinda I against Dhruva at the Rāshṭrakūṭa domestic front. This was the natural cause for animosity between the two. Further, Vatsarāja had an eye on Kanauj, then under a weakling Indrāyudha. He marched against him and defeated him, but allowed the latter to continue as a protegé. Kanauj became a bone of contention between the Pratihāra king Vatsarāja and the Pāla ruler Dharmapāla who espoused the interest of another contender Chakrāyudha. In the battle that ensued the Bengal army was defeated and Vatsarāja carried away the two white umbrellas as trophies. Dharmapāla soon decided to make another attempt and the time coincided with Dhruva's northern expedition under his sons Govinda and Indrarāja. The Rāshṭrakūṭa army succeeded in defeating the Pratihāra forces compelling Vatsarāja to seek refuge in Rajputana and part with the two white umbrellas earlier annexed from the Pāla ruler. Dhruva did not spare Dharmapāla either and defeated him. The two victories no doubt elevated the prestige of the Rāshṭrakūṭa monarch, but without any territorial gain in Northern India.

According to the Wani and Radhanpur[4] inscriptions of the time of Govinda III, Vatsarāja was driven into the tractless desert by Dhora (Dhruva) who took away from him not merely the two Gauḍa umbrellas at stake, but also his fame (*tad yaso'pi kakubham prānti sthitam tatkṣaṇāt*, v. 8). There is an additional verse in the Radhanpur grant which refers to the defeat of the Gurjara by Govinda resulting in the complete disappearance of the Gurjara (*Gurjaro naṣṭaḥ kv=āpi bhayāt=tathā na samaram svapne'pi paśyād=yathā*, v. 15). In this context it might be necessary to refer to the defeat of the Gauḍa ruler by Dhruva in this record which places his march up to the Doab (*Gaṅgā-Yamunayor-madhye rājño=Gauḍasya nasyataḥ-Sanjan*, v. 14). The Baroda plates of Karka-

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3. Soon after putting down the revolt of Karkka, Krishṇa proceeded to overthrow the Chālukyan power under Kīrttivarman II, who had reorganised his forces Krishṇa inflicted a crushing deefat on Kīrttivarman who seems to have died in the battle, and with that ended the Chālukyan dynasty (EHD., p. 259).

4. Wani (IA. 11.156); Radhanpur (EI. 6.239).

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rāja[5] also refer to the defeat of the Gauḍa king at the hands of the Rāshṭrakūṭa ruler Govind III. The four lines referring to this fact have been interpreted differently by scholars. Fleet editing the record considers the first two lines as referring to Govinda III, and this view is endorsed by R. P. Chanda[6]. R. C. Majumdar, however, suggests[7] that the last line clearly points to Dhruva and not to Govindarāja. It seems that Dhruva's conquest of Vatsarāja's territory driving him into the desert, and the defeat of the Gauḍa ruler by the Rāshṭrakūṭa emperor took place between A.D. 783 and 794, very probably in close succession.

According to the Paithan inscription[8], Govinda III ascended the throne in A.D. 794 and his succession being disturbed[9], both Vatsarāja and Dharmapāla once again aspired for supremacy. Govinda III seems to have waited for quite some time stabilising his position at home, before taking up cudgels against his northern adversaries. In the meanwhile both Vatsarāja and Dharmapāla had equally prepared themselves for their territorial expansions. Dharmapāla had succeeded in placing his protegé Chakrāyuuna on the Kanauj throne. Vatsarāja, it seems, lost to the Pālas and was equally unsuccessful against the Rāshṭrakūṭas. The next Gurjara-Pratihāra ruler Nāgabhaṭa, the real founder of the Pratihāra line of Kanauj, who was also successful against his Bengala contemporary, seems to have lost against the Rāshṭrakūṭa ruler Govinda III in the second encounter which the latter had against the Gurjara lord. The Sanjan copper plate inscription of his son Amoghavarsha, refers to the fair and unshakable fame of Nāgabhaṭa and Chandragupta being carried away in battle (*Sa Nāgabhaṭa Candragupta nripayor=yaśor'yam raṇeṣv=ādhāryam-dhairyam=vikalān=ath=onmūlyat*, v. 23).

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5. IA. 12.170. The four important lines referring to this event may be quoted in original: *Yō Gaṅgā-Yamune taraṅga-śubhāge grihanān=parēbhyaḥ samam śākṣāccihnanibhena c=ottam-padam tat=prāptavān=aiśvaram, deh-āsammita-vaibhavair-iva guṇair=vyāsya-bhrahmadbhir-ādiso. vyāptās=tasya babhūva kīrtti-puruṣo Govindarājaḥ sutaḥ.*

6. *Manasi*, 7.539.

7. EI. 18.194n. According to Majumdar, Dharmapāla completed his imperial fabric during the period intervening between the retirement of Dhruva and the reappearance of his son Govinda III in the north. These two events may be dated approximately at 780 and 800 A.D. (*History of Bengal*, HB., 1971, p. 106).

8. EI. 3.103.

9. According to Fleet, Govind's accession appears to have been attended by opposition; for, the passage which mentions his being invested by his father with the *kaṇṭhika* of yuvarājaship is followed immediately by one which related how, on his father's death, he had to contend against a confederacy of twelve kings, who had combined together to acquire the possession of the whole earth, and who apparently were led by a person named Stambha (B.G.I. 395). Altekar, however, presumes that the accession of Govinda took place peacefully and for a long time there was no trouble (EHD. 266).

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It seems that there were several engagements between Govinda III and his northern contemporaries [10]. The Rāshṭrakūṭa rulers seem to be content with their submission, but as soon as the lord of the South was engrossed in his Deccan compaign, Nāgabhaṭa availed of the opportunity to assert his power and prerogative over his neighbours. He had the support of his own allies — Kakka from Jodhpur, Bāhukadhavala from Kathiawar and very probably Saṅkaragaṇa of the Cātsu inscription [11] who is recorded to have conquered the Gauḍa country and presented it to his overlord. It is suggested by Dr. Majumdar that the Pratihāra ruler was not destined to enjoy the fruits of his victory, and once again, the dream of founding a Pratihāra empire was shattered by the Rāshṭrakūṭas.

It is, however, clear from the Baroda plate of Karkarāja that the Gurjara conquest of Bengal did happen and the danger from the puffed up Gurjara lord of the north did remain. It seems that Govinda III had neither the time nor the resources adequate enough to undertake, probably, the third incursion into the north. Before his death in A.D. 814, the Rāshṭrakūṭa ruler was too busy, and had only to prop up his feudatory Karkarāja to keep an eye on the affairs in the north by protecting the ruler of Malwa [12]. Dr. Majumdar himself admits earlier that ere long the political situation changed, the Rāshṭrakūṭas themselves were torn asunder by internal dissensions. Karkarāja, the son and successor of Indrarāja of Lāṭa, was expelled by his younger brother in A.D. 812, and what was still wrose, the revolutionary movement, thus set on foot, afterwards developed into an attempt to prevent the accession of

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10. The chronology of the compaigns of Govinda III is discussed by Altekar and Mirashi in *D. R. Bhandarkar Volume*, 153 ff., and EI. 23.214 ff. and 293 ff. respectively. Altekar has reconsidered his views in the *Age of Imperial Kanauj* (Bhavan's *History & Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. IV, p. 7; and also in EI. 23.159). For a long time it was believed that Govinda's compaign in the north took place about A.D. 806 or 807. But it is now generally held that all these conquests were achieved before A.D. 802, most probably in A.D. 800 since this expedition is mentioned in the Manne plates of Stambha (EHD. 268n). The Sanjan charter of Amoghavarsha I supplies detailed information for reconstructing the various stages of the expedition to the north with reasonable certainty.

11. We learn from this record (EI. 15.14) of Bālāditya that Śaṅkaragaṇa, son of Krishṇarāja who conquered Bhāṭa, king of the Gauḍa country made the present of this kingdom to his overlord (vv. 14-16). The Jodhpur inscription of the Pratihāra chief Bāuka informs us that his father had gained fame by fighting with the Gauḍas at Mudgagiri i.e. Monghyr (EI. 18.98). Vāhukadhavala, probably a feudatory chief of the Pratihāras, is said to have defeated a king called Dharva (i.e. Dharmapala) EI. 9.7. According to Majumdar, it is not improbable that in this dire necessity Dharmapāla invoked the aid of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king against the common enemy (*History of Bengal*, p. 107). Altekar also notices this possibility (EHD. I.269).

12. The Baroda grant No. 5, after describing Indrarāja, mentions his son Karkarāja, with the *biruda* of Suvarṇavarsha, « the rainer of gold », also styled as Lāṭeśvara, or « lord of Lāṭa ». It says that he protected the king of Malwa against a lord of the Gurjaras who had become evily inflamed by conquering the lords of Gauḍa and Vaṅga (B.G.I. 100).

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Amoghavarsha. This unexpected void in the Rāshṭrakūṭa affairs left the Pālas and the Gurjaras free to measure their strength. The Gurjara Pratihāras were triumphant, and it is this family alone which posed a danger to the Rāshṭrakūṭas in the subsequent contemporary history.

The relations between Bhoja and the Rāshṭrakūṭa rulers — Amoghavarsha and Krishṇa II can be traced in three phrases. The first one was marked with inactivity on both the sides, the second one is characterised with indirect clash — the main line probably allying itself with the feudatory one of Gujarāt against the Gurjara-Pratihāras. The third phase was noted for some form of understanding between the two powers through some intermediary. In the first stage Amoghavarsha, whose succession was disputed, had to encounter a number of revolts which he tried to contain. The records suggest that he was engaged in destroying his enemies and recovering back his kingdom which had fallen off and was tottering[13]. He had, therefore, little opportunity to concentrate on the North. The Sirur inscription, however, suggests that the kings of Aṅga, Vaṅga, Magadha, Mālava and Veṅgī worshipped him[14]. This assertion is not confirmed by any other source and appears to be vague. There is no reference to the northern incursion of this ruler in any record of Amoghavarsha. The clash between the branch line of the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Gujarāt and the Gurjaras is mentioned in the Bagumra inscription of Dhruvarāja, a grant of Krishṇarāja and another of Indra from the same place[15]. The first record mentions that Dhruva III, the donor of the grant, had trouble from hostile elements. He was assailed by a powerful army of the Gurjaras with whom an unnamed younger brother of his had allied himself (v. 38). The inscription also refers to a king Mihira who, though united to fortune by a crowd of noble kinsmen and with courage conquered all the regions of the world, nevertheless disappeared with his face covered with dark-

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13. The Sanjan plate issued on the 13th day of May A.D. 821, describes the restoration of Amoghavarsha to the throne, brought about by the exertions of Karka (Altekar, *Rāshṭrakūṭas*, p. 74). It appears from the Konnur Inscription of Amoghavarsha I, that the reign of this ruler was marked by three revolts, challenging the imperial authority. The first one broke out when he was a child, the second one at the time of his engagement against his Gujarat cousins, and the third one sometime later — all before A.D. 860. The details of these are not given but the third one was very serious (EI. 6.30). According to the Sanjan plate dated in Sam 783 = A.D. 861, when Amoghavarsha ascended the throne, some of his feudatories, ministers and relations became disappointed and raised the standard of revolt (EI. 10.238, vv. 35-36).

14. IA. 12.219. The reference to the rulers of north acknowledging his suzerainty seems rather vague and is not confirmed from other sources. Aṅga, Vaṅga and Magadha formed part of the Pāla kingdom under Devapāla. In fact, the Badal inscription refers to the defeat of a Draviḍa ruler, at the hands of Devapāla. This ruler is supposed to be Amoghavarsha (Altekar, *Rāshṭrakūṭas*, p. 77; endorsed by Majumdar, HB. 180n).

15. Bagumra Grant S'789 = A.D. 867 (IA. 12.179); another one dated in S'810 = A.D. 888 (IA. 13.65); and the third one dated in S'836 = A.D. 914 (EI. 9.24).

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ness. Eventually this refers to the defeat of a very strong and powerful ruler at the hands of a Rāshṭrakūṭa feudatory (*mahāsāmantādhipati*) representing the Branch line at Gujarāt. It is very likely that the branch line forces had joined hands with those of the main line in the life time of Amoghavarsha against the traditional Gurjara-Pratihāras of the north. This record is dated in the Śaka year 789 = A.D. 867 when both Bhoja I and Amoghavarsha were alive.

A grant of Krishṇarāja of A.D. 888 discovered with the earlier one mentions some prince vanquishing his enemies at Ujjayinī before the eyes of king Vallabha who is identified with Amoghavarsha of the main line. The third record from the same place dated in A.D. 914 records old men vividly remembering at that time the brave feats of the Rāshṭrakūṭa emperors in the sanguinary wars with the Gujaras. The crown prince Jagatuṅga also participated in these wars and so did the Chedi ruler with whom the Rāshṭrakūṭas had established matrimonial relations. The Barton Museum [16] inscription, however, refers to Krishṇarāja hastily retreating to his country. These records, thus, point to the indecisive nature of the clashes between the Gurjara-Pratihāras and the Rāshṭrakūṭas, along with their feudatories and allies. Bhoja had to retreat but he never gave up his ambilion to conquer the South. The Gwalior inscription of V.S. 932 = A.D. 875 suggests that he was still wishing to conquer the three worlds (*śrīmad-Ādivarāheṇa trailokyaṁ vijīgusunā*). It may, therefore, be proposed that Bhoja retreated from the south sometime before A.D. 867, and at the time of the Gwalior record he was still anxious to wage another war in the south With the help of his feudatory in Kathiawar, Bhoja forced Karkarāja to retreat hastily to his country. Later on, the Pratihāra ruler had an uncomfortable position with Śaṅkarvarman of Kashmir wresting the Ṭakka land (Punjab) from the Gurjara-Pratihāras and Krishṇarāja defeating the Gurjara forces at Ujjyainī. The prestige of this great ruler of Northern India was down, if not completely lost. The loss at the north-western end seems to have been compensated with the addition of some territory in the east consequent to Pratihāra's success against the Pālas, while the situation in the south was fluid and politically indecisive and undetermined.

The next stage in the Rāshṭrakūṭa-Gurjara-Pratihāra confrontation was in the time of Mahīpāla whose succession had involved many forces in two warring camps. The old Chedi ruler had taken up the cause of

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16. EI. 19.174. The struggle between the Gurjara-Pratihāras and the Rāshṭrakūṭas feudatory line of Gujarat no doubt supported by Amoghavarsha, seems to be indecisive. The Gwalior inscription VS. 932 = A.D. 875 of Bhoja suggests that he was still wishing to conquer the three worlds (*trailokyam vijīgisunā*). The grant of Krishṇarāja of Ankuleśvara, however, points to the defeat of the Gurjara king at Ujjaiyinī. According to Altekar, there is some pardonable exaggeration in the claim. The Rāshṭrakūṭas and the Pratihāras do not appear to have come into conflict again during the reign of Amoghavarsha I (EHD. I.278).

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Bhoja II against Mahīpāla and he had the support of the Rāshṭrakūṭa Krishṇa II [17]. According to the Cambay plate inscription of Govinda IV, Indra III after crossing Yamunā, devastated the holy city of Mahodaya, also known as Kausthalī. It is proposed that Indra III carried on this compaign in the time of his grandfather Krishṇa II whom he succeeded. The reign of Indra III was a short one lasting for about three years from A.D. 915-918, and in this space of time his involvements deterred him from taking any more interest in northern affairs. The Chedi-Rāshṭrakūṭa protgé, Bhoja II had an uncomfortable and brief reign and had to pave the way for Mahīpāla whose authority was acknowledged by Dharanivarāha in Kathiawar, and had the backing of the Chandella king Harshadeva. If the evidence from the *Prachaṇḍa-Pāṇḍava* [18] recording the conquest of Mahīpāla has any relevance to the digvijaya of this Gurjara-Pratihāra ruler, then Kuntala representing probably portions of the Rāshṭrakūṭa empire, was included in it. It is quite likely that troubles in the Rāshṭrakūṭa camp facilitated Pratihāra ruler's success in the south. The Mohammadan historian Al-Masudi admits [19] the greatness of this ruler of Kanauj whose empire included the highlands of Sind, the source of the Mihiran. The conquest of the Karṇāṭaka region by Mahīpāla is also narrated by Kshemiśvara in his *Chaṇḍakauśikaṁ* [20]. In case the identity of the two Mahīpālas — the hero of the play with the Pratihāra ruler — is accepted — the defeat of the Rāshṭrakūṭa ruler — included in the conquests of the southern region-stands proved. There is, however, no reference to this fact in the Rāshṭrakūṭa records.

The confrontation between the two empirical forces — that of the Pratihāras and the Rāshṭrakūṭas — did not end with Mahīpala and Indra III and his successor. We learn from the Karhad and the Deoli

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17. The Rāshṭrakūṭa records suggest that Indra III conducted a compaign against the Pratihāra dominions sometime between A.D. 915 and 918. The Rāshṭrakūṭa ruler advanced through Malwa, crossed the Yaṁunā and completely devastated the city of Kanauj. The Kanarese poem, *Pampabhārata* associates the Chālukyan feudatory Narasiṁha with this compaign. It says that Mahīpāla fled, as if struck by thunderbolts, staying neither to eat, nor rest, nor pick himself up, while Narasiṁha, pursuing bathed his horses at the junction of the Ganga (Altekar, *Rāshṭrakūṭas* 101-2; *The Age of Kanauj*, p. 36).

18. I.17. The verse runs as follows:
Namita-Murala-mauliḥ pākalo Mekalānāṁ
raṇa-kalita-kaliṅgaḥ keli taṭa keralendoḥ
Ajani-jita kulutaḥ kuntalānāṁ kuṭhāraḥ
haṭha-hṛita-Ramaṭha-S'riḥ S'rī Mahipaladevaḥ.

19. Eliot and Dowson, *History of India as told by its Historians*, Vol. I.21.

20. Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara edition p. 5. The passage in the prologue of Kshemeśvara's drama may be quoted here: *Yaḥ Saṁs'ritya prakrit gahanām-ārya Cānakya-nītiṁ jitvā Nandāṅ Kusumnagaraṁ Candragupto jigāya. Karṇāṭatvaṁ dhruvam -upagataṁ-adya-tāneva hantuṁ dor-darpādhyaḥ sa punar-abhayac-cri-Mahīpāladevaḥ.* Some scholars have identified this Mahīpāla with the Pāla ruler (IC. 2.797; 2.354; Śāstri: JOR. 6.191-98). Dr. Majumdar admits that in the absence of further particulars, the probability is that king Mahīpāla of the *Caṇḍakauśikaṁ* may be identified with the Pratihāra ruler of Kanauj (*History of Beng*al, 1st ed., pp. 149-50; 1971, ed., p. 137).

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plates that Krishṇa conquered the forts of Kālañjara and Chitrakūṭa which were situated in the very heart of the Chandella countries. A verse from the Karhad [21] plate (v. 30) suggests that on hearing of the conquest of all the strong holds in the southern region, simply by means of angry glace, the hope about Kālañjara and Chitrakūṭa vanished from the hearts of the Gurjaras. This incident seems to have happend under Vināyakapāla and at that time the relations of the Pratihāras with the Chandellas were quite cordial. The Chandellas seem to have recovered the fort of Kālañjara from the Rāshṭrakūṭas, probably for the Gurjara-Pratihāras to whom they were paying allegiance, more or less nominally. In c. 963 Krishṇa led a second expedition into Northern India [22] in which he was also assisted by Narasiṁha, thes successor of the Gāṅga ruler Butuga. He seems to have marched into Bundelkhand and later on led an expedition against the Paramāra ruler Sīyaka and occupied Ujjayinī.

The Rāshṭrakūṭa ascendency in the Deccan from A.D. 753 to 975 is an important landmark in the Deccan noted for military expeditions against the rulers of the north and also those of the south, more for establishing political hegemony than for expansion and political domination. Dhruva, Govinda III and Indra III along with their allies and feudatories had successfully taken up cudgels against Vatsarāja, Nāgabhaṭa, Bhoja and later on the Rāshṭrakūṭas also interferred in the war of succession following Mahendrapāla's death. Nāgabhaṭa, Bhoja and Mahīpāla, too, retrieved the lost position and they tried to wield their political influence in other directions and also in the south. It is, no doubt, true that in the interplay of political forces both at the military level as well as at the diplomatic one, the Rāshṭrakūṭas were more successful. The Rāshṭrakūṭas paved the way for the Chālukyas while the Pratihāras succumbed before the onslaught of internal and external forces. There were no permanent friends nor equally permanent enemies. The Chandellas, once a feudatory, laid a conspiracy to kill Rājyapāla and they were successful. The indecisive nature of the Pratihāra-Rāshṭrakūṭa confrontation ended only with the end of the two ruling families — the southern one slightly half a century earlier while the northern one only lingered on for some time, till it was finally swept away by the Ghazni invasion.

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21. EI. IV.282.

22. The details of this expedition are not known. A Kanarese inscription from Jura in Bundelkhand eulogizes Krishṇa and describes him as the conqueror of Kanchi and Tanjore (EI. 5.176). It is likely that Krishṇa may have aimed at the recapture of the forts of Kālingar and Chitrakūṭa. It is proposed by Altekar that he had to attack not only the Gurjara-Pratihāras, but also the Paramāras of Malwā, whose ruler Sīyaka had rebelled (EHD. I.296).

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EVA RITSCHL

NIRVĀSANA

Gelegentlich trifft man in der altindischen Literatur, vorwiegend im Zusammenhang mit dem *Rājadharma*, auf Stellen, die etwas über die Einflußnahme des Königs auf die Besiedelung seiner befestigten Stadt (*durga*, *pura*), aber auch des Reiches, aussagen. Bei Zusammenstellung einer Anzahl dieser Stellen zeigt sich, daß es ganz bestimmte Gruppen von Menschen gibt, die der König nach Möglichkeit gar nicht in seiner Stadt oder in seinem Reich siedeln lassen, oder die er, sind sie schon vorhanden, wieder ausweisen soll.

Die von mir herangezogene Literatur reicht vom *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* über die *Smṛtis* bis zu Beispielen aus dem *Matsyapurāṇa* und dem *Mahābhārata* und aus Varāhamihiras *Yogayātra*. Vollständig ist sie jedoch nicht. Ich möchte zeigen, daß in Bezug auf den Grundbestand dieser « mißliebigen » Gruppen in den Texten weitgehendes Einverständnis herrscht, und zwar aus bestimmten praktischen Gründen. Auf Feststellung der chronologischen Reihenfolge und etwaiger Abhängigkeiten verzichte ich hier.

Beginnen wir mit der *Manusmṛti* IX, 225[1] — in Klammern hinter den jeweiligen Termini Kullūkas Kommentar —, wo es heißt:

kitavān (dyūtādisevino)-kuśīlavān (nartakagāyakān)-krūrān (vedavidviśaḥ-pāṣaṇḍasthānca mānavān (śrutismṛtibāhyavratadhāriṇaḥ) / vikarmasthān (anāpadi parakarmajīvinaḥ)-śauṇḍikāṃśca (madyakarānmanuṣyān) kṣipraṃ nirvāsayet purāt //

« Spieler, *kuśīlavas* (Barden, Schauspieler; Kull.: Tänzer, Sänger), Grausame (dem *Veda* feindlich Gesinnte), Ketzer, von unrechter Arbeit

1. *Manusmṛti* with the Manvartha-Muktāvalī Commentary of Kullūka Bhaṭṭa, Kashi Sanskrit Series 114, Varanasi, 1970.

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Lebende (ohne Not von der Arbeit eines anderen *Varṇa* Lebende)[2], Schankwirte (Alkoholhersteller) soll der König unverzüglich aus der Stadt weisen ».

In dieser Aufzählung finden sich 1. Angehörige bestimmter Berufsgruppen — *kuśīlavas, śauṇḍikas*, 2. Angehörige von Vereinigungen — *pāṣaṇḍas*, nach Kullūka solche Personen, die religiöse Observanzen erfüllen, die außerhalb von *Veda* und *Smṛti* liegen, also Angehörige nichtbrahmanischer religiöser Vereinigungen sind. Eventuell sind auch die « Grausamen », dem *Veda* feindlich Gesinnten, darunter zu zählen, vielleicht aber zum folgenden Punkt. 3. Personen, die man als « unsichere Existenzen » bezeichnen könnte, d.h. Menschen, die ein zweifelhaftes Leben führen: Spieler und Leute, die von unrechter Arbeit leben. Zu dieser Gruppe möchte ich auch die in einigen Texten genannten Personen mit charakterlichen oder körperlichen Fehlern hinzufügen. Kullūka läßt den König alle diese nicht nur aus der Stadt, sondern aus dem Reich ausweisen (*kṣipraṃ rājā rāṣṭrān nirvāsayediti*).

Dieser Manustelle ist aus dem Bereich der *Smṛtiliteratur* das *Dharmaśāstra* des Yājñavalkya[3] an die Seite zu stellen[4], wo es im Abschnitt über das Würfelspiel heißt:

draṣṭāro vyavahārāṇāṃ sākṣinaśca ta eva hi /
rājñā sacihnaṃ nirvāsyāḥ kūṭākṣopadhidevinaḥ // II, 202.

Hier handelt es sich um zur Gruppe 3 Gehörende: Falschspieler und solche, die betrügerische Geschäfte tätigen (Mitākṣarā: mit Edelsteinen, Zaubersprüchen, Heilkräutern usw.). Diese sollen vom König (Mit.: mit dem Zeichen einer Hundepfote usw.) gebrandmarkt und des Landes verwiesen werden (Mit.: *svarāṣṭrān nirvāsayet*).

Bevor wir zum Sonderfall der Ausweisung aus Anlaß eines bevorstehenden Kriegszuges bzw. einer Belagerung übergehen, sollen noch die im *Matsyapurāṇa*, enthaltenen Empfehlungen für die Besiedelung der befestigten Stadt angeführt werden. Als besonders erwünschte Bewohner werden hier genannt: *rakṣobhūtapaiśācaghnāḥ pāpaghnāḥ puṣṭivardhanāḥ / kalāvidaśca puruṣāḥ pure dhāryāḥ prayatnataḥ* // B 3.85[5]. « Solche, die Dämonen (*Rakṣas, Bhūtas* und *Paiśācas*) beschwören bzw. bezwingen können; solche, die mit Übeltätern fertig zu werden verstehen; solche, die den Wohlstand fördern, sowie Leute, die sich auf allerhand Künste (oder ist hier *kalā=mantra?*) verstehen, sollen nach

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2. Der *Dharma* für Notzeiten (*āpaddharma*) schreibt vor, daß die den drei oberen *Varṇas* Angehörenden in Zeiten der Not die Berufe des jeweils eine Stufe niederen *Varṇa* ausüben dürfen.

3. *Yājnavalkyasmṛti* with the Mitākṣarā Commentary of Vijñāneshwar, Kashi Sanskrit Series 178, Varanasi, 1967.

4. *Nāradasmṛti* 16.6 bezieht sich nur auf die Ausweisung von Falschspielern aus der Würfelhalle.

5. Hans Losch, *Rājadharma. Einsetzung und Aufgabenkreis des Königs im Lichte der Purāṇa's*, Bonn, 1959, S. 338 und 330 f.

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Möglichkeit in der Stadt gehalten werden. Dazu ist *Matsyapurāṇa* B 3.24-26 zu stellen. Dort heißt es, daß der König in der befestigten Stadt Unterkünfte für Soldaten, Handwerker, Tierärzte und für Personen, die das Zauberwissen beherrschen (*kālamantravid*) schaffen soll, desgleichen für *kuśīlavas* und Brahmanen (*kuśīlavānāṃ viprānāṃ durge sthānaṃ vidhīyate*).

Über die Anwesenheit von *kuśīlavas* in der Stadt oder im Reich überhaupt, werden, wie schon ein Vergleich mit der zitierten Manustelle zeigt, in den Texten verschiedene Meinungen vertreten. Zu beachten ist auch der folgende Halbvers des *Matsyapurāṇa*: *na bahūnām ato durge vinā kāryaṃ tathā bhavet* / 27. « Und es soll in der Stadt keine Beschäftigunslosigkeit für viele sein », d.h. von jeder Berufsgruppe sollen nur so viele in der Stadt leben, wie dort auch gebraucht werden.

Matsyapurāṇa B 3.86 werden nun diejenigen aufgezählt, die der König nicht in der Stadt dulden soll: *bhītān-pramattān-kupitāṃśtathaivaca-vimānitān / kubhṛtyān-pāpaśīlāṃśca na rājā vāsayet pure //* « Furchtsame, im Rauschzustand Befindliche, Aufrührerische (*kupita*), Verachtete, solche, die ihren Dienst schlecht versehen und solche, deren Tugend in der Sünde besteht, soll der König nicht in der Stadt wohnen lassen ».

Die mit *kupita* Bezeichneten übersetze ich nicht mit dem wenig aussagekräftigen Wort « Erzürnte », wie Losch es tut, sondern mit « Aufrührerische », da sich hier ein Bezug zeigt zu dem in der altindischen Literatur üblichen Ausdruck *kopa* — « Zorn » zur Bezeichnung von Aufruhr und Widerstand[6]. Damit wären diese Leute Gegner des Königs. Mit « Verachtete » könnten Unberührbare und andere sozial niedrigstehende Personen gemeint sein.

Es folgen nun die Textstellen, in denen von der Vorbereitung der befestigten Stadt auf eine Belagerung bzw. des Reiches auf einen Krieg die Rede ist.

Mahābhārata 12.69.49[7] ist dazu folgendes zu lesen:
bhikṣukāṃścākrikāṃś-caiva kṣībonmattān-kuśīlavān /
bāhyān-kuryān naraśreṣṭha doṣāya syur hi te 'nyathā //

« Mönche, Kärrner (oder: Ölpresser?)[8], wie auch Betrunkene, Berauschte und *kuśīlavas* möge er ausweisen, bester der Männer, denn andernfalls werden diese ihm zum Schaden gereichen ».

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6. Vgl. Eva Ritschl, *Prakṛtikopa, janapadakopa - Formen sozialer und politischer Auseinandersetzungen in der altindischen Gesellschaft.* Tagungsband der IV. Weltsanskritkonfererenz, Weimar, 1979, im Druck.

7. *The Mahābhārata* for the first time critically ed. by V. S. Sukthankar and S. K. Belvalkar, Poona, 1933-59.

8. *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* 2.15.8 sind *cākrikas* wandernde, weil nur jeweils in der Saison benötigte, Ölpresser, die eine in der Runde laufende Ölpresse benutzen, vgl. *The Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra Part II*, an English Translation with Critical and Explanatory Notes by R. P. Kangle, Bombay, 1963, S. 140, Anm. 8.

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Hier läßt sich die Aufteilung unter die 3 Punkte durchführen: 1. *kuśīlavas* und *cākrikas*, 2. Mönche, 3. Betrunkene und Berauschte. Wesentlich ungenauer drückt sich Varāhamihira in der *Yogayātra* (I.10)[9] aus: Ein König, der sich anschickt, einen Kriegszug zu unternehmen, soll seine befestigte Stadt sichern, indem er neben anderen Maßnahmen auch einen Teil der Bewohner ausweist: *lubdhatrastābhimāniprakupitakubhṛtājñātaśīlair vihīnaṃ kṛtvā śūrāptasaṃstham...*

Nachdem er Habgierige, Feige, Anmaßende, Aufrührerische, solche, die ihren Dienst schlecht versehen und solche, deren Charakter man nicht kennt, daraus entfernt hat und zuverlässigen und tüchtigen Leuten Unterkunft (darin) geboten hat » soll er seinen Feldzug beginnen. Vorher werden noch Ärzte, Handwerker und Brahmanen als wichtig für die Stadt erwähnt. *Prakupita* und *kubhṛta* entspricht vermutlich dem *kupita* und *kubhṛtya* des *Matsyapurāṇa*. Ansonsten lassen sich diese Mißliebigen nicht näher bestimmen. Man kann sie nur unter Punkt 3 einordnen.

Im 546. *Jātaka*, dem *Mahāunmagga-Jātaka*, wird geschildert, wie Mahosadha die Stadt Mithilā auf eine Belagerung vorbereitet: *nagarato duggatakulāni nīharāpetvā bahi vasesi, raṭṭhajanapadadvāragamesu saniddhāni issarakulāni ānetvā nagare vāsesi, bahuṁ dhanadhaññaṁ sannicayaṁ kāresi*[10]. « Aus der Stadt ließ er die armen Familien ausweisen und siedelte sie außerhalb an. Die wohlhabenden, hervorragenden Familien im Reich, in der Provinz und in den Tordörfern (Vororten) ließ er hereinholen und in der Stadt wohnen. Viel Geld und Getreide ließ er anhäufen ».

Hier wird die Bevölkerung eindeutig nach ihrem sozialökonomischen Status und damit nach ihrem Wert für den König unterschieden. Wahrscheinlich bezieht sich « *bahuṁ dhanadhaññaṁ...* auf das Vorhergehende und besagt, daß das Geld und die Vorräte der Reichen mit in die Stadt geholt werden, wo sie vor dem Zugriff des Feindes sichergestellt und der Stadt nutzbar gemacht werden können. Währenddessen können die weniger Begüterten außerhalb der Stadt selber zusehen, wo sie bleiben. Die gleiche Absicht liegt wohl KA 12.5.9-10 vor, wo es heißt: pratyāsanne vā 'mitre janapadājjanam avarodhakṣamam atinayet durgāccānavarodhakṣamam apanayet,... « Oder wenn der Feind sich nähert, möge er aus der Provinz die Leute, die einer Belagerung standhalten können, hereinholen. Und diejenigen, die der Belagerung nicht standhalten können, möge er aus der Stadt entfernen,... »[11].

Die bisher gewonnenen Angaben lassen sich wie folgt zusammenfassen: 1) Berufe: *kuśīlava, śauṇḍika, cākrika*. 2) Vereinigungen: *pāśaṇḍa*,

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9. H. Kern, *Die Yogayātra des Varāhamihira*, Text und Übersetzung, in: Indische Studien Bd. 10, herausgeg. von Albrecht Weber, Leipzig, 1868, S. 165.

10. *The Jātaka Together With its Commentary*, ed. by V. Fausboll, London, Repr. 1962-64, 7 Bde, Bd. VI, S. 393.

11. *The Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra Part I*, A Critical Edition with a Glossary by R. P. Kangle, Bombay, 1960.

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bhikṣuka, eventuell *(pra)kupita*. 3) Sonstige: Alle Arten von « unsicheren Existenzen », die mit Namen bezeichnet werden wie *vikarmastha, kubhṛtya, ajñātaśīla, pāpaśīla*, sowie Spieler, Trinker, Feiglinge, Grausame Habgierige, Anmaßende und Arme.

Was waren nun die Gründe für eine solche Einstellung gegenüber diesen Gruppen der Bevölkerung, die ja bei den Vertretern der ersten beiden Rubriken nicht so offen auf der Hand liegen. Einiges deutete sich schon an, z.B. die Wichtigkeit der wohlhabenden Familien für die Wirtschaft (*Jātaka*); die Gefahr, die in einer Ansammlung beschäftigungsloser Personen in der Stadt liegt (*Matsyapurāṇa*) und der Schaden, der aus der Anwesenheit zweifelhafter Personen für ein Land erwächst, das sich im Kriegszustand befindet (*Mahābhārata, Yogayātra*).

Für die Besiedelung eines Landes (*janapadaniveśa*) gibt das KA 2.1.32-35 folgende Empfehlungen: *vānaprasthād anyaḥ pravrajitabhavaḥ sajātād anyaḥ saṃghaḥ sāmutthāyikād anyaḥ samayānubandho vā nāsya janapadam upaniveśeta* / « Einen anderen Asketenorden als den der brahmanischen Waldeinsiedler; eine andere Gemeinschaft als die auf gleicher Geburt beruhende (Kangle II: born in the same place); eine andere auf einem Vertrag beruhende Vereinigung als die, die den Zweck gemeinsamer geschäftlicher Unternehmungen hat, soll er nicht in seinem Lande ansiedeln ».

na ca tatrārāmā vihārarthā vā śālāḥ syuḥ / naṭanartakagāyanavādakavāgjīvanakuśīlavā vā na karmavighnaṃ kuryuḥ / « Und es soll dort keine Haine und Hallen, die Vergnügungszwecken dienen, geben. Schauspieler, Tänzer, Sänger, Musikanten, Geschichtenerzähler und *kuśīlavas* sollen die Arbeit nicht stören ».

Hier wird der ökonomische Grund deutlich ausgesprochen: Unterhaltungskünstler halten die Leute nur von der Arbeit ab. Deshalb möge man auf sie verzichten, desgleichen auf die als Versammlungsorte benötigten Haine und Hallen.

Noch gewichtiger ist wahrscheinlich der politische Grund: Das KA 1.12.9 nennt bei der Aufzählung von Spionen genau dieselben Berufe, dasselbe Kompositum (*naṭanartakagāyana...*) wie 2.1.34. Im darauffolgenden Satz werden noch die Nonnen hinzugefügt (*bhikṣukī*). KA 1.11.4 wird der Wanderasket (*pravrajita*) als Spion genannt und 1.11.13 der in der Maske eines Asketen auftretende Spion (*tāpasavayañjana*), um nur einige Stellen anzuführen.

Sowohl die herumziehenden « fahrenden Leute », als auch Wandermönche und Nonnen waren hervorragend für Spionagedienste einsetzbar. Sie kamen mit vielen Menschen in Kontakt und konnten Nachrichten leicht weiterbefördern.

Über die *kuśīlavas* ist man aber geteilter Meinung. Neben der schon zitierten Stelle im *Matsyapurāṇa* erwähnt auch das *Mahābhārata* 12.69.58 Schauspieler (*naṭa*), Tänzer (*nartaka*), Ringer (*malla*) und Gaukler (*māyāvin*) im positiven Sinn: Sie sollen die Stadtbewohner unter-

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halten. Das Problem der nicht leicht zu kontrollierenden fahrenden Künstler war allgemein verbreitet. Als ein Beispiel aus dem europäischen Altertum sei eine Passage aus der *Poetik* des Aristoteles [12] zitiert: « Die Komödianten hätten ihren Namen nicht von "*komazein*" ("umherschwärmen"), sondern davon, daß sie, die man in der Stadt geringgeschätzt hätte, auf den *Komen* (Dörfern) herumgezogen wären. In den Städten hätte man jene "Komöden" nicht geduldet ».

Trotz dieser Abneigung kam man nicht umhin, die beim Volk beliebten fahrenden Leute zu dulden, wenn nicht gerade eine politisch gespannte Lage aus Sicherheitsgründen zu rigorosem Vorgehen Anlaß gab.

Alle die Personengruppen, die in den Texten als Auszuweisende genannt werden, gehören den unteren Schichten der Bevölkerung an bzw. stehen am Rande der brahmanischen Ständegesellschaft (die nichtbrahmanischen religiösen Vereinigungen) oder sind politische Gegner des Königs, wie die « Aufrührerischen », wer auch damit gemeint sein mag. Die Macht des Königs über sie, möge sie nun aus ökonomischen oder aus politischen Gründen ausgeübt worden sein, ging damit ziemlich weit, wenn man den Texten Glauben schenken darf.

Berlin (DDR).

12. ARISTOTELES, *Poetik*, Griechisch und deutsch, übers. von Walter Schönherr, Leipzig, 1979, S. 13.

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A. M. SAMOZVANTSEV

ARTHAŚĀSTRA AND DHARMAŚĀSTRA — TWO TRADITIONS

The discovery of the so called *Arthaśāstra* of *Kauṭilya* by R. Shamasastri in the beginning of XX century made it possible to adopt in many respects a new approach to the study of the ancient Indian literature and to take a fresh look at the genre of *dharmaśāstra.* This discovery is connected with the birth of a wide range of new scientific trends investigating the relations between *arthaśāstra* and *dharmaśāstra.* The results of the research of both literature-genres may be convinced by the acquitance with the works published after the discovery of the *Arthaśāstra* and contained by comprehensive *Bibliography on dharma and artha in Ancient and Mediaeval India* by L. Sternbach [1].

A new structural-terminological method of investigation of literary monuments observed in several latest essays makes it possible to research the evolution of *arthaśāstra* and *dharmaśāstra* in its various spheres and to approach to the answer the raised questions, viz. how both genres were composed and how they functioned, why appeared and from which sources might be formed. Thus we face not only with the necessity to include *arthaśāstra* and *dharmaśāstra* in the complex of diverse works of different times called the ancient Indian literature but also with the necessity to give a functional characteristic to the whole literature as to an indivisible aggregate.

I have tried to solve three problems in my essays: the functioning of juridical terms in juridical and non-juridical contexts of *śāstras* and commentaries as well as the functioning of the terms outside the sources in practice of property relations, and the functional evolution of juridical stuff as a complex of ideas on the whole in the juridical and non-juridical literature. An attempt to solve two first problems was

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1. L. Sternbach, *Bibliography on dharma and artha in Ancient and Mediaeval India,* Wiesbaden, 1973.

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made in my monograph published two years ago [2]. The solution of the last one may be simplified if we follow the originality of the juridical terminology of *arthaśāstra* and *dharmaśāstra* as a completed balanced system of notions and if we follow its origin. Moreover I shall touch on some peculiarities of the integration of both literature-genres and the problem of the sources of law of each of them. In the article I shall try to give in brief my general idea on the last question. I suppose the functioning of terms is of major importance for the investigation of the object of this sort and investigation of the functioning surely will throw a light on the functioning of the texts themselves.

The terms *karaṇa, svakaraṇa, deśa, sākṣin* and *bhoga* are the most important ones in the system of the juridical argumentation of the *Arthaśāstra.* Another terminology occurs in *dharmaśāstras.* There *pramāṇa* (*pramāṇaṃ trividham,* i.e. a triple juridical authority meaning document, witness and use in order of their significance) and *āgama* are the most important notions. In the *Arthaśāstra karaṇa* implies « juridical authority », « proof » as it is pointed out in III.1.17 where the plaintiff and defendant give in court their *karaṇas.* The same meaning the term *karaṇa* has in III.1.19 where it is explained as verbal or documentary evidence. In trial *nirṇaya* (sentence) was produced after an examination of *karaṇas. Karaṇa* is mentioned in III.12.37-38 where an artisan takes a material for manufacture (*nikṣepa*). In the following text *nikṣepa* should be interpreted as a deposit as well. It is said in III.12.53 that transactions with *nikṣepa* (material for manufacture and a deposit) must be striked in the presence of witnesses: *tasmātsākṣimadacchannaṃ kuryāt...* to avoid the situation mentioned in III.12.37 where a transaction with *nikṣepa* was striked in absence of *karaṇa,* i.e. witnesses. Taking into account that in III.1.17 and below a non-legalized user (for example, of *parakṣetra* — another's field) may appear for the defence his *bhoga/bhukti,* i.e. use under some circumstances may be *karaṇa* as well. In *dharmaśāstras pramāṇaṃ trividham* is analogous to *karaṇa* in the *Arthaśāstra. Pramāṇa* is mentioned, for instance, in the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* II.22 and *Nāradasmṛti* I.65. The *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* says: pramāṇaṃ likhitaṃ bhuktiḥ sākṣiṇaśceti kīrtitam. This term is considered in the second text of the *Nāradasmṛti* in the following way: *likhitaṃ sākṣiṇo bhuktiḥ pramāṇaṃ trividhaṃ viduḥ.* The conception of *pramāṇa* as a triple-term juridical authority through which belongings are being acquired or the rights to them are being proved is a traditional one. It was composed long before the composing of the *Manusmṛti* and *Yājñavalkyasmṛti.*

The conception of *āgama* in *dharmaśāstra* was investigated by me previously [3] and the ethimology of this term is examined in an essay

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2. A. M. Samozvantsev, *Teoriya sobstvennosti v drevney Indii* (The Theory of Property in Ancient India), Moscow, 1978.
3. A. M. Samozvantsev, *Teoriya sobstvennosti,* Ch. I.

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which is under publication. In *dharmaśāstras āgama* is a title of ownership and it is interpreted as a combination of *pramāṇas*, i.e. *pramāṇa* must be seen as a carrier of *āgama*. In the *Arthaśāstra* this term has another sense, namely legal acquisition, transaction. A transaction of this sort may lead to acquiring of belongings in legal property or in legal possession which are differentiated in the text (see IV.6.7-8).

Deśa and other terms mentioned in III.1.15 are integral parts of any law action, a transaction first of all. The same term *deśa* occurs in III.16.29 where it is said that the prescription leads to the loss of *deśas*. In this context *deśa* is intended to imply a title of ownership, so the rights of owner over his belongings (usually a plot) were lost through use of non-legalized user.

The text IV.6.9 is of major importance for the understanding of a notion the carrier of which was the term *deśa*. It is pointed out in this *Arthaśāstra*'s text that the legality of *āgama*-transaction may be proved in trial through *śucirdeśa* — « honest evidence » (in III.1.15 *śuddhadeśa* — « pure evidence ») or through *dīrghaparibhoga* — « lasting use ». *Deśa* is explained as a proof in text III.1.19 and we may conclude that mostly document and rarely witness were covered by this term. This supposition seems to be truthful for *karaṇa* in III.1.19 divides into *deśa* and *sākṣin*, i.e. documentary and verbal evidences. The same division is fixed in the similar context describing legal procedure in IV.9.14-15. According this text: *pṛcchyaṃ na pṛcchati, apṛcchyaṃ pṛcchati... madhyamamasmai sāhasadaṇḍaṃ kuryāt / deyaṃ deśaṃ na pṛcchati, adeyaṃ deśaṃ pṛcchati, kāryamadeśenātivahayati... uttamamasmai sāhasadaṇḍaṃ kuryāt* (compare the using of verbs in forms *pṛcchyam-apṛcchyam, deyam-adeyam*), i.e. when a judge does not examine a person which shall be examined or examines a person which shall not be examined he pays the first *sāhasadaṇḍa*; when a judge does not inquire after a documentary evidence which shall be offered in trial or when he inquires after a documentary evidence which shall not be offered in trial or delays a law-suit by means of a document which is not a proof he is fined by *uttama sāhasadaṇḍa* (highest fine). *Deśa, adeśa* are considered in III.1.19 side by side *hīnadeśa*, i.e. incorrect, « weak » document as well. In III.1.15, IV.6.9 *deśa* means both document and witness, but it may be explained by circumstances. In the system of juridical terminology of the *Arthaśāstra deśa* and *sākṣin* are differentiated as documentary and verbal evidences. We should take into account that although the term *sākṣin* is mentioned in divisions III-IV of the treatise the terms of *lekhya-* or *likhita*-tipe which means a document in *dharmaśāstras* are absent there. We may logically conclude that in the *Arthaśāstra* the term *deśa* means just a document. It is known that the opposition of *deśa — bhoga* in III.16.29 is usually considered by compilers of *dharmaśāstras* and commentators as that one of *āgama* (document) — *bhoga* (use), j.e. of title of ownership and possession-use.

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Since in IV.6.8 the transactions should be understood to imply *āgama*, the latter may be considered as *ādhāna* (mortgaging), *kraya* (purchase) and *pratigraha* (getting of gift). In accordance to that *deśa* may be *svakaraṇa* — a proof of ownership (i.e. purchase-deed or settlement) or *ādhilekhya* (mortgage), if there is a demand to prove the right to possess a pledge. Naturally *deśa* must be *śuci* — *śuddha*, i.e. the document must be drawn up according to necessary demands and a man whose evidence in court will be considered valid must be a witness. It means that besides his evidences in court must be valid he also must capable at the present moment — *saṃpūrṇācāra* (see III.1.15; *saṃpūrṇācāra* is explained in III.1.13).

Svakaraṇa is just a proof that proves an ownership. So, it is said in IV.1.54-55: *paurvapauruṣikaṃ nidhiṃ jānapadaḥ śuciḥ svakaraṇena samagraṃ labheta / svakaraṇābhāve pañcaśato daṇḍaḥ, pracchannādāne sahasram*, i.e. one which found a treasure becomes its owner after his *svakaraṇa* confirms his rights to the thing. In absence of *svakaraṇa* he is imposed the fine on and if he hides a treasure the fine increases twice as much (500-1000 *paṇas*).

The carriers of *svakaraṇa* could be documents and witnesses for an acquisition into property of movables was legalized in the presence of witnesses and that of immovables — by means of drawing up a document. *Svakaraṇa* has the similar semantics in *āgama* of *dharmaśāstra*. The *Arthaśāstra* (III.16.17-19) says: *naṣṭikaśca svakaraṇaṃ kṛtvā naṣṭa-pratyāhṛtaṃ labheta / svakaraṇābhāve pañcabandho daṇḍaḥ / tacca dravyaṃ rājadharmyaṃ syāt*, i.e. an owner, belongings of which were lost, after finding them out may recover them by *svakaraṇa*. If there is no *svakaraṇa* he pays a fine equal to fifth part of the price of the belongings and they become the property of a king. This text borrowed by compiler of the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* II.175 tells us: *āgamenopabhogena naṣṭaṃ bhāvyamato'nyathā / pañcabandho damastasya rājñe tenāvibhāvite //*. Quite evidently the compiler of the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* replaces the term *svakaraṇa* by the term *āgama*. The text of the *dharmaśāstra* quoted above is similar to that of the *Arthaśāstra* IV.6.9 where the recovery of a lost thing with the help of *śucirdeśa* or *dīrghaparibhoga* is meant as well (*upabhoga* of the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, of course, is analogous to *dīrghaparibhoga* of the *Arthaśāstra*): *yasya pūrvo dīrghaśca paribhogaḥ śucirvā deśastasya dravyamiti vidyāt*. From the text we may conclude that *āgama* of the *dharmaśāstra* is equal to *deśa* of the *Arthaśāstra*, i.e. *āgama* of *dharmaśāstras* is not equal to that one in the *Arthaśāstra* — in the last text *āgama* must be considered as a transaction but in *dharmaśāstras* it is a proof. The analysis of texts of *dharmaśāstras* and commentaries carried out by me previously shows that *āgama* expressed in the system of *pramāṇaṃ trividham* proves the right of property and not the right of possession. This *āgama* is equal to *svakaraṇa* of the *Arthaśāstra* and the carrier of the last term is *deśa* (proof).

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Although *āgama* in the *Arthaśāstra* is replaced by *deśa* semantics of that last term does not correspond to that one of notion *svakaraṇa*. It is small wonder since in *dharmaśāstras pramāṇa* — a carrier of notion *āgama* also often means notion *āgama* itself. It can be observed, for example, in the commentary of *Viśvarūpa* on the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* II.175: *āgamenalekhyādinā prakaśamaskhalitacirabhogena vā naṣṭaṃ dravyamanyahastagataṃ madīyamityevaṃ bhāvyam*, i.e. the rights to a thing which is lost and in another's possession may be proved — « this is mine » — by means of *āgama*, i.e. a document and so on, or by means of public, uninterrupted and lasting use. The formula « *āgama* is *pramāṇa* » (i.e., for example, document) is usually used by commentators. I suppose *śuddhadeśa* (*śuddhasvakaraṇa*) is similar to *śuddhāgama* in the commentaries of *Govindarāja* on the *Manusmṛti* VIII.200 and *Viśvarūpa* on the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* II.29 not by accident. This *āgama* is mentioned in the text of *Manusmṛti* VIII.200 and in the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* II.27. The first text's compiler writes: *saṃbhogo dṛśyate yatra na dṛśyetāgamaḥ kvacit / āgamaḥ kāraṇaṃ tatra na saṃbhoga iti sthitiḥ //*. According to the second one: *āgamo'bhyadhiko bhogādvinā pūrvakramāgatāt / āgame'pi balaṃ naiva bhuktiḥ stokāpi yatra no //*. The ethymology of both the terms — *svakaraṇa* and *āgama* — is one and the same — « acquiring », « appropriation to oneself ».

In my opinion, the above observations make it possible to introduce some essential corrections to discourses of R. P. Kangle concerning the juridical terms of the *Arthaśāstra*. R. P. Kangle notes: « Evidence to be submitted in a court of law appears to be called *deśa* (3.1.19 etc.). It evidently refers to all kinds of evidence, documents, witnesses and so on. The word *deśa* is also used in the text in the sense of « title », that which establishes ownership over a thing (3.16.29, 4.6.9). That may will have been its original meaning. Another word for evidence is *karaṇa*. More often than *deśa*, it refers to a person's title or proof of ownership, as in *svakaraṇa*. In own or two places *karaṇa* appears to refer to documentary evidence as when it is said that in all transactions, except in the case of pledge (*ādhi*) and commission (*ādeśa*) a later *karaṇa* cancels the earlier ones (3.1.16) or that artisans are generally dishonest, since there no *karaṇa* made before they accept an article for manufacture (3.12.36-37) »[4]. Here I must note, for example, that despite R. P. Kangle's opinion the word *karaṇa* in III.1.16 does not mean a documentary evidence but rather a law action taking into account that *ādhi* (pledge) and *ādeśa* (commission) in accordance to the logic of the text are observed by compiler as the same *karaṇas*, i.e. law actions (evidently, transactions). Moreover according to text III.11.27 when anybody accepted a promissory note this transaction was legalized by the presence of witnesses and the fact excludes the interpretation of *karaṇa* as of just a documentary evidence. R. P. Kange himself considers *ādhi* and

4. R. P. Kangle, *The Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra, Pt. III, A Study*, Bombay, 1965, p. 218.

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ādeśa to be transactions (see above about meaning of *karaṇa* in III.12.36-37).

Since these two peculiar systems of juridical terms were the basis of law ideas of *arthaśāstra* and *dharmaśāstra* we may call the terms the matrices of law texts and regard the systems as the dominant ones and very stable. In my opinion, the constitution of the systems was preceded by a long development of juridical tradition of both literature-genres. There is no doubt that the juridical terminology of the *Arthaśāstra* was elaborated in schools of *arthaśāstra* and stated in sources of *arthaśāstra*-genre which haven't reached us. In similar way the terminological tradition of *dharmaśāstra* was probably elaborated in schools of compilers of *dharmasūtras*. It is in *dharmasūtras* where we find for the first time the formula of triple juridical authority mentioned in the *Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra* XVI.10: *likhitaṃ sākṣiṇo bhuktiḥ pramāṇaṃ trividhaṃ smṛtam / dhanasvīkaraṇaṃ pūrvaṃ dhanī dhanamavāpnuyāditi*, i.e. by means of *pramāṇa* after an acquisition of a thing into property, in other words after a transaction (or *āgama* corresponding to the original meaning of *svīkaraṇa*) an owner gets the thing at his disposal (compare the *Nāradasmṛti* I.65 *Bhāvasvāmin*'s reading: dhanasvīkaraṇe yena dhanī dhanamupāśnute; the reading of *Asahāya* (I.69) corresponds to that one of the *Vasiṣṭadharmasūtra* excluding *yena* instead of *pūrvam*). These texts are of major importance for the explanation of the ethimology of the terms *āgama* — *sva(svī)karaṇa*. As regards the evolution of the system *pramāṇaṃ trividham* from the point of view of its functioning I research it in another essay which is under publication.

In the *Arthaśāstra* the term *pramāṇa* occurs in the same more abstract meanings of juridical authority as in *dharmasūtras*. For example, in III.2.10 the compiler says: *pitṛpramāṇāścatvāraḥ pūrve dharmyāḥ, mātāpitṛpramāṇāḥ śeṣāḥ*, i.e. dharmic marriage demands a permission of the bride's father, other marriages — of her father and mother (see also IV.1.2). According to III.11.26, III.19.21 evidences of witnesses are considered in court as *pramāṇa* (... sākṣiṇaḥ pramāṇam...). The same sense the term accepts in III.12.35, III.18.6. In *dharmaśāstras* the word *pramāṇa*, for example, is of a similar meaning not only in the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* II.89 (*vināpi sākṣibhirlekhyaṃ svahastalikhitaṃ tu yat / tatpramāṇaṃ smṛtaṃ balopadhikṛtādṛte //*), but also in *dharmasūtras* — in *Āpastambadharmasūtra* where the compiler says: *dharmajñasamayaḥ pramāṇam* (I.1.2), i.e. according to the translation of J. D. M. Derrett «the Council of knowers of dharma is authoritative »[5]. That means a *pariṣad* of knowers of juridical and other texts. *Baudhāyanadharmasūtra* I.1.2.10, describing *āryavarta*, notes: ... *tasmin yo ācāraḥ sa pramāṇam //* what can be understood as follows: a custom which is followed here is authoritative. According to the *Gautamadharmasūtra* XI.20: *deśajātikuladharmāśca''mnayairaviruddhāḥ pramāṇam //*, i.e. *dharmas* (customs) of

5. J. D. M. Derrett, *Religion, Law and the State in India*, London, 1968, p. 29, n. 1.

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countries, casts and families (the traditional enumeration saying about the look at the society as the totality of communities of various levels), if they don't contradict to sacred texts, are also *pramāṇa*, i.e. they are juridical authoritative (compare *Manusmṛti* II.13, XI.84).

Before they became themselves this and other juridical terms had to have ritual semantics because of functioning in ritual texts. But their accept of juridical semantics should be explained probably by interaction of *dharmasūtras* with early *arthaśāstras*. These ritual texts incorporated practically the whole juridical subjects in the limits of *rājadharma*. But we must note that the terms remained the same ones, i.e. just the terms became the matrices of the stuff of *arthaśāstra* in *dharmaśāstras*. The process was the main reason for the transformation of *pramāṇa* into *pramāṇaṃ trividham* and so on, perhaps, it began before the first *dharmasūtra* was composed, i.e. the interaction took place between the early *arthaśāstras* and the sources of *dharmasūtras* (those *arthaśāstras* had little in common with the *Arthaśāstra* — the last one probably is an unicum text and has not analogous). I call it integration of *arthaśāstra* and *dharmaśāstra* « A ». In many cases it is not difficult to see the identity of juridical stuff of *dharmasūtras* and of the *Arthaśāstra*, and sometimes the similarity is so strong that can not be explained by anything but borrowing from the sources also basic for recomposed texts of divisions III-IV of the *Arthaśāstra*. For example, it is said in the *Arthaśāstra* III.8.1: *sāmantapratyayā vāstuvivādāḥ* (see pratyaya III.9.24, III.11.43, III.13.31, compare with III.12.14), i.e. in disputes the object of which are immovables the witnesses-neigbours are to be entrusted. According to the *Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra* XVI.13: *gṛhakṣetravirodhe sāmantapratyayaḥ*. The word *vāstu* is explained in III.8.2 as house and field first of all. The word *virodha* replaces here *vivāda*. The *Arthaśāstra* III.11.25-26 says: *saṃpratipattāvuttamaḥ / asaṃpratipattau tu sākṣiṇaḥ pramāṇaṃ pratyayikāḥ śucayo' numatā vā trayo' varārdhyāḥ*. The text of the *Gautamadharmasūtra* XIII.1 has the same sense: *vipratipattau sākṣiṇī mithyāsatyavyavasthā bahavaḥ syuraninditāḥ svakarmasu prātyayikā...* In accordance with the *Arthaśāstra* III.16.25-26: *paracakrāṭavīhṛtaṃ tu pratyānīya rājā yathāsvaṃ prayacchet / corahṛtam avidyamānaṃ svadravyebhyaḥ prayacchet...* And according to the *Gautamadharmasūtra* X.46-47: *caurahṛtamupajitya yathāsthanaṃ gamayet / kośādvā dadyād* (perhaps *yathāsthanam* is distorted expression *yathāsvam*, but if it is really so it is no wonder since this *dharmasūtra* is a later text).

The similarity on the level of models is found between the *Arthaśāstra* and *dharmasūtra's rājadharma* as well. The model of the *Arthaśāstra* implies the seven state's factors (viz. janapada. durga etc.) which are discovered not only in the *Manusmṛti*, *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, *Rāmāyaṇa*,

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Viṣṇusmṛti, *Nitīsara* but also in other texts [6]; a king models a state in *dharmasūtras*, as it can be seen, for example, in the *Āpastambadharmasūtra* II.25.2-3 and below where the motive of the arrangement by a king of a sity, capital and fortress and his house etc. occurs. This micromodel in the limits of *rājadharma* reproduces the whole idea of *saptāṅga*.

On the other hand, the causes of using the term *pramāṇa* by compiler of the *Arthaśāstra* implies a certain influence of the tradition of *dharmaśāstra* on *arthaśāstras* (comparison of III.11.25, III.19.21 with III.12.37-38 and III.12.53 shows that the term *pramāṇa* has here and there the semantics similar to that one of the term *karaṇa*).

The systems of juridical terminology of *arthaśāstra* and *dharmaśāstra* displays a striking stability. The long process of the evolution of *arthaśātra* led to the following phenomenon: symbolic system of information (law information in particular) became a stereotype which excludes the using of symbolic terms which already have analogous in the system. So, *arthaśāstras* including in their texts the term *pramāṇa* deprived it of the semantics it had in combination of *pramāṇaṃ trividham*. The semantics of the last term corresponded to that of *karaṇa* in the *Arthaśāstra*. *Pramāṇa* in the treatise had more abstract meaning.

A new stage of the integration of *arthaśāstra* and *dharmaśāstra* (I call it stage « B ») was connected with concentrated incorporating of proper *vyavahāra* into *dharmaśāstras*. Here appeared *arthaśāstra* included into *dharmaśāstra* (i.e. *dharmaśāstra-antargatam*). The process explains the composing of the genre of proper *dharmaśāstra*. With the beginning of the process *dharmaśāstras* accept the juridical stuff of the *arthaśāstras*. Besides a new *varṇa*-composition of *dharmaśāstras* the integration of both literature-genres also expressed in including into *dharmaśāstras* of some terms, e.g. *karaṇa* and *deśa*, which are to be considered specific « radioactive tracers » in the *Manusmṛti*. There is no the word *pramāṇa* implying a proof. It appears only in the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* (II.22, 89 etc.) perhaps as a certain reaction to the including of the stuff of *arthaśāstra*. In the *Manusmṛti karaṇa* is the term analogous to *pramāṇa*, and the phenomenon should be discussed in detail.

R. P. Kangle writes in his study of the *Arthaśāstra*: « ... the *Manusmṛti* shows its indebtedness to the *Arthaśāstra*, for example, in 8.53-56, which enumerate the causes that lead to loss of suit. A comparison with the *Arthaśāstra*, 3.1.19, leaves hardly any room for doubt that *Manu* reproduced the latter's rules, though in his own words » [7]. In my opinion, there are following parallels between the *Arthaśāstra* (III.1.19) and *Manusmṛti* (A.-M.): A. *pūrvoktaṃ paścimenārthena nābhisaṃdhatte* - M.VIII.53(2). *yaścādharottarānarthānvigitānnāvabudhyate*; A. *pratijñāya*

6. A. M. Samozvantsev, *Ob interpretatsii glavy « Arthaśāstry » janapadaniveśa* (Interpretation of the janapadaniveśa chapter in the Arthaśāstra), in VDI (Vestnik drevney istorii or Journal of Ancient History), 3 (1975).

7. R. P. Kangle, *The Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*, pp. 80-1.

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deśaṃ nirdiśetyukte na nirdiśati - M.VIII.57(1). *sākṣiṇaḥ santi metyuktvā diśetyukto diśenna yaḥ*; A. *hīnadeśamadeśaṃ vā nirdiśati* - M.VIII.53(1). adeśyaṃ(adeśam) *yaśca diśati nirdiśyāpahnute ca yaḥ*; A. *upasthite deśe'rthavacanaṃ naivamityapavyayate* - M.VIII.54(2). *samyakpraṇihitaṃ cārthaṃ pṛṣṭhaḥ sannābhinandati*; A. *sākṣibhiravadhṛtaṃ necchati* - M.VIII.55(2). *nirucyamānaṃ praśnaṃ ca necchedyaścāpi niṣpatet*; A. *asaṃbhāṣye deśe sākṣibhirmithaḥ saṃbhāṣate* - M.VIII.55(1). *asaṃbhaṣye sākṣibhiśca deśe saṃbhāṣate mithaḥ*; A. *nirdiṣṭāddeśādanyaṃ deśamupasthāpayati* - M.VIII.54(1). *apadiśyāpadeśyaṃ ca punaryastvapadhāvati* (the last parallel seems to be a right one if we take into account *Bharuci*'s commentary on the *Manusmṛti*: one bringing a suit refuses to give one proof in court and gives another one). There are another similar texts in both sources (see, for example, the *Arthaśāstra* III.1.31 and *Manusmṛti* VIII.58).

The *Manusmṛti* VIII.51 says: *arthe'pavyayamānaṃ tu karaṇena vibhāvitam / dāpayeddhanikasyārthaṃ daṇḍaleśaṃ ca śaktitaḥ //* (compare the *Arthaśāstra* III.12.38). J. D. M. Derrett translates the text in the following way: « He shall cause to pay the creditor's due and a small fine according to his means, if he denies a debt proved by a proof »[8]. *Bharuci's* commentary says: *karaṇaṃ ca yat sandigdhe vastuni nirṇayasādhanaṃ, tat punas triprakāram*. J. D. M. Derrett translates: « A "proof" is a means of arriving at a decision in a contenious matter, which may be of three kinds »[9]. And *Kullūka* says in his commentary that *karaṇa* should be understood as *pramāṇaṃ trividham* of *dharmaśāstra*, i.e. document, witness, ordeal etc.: *... karaṇena lekhyasākṣidivyādinā* (a ordeal was not an element of *pramāṇaṃ trividham* but as divine proof ment a juridical authority, i.e. *pramāṇa*). According to the *Manusmṛti* VIII.52: *apahnave'dhamarṇasya dehītyuktasya saṃsadi / abhiyoktā diśeddeśyaṃ(deśam) karaṇaṃ vānyaduddiśet //*. J. D. M. Derrett translates it as follows: « When a debtor told in court "Give!", refuses to do so, the plaintiff must indicate the "place" or should point out the proof »[10]. But he takes the text's reading: *abhiyoktā diśed deśaṃ karaṇaṃ vā samuddiśet* in his edition of the *Manusmṛti* with the commentary of *Bharuci*[11] while to my mind the text's reading indicated above seems to be more preferable. It considers *deśa* as a kind of *karaṇa* (proof) which is synonymously understood by *Bharuci*, and other commentators as document, witness and so on. There is no doubt that the compiler of the *Manusmṛti* himself realized *deśa* to be a proof. And besides, though J. D. M. Derrett follows the interpretation of *Bharuci* in the latter's commentary on the *Manusmṛti* VIII.52 as a « place » the com-

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8. *Bharuci's Commentary on the Manusmṛti (the Manu-śāstra-vivaraṇa, Books 6-12), vol. 2. The Translation and Notes*, ed. by J. Duncan M. Derrett, Wiesbaden, p. 109.
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.*
11. *Op. cit.*, vol. 1. The Text, Wiesbaden, 1975, p. 96.

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abhiyoktā prayoktā diśed dānādhikāraṇa-deśam. atra ca deśa-grahaṇaṃ mentator himself gives a variety of interpretations of *deśa* in the text: *sāmarthyāt sākṣyupalakṣaṇārthaṃ... yasmād āha karaṇaṃ vā samuddiśed patra-saṃjñaṃ vyavahārasthāna eva. ataśca gamyate deśa-grahaṇaṃ karaṇo/lakṣaṇārtham iti/... deśagrahaṇaṃ ca nidarśanārthatvāt kālārtham api draṣṭavyam, "kasmin deśe kāle tvayā mama pratidattaṃ dhanam"* iti »[12]. J. D. M. Derrett translates this passage in the following way: « The plaintiff must indicate the "place" where the money was given. In view of the sense of the passage the word "place" here must be understood to imply "witness"... he says "or he should point out the proof", namely the proof in the form of the document, at the place of trial itself. And so even the word "place" must be seen to mean "time" in order to the question, "at what place and time did you pay me the money" »[13]. Thus the commentator offers several interpretations of the word *deśa*, but a « proof » seems to him the most probable one to imply the document, witness and so on. Such version rather corresponds to the interpretation of the *Manusmṛti* mentioned above than to that the « place » interpretation of J. D. M. Derrett. It is possible that *Bhauci* was confused by the meaning of *deśa* in the *Manusmṛti* VIII.45.

In my opinion, the interpretation of this sort in the sense of proof is a derivative from the meaning of the term *deśa* in the *Arthaśāstra* where it implies a kind of *karaṇa*. J. D. M. Derrett notes himself the fact that in the *Arthaśāstra karaṇa* is a usual designation of « proof »[14]. The very structure of the text of the *dharmaśāstra* (VIII.52) shows *deśa* has there more narrow sense than *karaṇa*, quite similar to the *Arthaśāstra* where *deśa* in its turn should be in the first place understood as a document. In the *Manusmṛti* VIII.53 the text should be also understood not in the sense of *Bharuci*'s interpretation (J. D. M. Derrett follows the latter), i.e. « indicates not the place », but rather in the sense of the *Arthaśāstra* III.1.19, IV.9.15, i.e. as non-proof. The expression « indicates not the place » will be rather conveyed by the formula *na deśamuddiśet* and not by *adeśaṃ diśati* (see the *Manusmṛti* VIII.53).

The process of balancing the system of the juridical terminology which I mentioned above using the *Arthaśāstra* as an example took place at « B »-stage of the integration in *dharmaśāstras* as well. The term *karaṇa* has kept its meaning as a « proof », but *pramāṇa* appears again and is used more often, just as a stereotype element of law system of *dharmaśāstra* and, in my opinion, as a regeneration of the common tradition of *dharmaśāstra*. The juridical term *deśa* of *arthaśāstra* doesn't appear, and *pramāṇa* in its semantics may be intended to imply the semantics of the term *karaṇa* in the *Arthaśāstra*. The most wide-spread meaning of *pramāṇa* in *dharmaśāstras* is a document. The similar

12. *Ibid.*
13. *Bharuci's Commentary*, vol. 2, p. 109.
14. *Op. cit.*, p. 109. n. 2.

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semantics of both terms *karaṇa* and *pramāṇa* in *dharmaśāstras* should be explained by peculiarity of the juridical structure of *dharmaśāstras* as compared with that of the *Arthaśāstra.* As far to the term *karaṇa* it gets in *dharmaśāstras* the meaning similar to that one of *pramaṇa* in the *Arthaśāstra,* i.e. an abstract juridical authority, as well.

After the incorporation of the stuff of *vyavahāra dharmaśāstras* were still ritual texts. But at the same time this private admontions on dharma for the brahmanical pupils became law authorities. It can explain the process during which *arthaśāstra* lost its authority of a law text. It led to a gradual loss of important themes of *arthaśāstra* and its transformation into *nitīśāstra.* We can also observe the acquiring by *dharmaśāstras* of the authority of law texts perhaps in the division of the genre into ritual texts (for example, the *Parāśarasmṛti*) and juridical ones (as the *Nāradasmṛti*), i.e. in the latter case I suppose fixing and composing of a *śāstra* in the form of a separate law text, but this process, in my opinion, began in the first centuries of our era when the genre of *dharmaśāstra* was being composed intencively thanks to influence of *arthaśāstra.*

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H. D. SANKALIA

THE RĀMĀYAṆA AGE

After an analytical study of the objects, concepts, persons and places of each *Kāṇḍa*, we may now present a coherent picture of the *Rāmāyaṇa Age*.

The story had its origin at Ayodhyā, in mid-Eastern India as suggested by reliable references to a few other places in this region as well as in the Northwest Frontier. Principal towns in the Gangetic valley such as Mathurā, Kauśāmbī, Kānyakubja, Śrāvastī and Vaiśālī, must have come into existence at this time.

The country south of the Ganges was forested, and very sparsely inhabited. The Vindhyas were known, but not the Narbada, and so also the country further south. This is proved by the river names in the *Bālakāṇḍa* and *Ayodhyākāṇḍa*, detailed descriptions of the Vindhya in the *Araṇyakāṇḍa* and the interpolations in the *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa* and the fanciful descriptions of Laṅkā in the *Sundarakāṇḍa* and *Yuddhakāṇḍa* and the complete absence of any reference to places in the south in the *Uttarakāṇḍa*.

However the interpolations in the *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa* as well as descriptions in *Sundarakāṇḍa* and *Yuddhakāṇḍa* do show that the poet who added these had a vague idea that Laṅkā was on a hill or hilly place on an island in the Indian ocean.

This island should be no other than Ceylon (now called Sri Laṅkā) whch from the fourth century B.C., until the seventh century A.D. was known in inscriptions and literature as Siṁhala and Tāmraparṇī.

It is indeed surprising that the *Rāmāyaṇa* nowhere mentions this place, whereas the other epic, *Mahābhārata*, several *Purāṇas*, and even a sixteenth century Sanskrit manuscript of the Muslim ruler, Mahmud Begada of Gujarat, mentions both Laṅkā and Siṁhala. Late epigraphical evidence shows that Goa was known by both these names in the tenth century.

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All the main participants or actors in the story — Rāma, Lakṣmana and Sītā; Rāvaṇa, Sugrīva and Hanumān — were human beings. They were endowed with divine, demoniac and superhuman powers when the various miraculous elements were added in the story. At least two stages in this development can be clearly seen. And it is possible that when the *Rāmāyaṇa* was first composed, the poet had already decided to invest Rāma with divine powers so that he could later accomplish single-handed the various feats.

However, in the final stage, Rāma and Sītā are elevated to a fully divine state, and side by side — everyone, the Rākṣasas as well as the Vānaras get a promotion, and are endowed with good or bad qualities as demanded by the occasion.

Because of this late « promotions », it took some centuries before temples dedicated exclusively to Rāma came up.

Since all the actors are human beings they go through or observe the actions and activities, rites and ceremonies suitable to or required by their position.

Thus the marriages of Rāma and Rāvaṇa were consecrated before a fire, so was the friendship between Rāma and Hanumān.

So also for a coronation, whether of Rāma or Sugrīva, waters from the seven seas were brought, though poor Sugrīva was not anointed by a Brahmin!

Likewise whether it was Daśaratha, Vāli or Rāvaṇa, cremation was the most acceptable method of disposal of the dead, though Virādha was buried as desired by him. It should be noted that at this time even women accompained the corpse to the cremation ground, which was on a river bank, and it was permissible to go in a conveyance — a palanquin or a chariot.

When cremation was not immediately possible, or it was necessary to preserve the body, it was immersed in a large vessel containing oil.

Only a few towns or cities are mentioned; of these we have a fairly detailed description of Ayodhyā, to some extent of Takṣaśilā and Puṣkarāvatī, and only fanciful descriptions of Kiṣkindhā and Laṅkā, and a mere mention of the rest — Mathurā, Vediśā and Aṅgadiyā.

If the reference to the two cities in Gandhāra Viṣaya, the present Northwest Frontier Province is to the cities founded by the Indo-Greeks or the Parthians, then it is more than probable that the description of Ayodhyā is either based on these cities or the Ayodhyā of this period, that is, the first century B.C. For as Professor Lal [1] informed the author he had not found so far any traces or remains of the Gupta period. This was also the impression of General Cunningham who had visited the site nearly a hundred years ago.

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1. H. D. Sankalia, *Indian Archaeology Today*, Ajanta Publications, Delhi, 1979, p. 196.

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Whatever be the exact period of this Ayodhyā, it was ruled by a king who was helped by a *mantri pariṣad* (council of ministers), and the *purohits*. And in all important matters the people were consulted. Though their opinion was only recommendatory and not decisive or binding, still Rāma regarded it as decisive, or important enough to be heard and acted upon.

It was this, the *pauravāda* « the talk among the people » that made Rāma exile Sītā once again. « Rāmarājya » really connoted the acceptance of the voice of the people, though we are normally apt to regard it as a « Golden Age ». For it was in this age that a Brahmin's son died, and Sītā was exiled.

Some such council of ministers is also supposed to be there in Laṅkā. For we are repeatedly told that Rāvaṇa consulted his ministers and others.

So did Sugrīva.

What all this suggests is that though the king was supreme, he did consult his advisers, and others, though he was not bound to accept their advice.

What other organizations were there in these cities we cannot say. For none are mentioned. But from the fact that when Bharata thought of going to meet Rāma in Citrakūṭa, he sent out in advance sappers, miners, road-makers and bridge-builders, we may deduce that there must have been in existence at this time a loosely knit body or guilds of architects, engineers, masons and carpenters. By this time all these had become hereditary professions.

So also was that of the ferryman (*Niṣāda* Guha) who carried first Rāma, and then Bharata's army across the Triveṇī.

While we definitely rule out the existence of aerial travel which occurs comparatively more frequently in the *Rāmāyaṇa* than in any other *Purāṇas* or the *Mahābhārata*, we must give due credit to the author for imagining its use. Even in the *Uttarakāṇḍa* Rāma goes out in search of the Śudra who is said to have been practising penance. So Rāma had to recall the Puṣpaka which he had returned to Kubera, as we are told in the *Yuddhakāṇḍa*.

Among other normal means of conveyance there were palanquins, and chariots drawn by horses and also asses. What the nature of these chariots was — whether they had a solid wheel or spoked wheel — we can only imagine. One thing is certain. These chariots could only be used on properly laid out roads. Hence it was used by Rāma, and Bharata only on the northern bank of the Ganges or the Sarayu. The journey on the southern bank after crossing the river had to be on foot.

The normal material for making clothes was *kṣauma* (linen). Women wore an *uttariya* as well as an *adhovastra* of yellow silk (*pīta kauśeya*).

Cotton clothes must have been in use, because *kārpāsa* (cotton) is mentioned as one of the threads of the rope used for tieing Hanumān.

There was also the use of *śaṇa* (garments of hemp) and *una* (gar-

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ments of wool). The latter were a speciality of the North West Frontier Province, and always figure among the goods sent by Kekaya.

However, what the exact type of dress was we cannot say. Both the men and women, particularly the poorer classes, in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar wear a kind of *dhoti*, very often *sakachha* or *akaccha*, that is either they pass between the legs, or is worn in the form of a *sārī*. However it was always short, almost touching the knee, or just below it, but not too long.

Though so many preparations of food are mentioned in the *Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa*, and the *Sundarakāṇḍa*, still the most common or abundant food was rice. Shops in Ayodhyā are said to have been filled with this grain. Wheat or any other cereal is not even once mentioned. This is indeed surprising, for though rice is the staple diet even today of eastern Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Bengal, still Ayodhyā would seem to occupy almost a position in the centre of the two Uttar Pradesh and wheat should have been available there 2000 years ago.

What is surprising[2] is the frequent mention of meat and meat-diet, both in Ayodhyā and Laṅkā and even in the *āshrama* of Bharadvāja. And Rāma, Sītā and Laksmaṇa lived on it, until Sītā was abducted.

Among the drinks, sugarcane, *madhu*, and *maireya* from Mahua flowers occur frequently. Twice Vāruṇī is mentioned, and the name is definitely said to be from Varuṇa, « the lord of the western ocean ».

Surā and *surāpāna* were definitely forbidden, as Kane has so well shown. And it is wrong to think, as some scholars loosely hold, that *surā* was used both in society and religious practices. Hence their prominent mention in the *Rāmāyaṇa* should be ascribed to the impact of new socio-economic events.

This one name (*Vāruṇī*) for a kind of spirituous drink, along with the signet-ring, the mention of Maricipaṭṭana, and the description of the scenes of revelry in the *āśrama* of Bharadvāja and in the harem of Rāvaṇa help us to place one stage of the composition of the epic in the first century A.D., when trade with Rome and the Western world had introduced Roman wine to large parts of India. This had been never suspected before by any previous scholar. We have been able to think of it, thanks to Sir Mortimer Wheeler, who was the first to draw the attention of Indian scholars to this source of influence on our culture. How deep and far-reaching it was, it is being slowly realised, and will be known further as our knowledge of archaeology of this period increases.

Unfortunately the epic refers in a most general way to the furniture and material possessions in the houses and palaces in Ayodhyā.

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2. Surprising from the common man's point of view. For the Hindus always think or believe that Rama and Sita were vegetarians. As Kane has well summarised the then prevailing views among Buddhists as well as non-Buddhists, *ahiṁsā* was generally preached, though there were exceptions. See P. V. KANE, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, vol. V, Poona, 1974, Part 2, pp. 944.

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Kiṣkindhā and Laṅkā, so that we cannot pick out any of these for a further scrutiny. But how significant for dating purposes are the references to *Gaja-Lakṣmī* and *ihāmṛiga* as architectural motifs on the pillars in Rāvana's palace has been amply demonstrated, so are the references to *kridāgṛiha* (sports stadium) as well as the scenes of revelry in Laṅkā. More than one sports-stadium has been found at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, and there are several sculptures portraying revelry. It is more than probable that Laṅkā's description is based on an Indo-Roman city like Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, while that of Ayodhyā is based on that of Taxila.

Hence it has been thought advisable to give a descritpion of the « palaces » exposed at Taxila, together with their plans. As Marshall said more than twenty-five years ago this is the only city so far revealed by archaeology. Even now this remains true and would probably remain true unless a concerted attempt is made by the various agencies to find out what the ancient cities in India actually were.

At Sirkap (Taxila) no less than three palace complexes together with their temples were brought to light. Each palace complex has a number of « courts ». The various *kakṣas* mentioned by the *Rāmāyaṇa* while describing the residence of Daśaratha and Rama should be very similar to these. As the author of the present study pointed out long age in an article on « Houses and Habitations through the ages », the square plan, that is, the central square (*catusśālā*) around which various rooms or apartments were located, remained until recently the principal architectural feature of a small or large house or palace in India [3].

Again this is the only city of the early historical period, most probably contemporary of the cities described in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, where such straight roads, flanked by shops have been found, Hence photographs of these have also been reproduced here from Marshall.

Along with these have also been reproduced scenes of revelry from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, the amphora, and wine cups from Taxila and elsewhere, and the photos of Romans or Indo-Romans found from the same city.

In this context, one should mention again the signet-rings from Taxila. as well as the *Gaja-Lakṣmī* and *ihāmṛigas* from Bharhut, Sanchi and Western Indian caves, particularly Nasik and Amaravati.

It should be emphasized that the signet-ring does not figure among the ornaments at Sanchi even in the later period [4].

All these singly and cumulatively would demonstrate the impact of Roman contact on India in the early centuries of the Christian era. It is very likely that when further excavations take place in India or the existing finds are studied more critically we might find still more evidence of this contact.

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3. H. D. Sankalia, *BDCRI*, vol. XX, 1958, pp. 137-63.
4. M. K. Dhavalikar, *Ajanta - A Culturel Study*, Poona, 1973, p. 76.

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Such excavations would be particularly welcome to understand the development of our conventional arms, such as the *gadā*, the bow, arrow, sword and the spear, and the shield and the defensive armour. At present we have the most reliable evidence, again from the excavations at Sirkap (Taxila).

This undoubtedly shows what tremendous growth in type and technique took place after the Indo-Greek, Parthian and Śaka invasions[5]. This fortunately is distinctly documented by the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

Anyway, the picture that we have from this study of the material aspects of life depicted in the *Rāmāyaṇa* is not unusual, and fully believable. What is remarkable, and what has remained an ideal throughout the centuries is the character of Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Sītā and Hanumān. This has remained constant in spite of interpolations.

The observance of *Dharma* has been regarded as an ideal. Whenever an occasion arises this has been emphasized by all — Rāma and Sītā, by the Vānaras — as well as the Rākṣasas — by Vibhīṣaṇa and Mālyavān, and at the end by Supārśva. It is this insistence on the observance of *Dharma*, one's duty to one's father, or parents — and one's profession that has caught the imagination of people in India. Naturally, among these the characters of Rāma and Sītā stand out most prominently. Rāma came to be regarded as an ideal king, and a dutiful son and husband; Sītā and ideal of Indian womanhood: ever chaste, bold, brave, but dutiful, so much so that she gave up her life to prove her innocence.

Rāma, as a true popular ruler, cares for the opinion of his people and exiles Sītā against his conscience, as we are told specifically.

Lakṣmaṇa once again carries out his elder brother's orders, at the cost of his life, first by stopping Durvāsā and then by allowing him to meet Rāma when he was told not to allow anybody to enter his residence. Thus the three main characters in the epic remain true to their *dharma*.

With regard to other concepts, moral or ethical, philosophical and metaphysical as well as some social customs we do observe some changes from *kāṇḍa* to *kāṇḍa*. All these have been noted and fully discussed. These, though few, reflect the changes taking place in the Hindu Society, owing to the impact of the political events. Specially noticeable is the hardening of the *Varṇa-āśrama-dharma* and the open or regular observance of the Satī. This was completely absent in the *Ayodhyākāṇḍa*, *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa*, and even in the *Yuddhakāṇḍa*, but is specifically referred to in the *Uttarakāṇḍa*.

Thus in one way or another this hypercritical study of the *Rāmāyaṇa* has helped to make our knowledge of the past more precise. It will

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5. After this was written, have appeared, as noted earlier two works by G. N. Pant. Both these, but particularly the second one on *Indian Archery* corroborate what the author has been emphasizing. To make the point easily understandable, the arrows from Taxila as found by Marshall and the conventional ones illustrated by a manuscript of *Dhanurveda* have been illustrated.

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become more so, as archaeology refines its tools and techniques. For it was with the assistance of the latter that the study was initially attempted.

As far as the problem of Laṅkā is concerned it can only be shown here on a detailed consideration of the epigraphical evidence, that from at least the fourth century B.C. Siṁhala and Laṅkā were regarded as different. The former was also known as *Tāmraparṇi dvipa*. The original Laṅkā must be somewhere, preferably in eastern Madhya Pradesh, western Orissa-Andhra trijunction. However, by the fourth century A.D., it was believed to be in the Indian ocean but still not identified with Siṁhala. Thus both Laṅkā and Siṁhala, though believed to be islands in the ocean, were regarded as separate. Only in the last couple of centuries the Indian mind has come to identify Laṅkā with Siṁhala, and the same as Ceylon or Śrī Laṅkā. At the moment Sonepur on the confluence of the Tel and Mahanadi, District Bolangir, Western Orissa has been identified as the Western Laṅkā, mentioned in a 9th-10th inscription from Sonpur Inscription of Kumāra Someśvaradeva (*EI.* vol. 12, 1913-14, p. 37). Preliminary investigation also showed that the site is very old, going back to at least 5th century B.C. There are also remains of fortification and potsherds of various historical periods as well as iron tools and weapons were collected from the mounds. A large hoard of Silver Punch marked coins was also found here some 30 years ago. Excavations, which have been planned, shoul give very interesting results.

Finally, as far as the question of deification of Rāma is concerned, it can be definitely said that it was a very gradual development. In fact, almost all the deities, Vedic as well as non-Vedic or Puranic, figure but little in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Śiva plays no part in the main story, Viṣṇu appears very gradually, and prominently only in the *Bālakāṇḍa* and *Uttarakāṇḍa*, when Rāma is fully identified with Viṣṇu, Kriṣṇa, Nārāyaṇa, and Sītā with Lakṣmī. Though this identification took place about the fifth century A.D., still it took a couple of centuries for Rāma to be actually worshipped. This is proved best archaeologically, though it was well surmised by the late Prof. G H. Bhatt, the General Editor of the *Rāmāyaṇa*[6]. First came the depiction of scenes from the epic in Viṣṇu and probably Śiva temples in Madhya Pradesh, then in Andhra, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, in the south and Gujarat and Rajasthan in the north. It was at this time, seventh century that Rāmāyaṇa was carried across to the Indian colonies in south-east Asia.

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6. G. H. Bhatt, *The Vālmīkī Rāmāyaṇa*, vol. I, *Bālakāṇḍa*, Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1960, p. XXXIII.

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K. V. SARMA *

SOME LESSONS FROM VĀLMĪKI RĀMĀYAṆA

The appeal of the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki, the prime epic of India, is many-sided. This characteristic of the epic stems out of its extent, age and theme. In about 25,000 sweet, simple and mellifluous verses, it is an extensive repository of information on a vast number of subjects, touching, practically, every facet of life in ancient India about two millenniums ago. Thus, the *Rāmāyaṇa* is an authentic source of information to students of history, geography, sociology and politics, on the one side, and of religion, literature and the arts, on the other. It has been a perennial source of inspiration to poets and dramatists who wrote in Sanskrit and the several regional languages of the land. The story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* told and retold, generation after generation, to young and old, in original and in redaction, has had, all along, a sustaining value, which, perhaps, no other similar work possesses in equal measure.

While the idealist « *theme* » of the *Rāmāyaṇa* has served to entertain and educate the common man in India, in different strata of the society and stages in life, there is much in Vālmīki's « *words* » which is more often than not missed in its redactions. Attention is drawn, below, to one such aspect of Vālmīki's « *Text* », *viz.*, the rich store of wise sayings of everyday utility to the common man of today. These sayings generally take the form of advice, admonitions, statements of worldy wisdom, vagaries of life, ways of the wise etc., to suit all conceivable situations. In this lies the utilitarian value of these sayings. For, from these one can draw inspiration, get guidance and confirm one's conviction in his actions. The specimens noticed below will make explicit this aspect of Vālmīki's composition.

To start with some healthy advice towards self-development: The *Rāmāyaṇa* enjoins one to be ever active: *bhava kriyāparo nityam*

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(4.20.17). One should act in time, for a dam is not built after the water has flown down (*gatodake setubandho na vidhīyate*, 2.12.17). Moreover, one who does not set to work himself, but depends upon fortune, will soon lose everything and will be on the run:

yas tu nārabhate kiñcin naro daivaparāyaṇaḥ /
kṣipraṃ bhavati nirdravyaḥ palāyanaparāyaṇaḥ //

(5.32.12)

During times of danger, the brave should think coolly and act firmly:

vyasane vārthakṛcchre vā bhaye vā jīvitāntage /
vimṛśan vai svayā buddhyā dhṛtimān nāvasīdati //

There is no question of despair and one should never drown oneself in sorrow at times of distress:

samprāpya paṇḍitaḥ kṛcchraṃ naiva śoke nimajjati /

Vālmīki counsels patience and assures happiness in due course to one who would bide his time. He says:

eti jīvantam ānando naraṃ varṣaśatād api /

(5.28.8)

A brave man should never speak foul even in strained circumstances:

kaṣṭāyam apy avasthāyām na dhīro garhitam vadet /

(3.50.20)

He should not give way to anger, for, men of character do not indulge in it: *kopam niyacchanti sattvavantaḥ* (5.52.16). Moreover, there is no saying as to what an angry man would do or say:

nākāryam asti kruddhasya nāvācyam vidyate kvacit /

(5.55.6)

Vālmīki indicates the three-fold functionaries of evil, *viz.*, the body, mind and tongue:

kāyena kurute pāpaṃ manasā sampradhārya ca /
anṛtaṃ jihvayā prāha trividham karma pātakam //

(2.101.21)

He also warns that bad results are sure to follow evil acts:

avaśyaṃ labhate kartā phalaṃ pāpasya karmaṇaḥ /

(3.34.8)

The path to a peaceful life is to avoid the extremes of likes and dislikes:

na cātipraṇayaḥ kāryaḥ kartavyo'praṇayaś ca te /

(4.16.121)

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Indeed, distress results from possessive love, and much more so from hatred and, so, those who can avoid both deserve credit:

priyād utpadyate duḥkham apriyād adhikaṃ punaḥ /
tābhyāṃ hi ye viyujyante namas teṣām mahātmanām //
(5.20.68)

Neither is emotional intensity beyond limits justified, for, after all, man is born single and is also to make his exit in a similar manner. This being the case, who is possessed by whom and what has he to do with him, asks the author:

kaḥ kasya puruṣo bandhuḥ kiṃ kāryaṃ kena kasyacit /
yad eko jāyate jantuḥ, eka eva vinaśyati //
(2.121.3)

Coming together of persons, wife, children, friends and wealth, is no more than like the coming together of logs of floating wood in the watery expanse, jostling together for a while and floating apart later:

yathā kāṣṭhaṃ ca kāṣṭhaṃ ca sameyātāṃ mahodadhau /
sametya ca vyapeyātāṃ sthitvā kiñcit kṣaṇāntaram /
evam bhāryāś ca putrāś ca suhṛdaś ca vasūni ca
sametya vyavadhīyante dhruvo hyeṣam vinābhavaḥ /
(2.119.12-13)

There are, however, certain positive ideals to be lived for and there are proper means to achieve them. First and foremost, one should cherish his Self: *Ātmā rakṣyaḥ prayatnena* (5.46.15), the means for which is righteousness (*dharma*). From righteousness flows wealth, happiness, everything; the entire universe is, indeed, the essence of righteousness:

dharmād arthaḥ prabhavate, dharmāt prabhavate sukham /
dharmeṇa labhate sarvaṃ, dharmasāram idaṃ jagat //
(3.10.25)

To be righteous, to be good, is not to tolerate evil. Goodness might be of little avail herein and so evil shall have to be put down with a firm hand. The *Rāmāyaṇa* enjoins:

na sāma rakṣassu guṇāya kalpate
na dānam arthopaciteṣu vartate /
na bhedasādhyā baladarpitā janāḥ.
(5.38.3)

« Words of goodwill will have no effect on demons; there can be no gifts acceptable by the wealthy; and, those mad with pride cannot be moved by threats ». Punishment alone shall have effect on the wicked.

The words of worldly wisdom, both approbatory and deprecatory, found in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, can come in handy to one to take a lenient view

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of the vagaries of the erring mortal, but, at the same time, to correct oneself. Thus, Vālmīki notices that man is drawn (into wrong-doing) by his senses, just as an elephant tied by ropes:

indriyaiḥ kṛṣyate jantuḥ sūtrabaddha iva dvipaḥ.

(4.16.60)

Few, indeed, are people who tender benevolent, though unpalatable counsel:

apriyasya ca pathyasya vaktā śrotā ca durlabhaḥ.

(6.16.21)

For, as the poet himself observes:

mumūrṣūṇām hi martyānām yat pathyaṃ tan na rocate /

(3.59.21)

« Good counsel is not appreciated by those men who are intent to do away with themselves ». Vālmīki has a very telling illustration for this trait of his mundane fellow beings. He observes, sarcastically, that a son might fling at his own mother who attempts to give him benevolent, though unpleasant counsel; however, when his sweetheart addresses the same words to him, he is all smiles! ».

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MARIA SCHETELICH

ZU DEN ANFÄNGEN ALTINDISCHER STAATSLEHRE

Die Staatslehre wird mit Recht als eine der großen Leistungen altindischen Denkens gewertet, war sie doch neben der Medizin diejenige Wissenschaft, die sich am ehesten von der brahmanischen Theologie löste und unabhängige Lehren entwickelte[1]. Ihre Entstehung und frühe Entwicklung läßt sich allerdings weit weniger gut verfolgen als die der Medizin, für die bereits die vedischen Texte — beginnend mit dem *Atharvaveda* — eine Fülle von Material liefern. Die Staatslehre tritt uns in ihrem ältesten überlieferten Text, dem *Arthaśāstra* des Kauṭilya (weiter: KA) bereits in voll entwickelter Form entgegen. Die Lehren der Staatslehrer vor Kauṭilya, die das KA entweder namentlich nennt oder kollektiv als « Lehrer » bezeichnet und zitiert, sind außer durch Zitate in diesem Text einstweilen nicht bekannt[2]. Auch in den Texten die man mit Sicherheit vor das KA datieren kann, findet man wenig. Die älteren *Dharmasūtras* (Gautama, Apastamba etwa) enthalten zwar Anklänge an die Staatslehre Kauṭilyas[3], doch betreffen sie nur *rājadharma*, bzw. *daṇḍanīti*, den Aufgabenbereich des Königs im Innern seines Reiches, also das Gebiet, auf dem auch Kauṭilya seine Gebundenheit an die brahmanische Ideologie am stärksten verrät — auch wenn einige Stellen zeigen, daß er nicht orthodox, sondern wirklichkeitsnah und pragmatisch und daher aufgeklärt dachte[4]. Für die eigentliche *nīti*

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1. S. bei W. Ruben, Kulturgeschichte Indiens, Berlin, 1978, S. 136 u.a.
2. Eine Übersicht dazu gibt R. P. KANGLE, *The Kauṭiliya Arthaśāstra*, Part III, Bombay, 1965, S. 1-10 und 40-59.
3. S. KANGLE, a.a.O., S. 14.
4. Die bekannteste solcher Stellen ist wohl KA 1.3.8, wo Kauṭilya in Abweichung von den *Dharmaśāstras*, aber in Übereinstimmung mit buddhistischen Texten (z.B. *Milindapanha*) den Śūdras *vārttā* — Ackerbau, Viehzucht und Handel — als dharmagemäßen Erwerb des Lebensunterhalts zugesteht, und nicht nur Handwerke und Dienst für die Zweimalgeborenen.

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(d.h. den diplomatischen und außenpolitischen Teil des *Arthaśastra*), die wegen ihrer Raffiniertheit die altindischen Staatslehre so berühmt machte, geben die *Dharmasūtras* dagegen nichts her. Es ist von dieser Quellensituation her verständlich, wenn darüber diskutiert wurde, ob sich das *Arthaśāstra* überhaupt als selbständige Wissenschaft entwickelt habe oder lediglich als eine Abspaltung des *Dharmaśāstra* zu betrachten sei[5]. Im folgenden soll zu zeigen versucht werden, daß man wohl mit einer unabhängigen Entwicklung der Staatslehre zu rechnen hat, deren Kern die Politik war.

Einige wenige Stellen in der vedischen Literatur lassen vermuten, daß man schin sehr früh, in der Zeit der Herausbildung von Staaten im Gangestal um 800-700 v.u.Z. begonnen hatte, sich über politische Verhaltensweisen Gedanken machen. Ruben[6] zitiert im Zusammenhang mit der Herausbildung wissenschaftlichen Denkens zwei solcher Stellen, *Chandogya-Upaniṣad* (weiter: ChU) 2.1.1-3 und *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (weiter: AB) 8.28. Letztere charakterisiert er als « Ansätze einer Staatslehre, daß er (der Despot, M.S.) u.a. seinen Gegner aufmerksam beobachten und demgemäß handeln solle » (a.a.O., S. 37). Allerdings geht er nicht genauer auf die Stelle ein. Gerade sie ist aber bei näherer Betrachtung aufschlußreich dafür, wie Staatslehre begann.

Im Unterschied zu ChU 2.1.1-3 enthält AB 8.28 nicht nur einen einzelnen Begriff, der sich eventuell mit einem Terminus der späteren Staatslehre vergleichen ließe[7], sondern einen ganzen Passus darüber, wie man einem Feind erfolgreich beikommt. Er wird im Anschluß an den Ritus *brahmaṇaḥ parimaraḥ* (das Sterben rings um das *brahman* herum) angeführt, der die Vernichtung von Feinden und Widersachern (*bhrātṛvyaḥ, dviṣan*) durch Kenntnis der Zusammenhänge zwischen Blitz, Regen, Mond, Sonne und Feuer (die als 5 Gottheiten bezeichnet werden) und dem Wind herbeiführen soll. Der Passus ist wohl als Bekräftigung für die Wirksamkeit des Ritus gedacht. Ein Hauspriester, der *purohita* Maitreya Kauṣārava, erläuterte den Ritus seinem König, dem Sutvan Kairiśi Bhārgāyaṇa, und verhalf ihm durch dieses magische Wissen — so will es jedenfalls der Text — zum Sieg über fünf (feindliche) Nachbarkönige. Daß Sutvan seine Erfolge aber wohl eher seiner politischen Klugheit zu verdanken hatte, wird aus den Grundsätzen (*vrata*) deutlich, die — offenbar zur näheren Charakteristik der Person Sutvans und ohne innere Beziehung zu dem geschilderten Ritus — an den Schluß des

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5. Ausführlich dazu bei KANGLE, a.a.O., S. 12 ff. und B. A. SALETORE, *History of Ancient Indian Political Ideas and Institutions*, London-Bombay u.a. (Asia Publ. Haouse), 1963, S. 15 ff.

6. Wissen gegen Glauben. Der Beginn des Kampfes des Wissens gegen den/das Glauben im alten Indien und Griechenland, Berlin, 1979, S. 37.

7. In ChU 2.1.1-3 ist es *sāman*, das Gute, das Ruben mit dem ersten der vier politischen Mittel (*upāya*) der Staatslehre in Verbindung bringen möchte.

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Kapitels 8.28 gestellt werden. Im Wortlaut heißt es:

sa eṣa brahmaṇaḥ parimaraḥ / tam etaṃ brahmaṇaṃ parimaraṃ Maitreyaḥ Kauṣāravaḥ Sutvane Kairiśaye Bhārgāyaṇe rājñe provāca / taṃ ha pancarajānaḥ parimamrus, tataḥ Sutvā mahajjagāma / tasya vratam —

na dviṣataḥ pūrvā upaviśed,
yadi tiṣṭhantaṃ manyeta, tiṣṭhetaiva /
na dviṣataḥ pūrvaḥ saṃviśed,
yadyāsīnaṃ manyetāsītaiva /
na dviṣataḥ pūrvaḥ prasvapyād,
yadi jāgrataṃ manyeta, jāgriyād eva /
api ha yadyasyāśmamūrdhā dviṣan bhavati, kṣipraṃ haiva enaṃ stṛṇute /

« Dies ist das Sterben rings um das *brahman herum.* Dieses Sterben um das *brahman* herum verkündete Maitreya Kauṣārava König Sutvan Kairiśi Bhārgāyaṇa. Um diesen herum starben fürwahr fünf Könige; daraufhin wurde Sutvan groß. Sein Grundsatz[8] war:

Man soll sich nicht eher als der Feind lagern; wenn man meint, er stünde (noch), dann soll man selbst (auch) stehen.

Man soll sich nicht eher als der Feind zur Ruhe begeben; wenn man meint, er säße (noch) da, dann soll man (auch noch) dasitzen.

Man soll nicht eher als der Feind einschlafen; wenn man meint, er sei wach, soll man selbst (auch) wachen.

Selbst wenn sein Feind steinköpfig ist — auf diese Weise wirft er ihn rasch nieder ».

Leider gibt es über König Sutvan in der vedischen wie in der späteren Literatur keine anderen Nachrichten als die eben angeführten. Man kann ihn aber wohl als den frühesten bekannten Vertreter einer (wenn auch noch keimhaften) Staatslehre ansehen, denn die ihm zugeschriebenen Grundsätze sind so, wie sie im AB dargeboten werden, mehr als eine Anhäufung zufälliger Überlegungen darüber, wie man einem Feind begegnet. Das zeigen Aufbau, Inhalt und Terminologie des Abschnitts.

Drei Maximen werden angeführt, und zwar so, daß sich eine Abfolge vom Zustand der Kampfbereitschaft bis zum Zustand des friedlichen Nebeneinander ergibt, — also gewissermaßen ein logisches System in äußerst knapper Form. Ausgangspunkt und Voraussetzung sind Wachsamkeit und Beobachten des Feindes. Entsprechend soll man dann das eigene Handeln einrichten: man ist kampfbereit, solange es der Feind ist; man bleibt auf der Hut, solange er noch nicht endgültig zur

8. *vrata* mag hier soviel heißen wie « Prinzip, nach dem man sein Leben, bzw. seine Tätigkeit einrichtet ». Der Begriff hat hier keinen Bezug zur religiösen Sphäre wie andernorts. Ähnlich vrata in KA 1.19.33: rājño hi vratam-utthānam.

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Ruhe gekommen ist; erst, wenn er nicht mehr auf feindliche Aktionen sinnt, sondern friedlich « schläft », kann man selbst unbesorgt sein.

Es ist keine offensive Politik, die hier propagiert wird, sondern abwartendes Beobachten des potentiellen Gegners und eigne Aktion dann erst als Reaktion darauf und in entsprechend angemessener Form. Trotzdem zielt eigenes Handeln hier nicht auf eine bloße Verteidigung. Im Hintergrund steht als Endzweck das Unterwerfen anderer Könige, um selber « groß » zu werden. Der Ritus des « Sterbens rings um das *brahman* herum » wird ja im (wenn auch losen) Zusammenhang mit dem *aindra mahābhiṣeka* gelehrt, den Könige vollzogen, um die « Weltherrschaft » (*digvijaya*) zu erringen [9]. Der Sieg über benachbarte Könige und Stammesfürsten war ja in jener Zeit (das AB wird etwa ins 9.-8. Jh. v.u.Z. datiert), als in Nordindien die arischen Stämme untereinander und mit einheimischen Stämmen im Kampf um die Herrschaft in einem Gebiet lagen, ein brennend aktuelles Problem. Eine geschickte Taktik des Kriegführens mochte man da als ebenso notwendig empfunden haben wie priesterliches Wissen und Riten, die den Erfolg im Kampf sichern helfen sollten. Sutvans *vrata* spricht dafür, daß man bereits in jener Zeit, als man gerade erst anfing, sich über *nīti* Gedanken zu machen, Grundprinzipien der späteren Staatslehre folgte. Das beginnt bei der Forderung, sich ständig über den Feind zu informieren. Ähnliches wird im *Mahābhārata* gelehrt [10]. Kauṭilya (wie alle anderen Staatslehrer nach ihm) erklärt aufmerksames Beobachten der potentiellen und tatsächlichen inneren und äußeren Feinde geradezu zur Grundlage und Voraussetzung jeglichen politischen Handelns, insbesondere bei der Entscheidung über eine Anwendung der vier politischen Mittel *sāma, dāna, bheda und daṇḍa* und des sechsfachen Verfahrens (*ṣādguṇyam*).

Gemessen an dem Ziel seiner Politik, « groß » zu werden über andere Könige, kann man Sutvan Bhārgāyaṇa bereits dem *vijigīṣu* der Staatslehre Kauṭilyas vergleichen [11]. Ebenso wie dieser sieht er nicht das Beginnen eines Krieges als das erfolgreichste Mittel an, um den Feind zu überwinden, sondern geschicktes und differenziertes Reagieren auf das, was der Gegner tut. Der gleiche Gedanke, eine kriegerische Ausein-

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9. Die stereotype Formel dafür in der Aufzählung der Könige, die durch den *aindra mahābhiṣeka* zu solchen Erfolgen kamen, heißt AB 8.21-23 jeweils: *tasmād u (N.N.) samantaṃ sarvataḥ pṛthivīm jayan parīyāya / aśvena ca medhyeneje /*

10. Mbh. 2.5.28 z.B. fragt Nārada den Yudhiṣṭhira: « Beobachtest du auch, unbemerkt von den Feinden, stets vorsichtig, immer (kampf-) bereit, alle (deine) Gegner? » — *kaccid dviṣām aviditaḥ pratiyattaśca sarvadā / nityayukto ripūn sarvān vicakṣase ripusūdana //*

11. So, wenn man die Stelle in den Kontext des *aindra mahābhiṣeka* stellt und dessen erklärtes Ziel, die « Ersiegung der Himmelsgegenden » auch als Ziel Sutvan Bhārgāyaṇas ansieht. Daß das « Sterben rings um das *brahman* herum » ursprünglich wohl aber die Vernichtung von Nebenbuhlern im Kampf um die Macht innerhalb der eigenen Stammesgemeinschaft zum Gegenstand gehabt haben mag, läßt die Formulierung am Anfang des Kapitels AB 8.28 vermuten, wo es heißt: « Wer so weiß, um den herum sterben die hassenden Verwandten, die Widersacher (... *paryenaṃ dviṣanto bhrātṛvyāḥ pari sapatnām mriyante*) ».

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andersetzung erst dann zu beginnen, wenn das Verhalten des Feindes sie herausfordert, bzw. begünstigt, wird im KA geäußert [12] und dort allerdings fast bis zur Perfektion ausgearbeitet. Kauṭilyas ausführliche Anleitungen zur Analyse der Lage des Gegners im Vergleich zur eigenen Situation und die Empfehlungen des siebenten bis neunten Buches, wie man einen Gegner durch wirtschaftliche Schwächung, Intrigen und eine geschickte Bündnispolitik dazu bringen kann, sich auf die Seite des *vijigīṣu* zu schlagen, sprechen hier für sich. Als Kernstück jeglicher Eroberungspolitik galt der altindischen Staatslehre daher die Anwendung politisch — diplomatischer Mittel — der vier *upāyas* (Bündnis, Geschenk, Spaltung und militärische Aktion) und der sechs *guṇas* (Bündnis und Krieg, Abwarten und Losmarschieren, Zuflucht und Doppelspiel). Die *nīti*-Texte zeigen Unterschiede in der Darstellung der *upāya* — und der *ṣadguṇya*-Lehre, — ein Beweis dafür, daß und wie sich diese beiden Lehren im Laufe der Jahrhunderte gegenseitig beeinflußten und unter Verwendung von Lehren anderer *Arthaśāstra*-Traditionen als der des KA weiterentwickelt wurden [13]. Eine Vorstufe der Lehre von den *guṇas* dürften König Sutvans Maximen darstellen.

Zunächst fällt ihr Sprachgebrauch auf: Mit *tiṣṭheta* und *āsīta* werden AB 8.28 dieselben Verben gebraucht wie im KA in den ersten Kapiteln des siebenten Buches (*ṣāḍguṇyam*) [14]. Aber auch inhaltlich ergeben sich Parallellen, von der Aussage des gesamten Abschnittes her wie im Bedeutungsgehalt der beiden Worte. Im AB bedeutet *sthā* soviel wie « kampfbereit stehen », *āsad* soviel wie « (wachsam) dasitzen, auf der Lauer liegen ». Im KA sind *sthāna* und *āsana* Grundbegriffe der Politik. Beide werden dort zweimal, jeweils in etwas anderer Bedeutung, definiert. *Sthāna* bedeutet zum einem KA 7.1.28 soviel wie « Gleichbleiben der Kräfte » (des *vijigīṣu: yasmin vā guṇe sthitaḥ svakarmavṛddhiṃ kṣayaṃ vā nābhipaśyed — etad sthānam*) und ist neben *vṛddhi* (Wachstum) und *kṣaya* (Schwund) der eigenen Kräfte eine der drei Folgen der Anwendung der *upāyas* oder *guṇas*. Alle drei Zustände werden als Bestandteile einer aktiven Politik betrachtet. Man soll je nach Lage der Dinge versuchen, einen der drei zu erreichen, obgleich *vṛddhi* dabei natürlich das Erstrebenswerteste ist. KA 7.4.2-3 ist *sthāna* andererseits eine der drei Arten von *āsana*, dem abwartenden Dasitzen in Krieg und Frieden und bedeutet soviel wie « Verharren oder Stillstand » im Verlauf der Anwendung eines der politischen Verfahren (s. dazu unten und Anm. 16).

āsana ist im KA neben *saṁdhi*, *vigraha*, *saṁśraya*, *dvaidhibhava* und *yāna* eines der Elemente des sechsfachen politischen Verfahrens.

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12. So etwa 7.2.1-3: *saṁdhivigrahayostulyāyāṃ vṛddhau saṁdhim upeyāt / vigrahe hi kṣayavyayapravāsapratyavāya bhavanti / tenāsanayānayorāsanaṃ vyākhyātam /*

13. Vgl. dazu H. Losch, *Rājadharma*, Wiesbaden, 1959, S. 103 ff.

14. KA 7.1.15, 21; 7.3.16, 19; 7.4.5, 6, 12, 13 u.a.; vgl. auch die Verwendung von *manyeta* in beiden Texten.

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Kauṭilya definiert es zuerst 7.1.8 als *upeksaṇa* (abwartendes Daliegen) [15], « wenn man sieht: " Weder kann der Feind mich, noch kann ich ihn bezwingen " » (*na mām paro nāhaṃ param upahantuṃ śaktaḥ*, 1.1.15). KA 7.7.1-4 wird *āsana* dann noch einmal in seiner Anwendung bei Krieg und Frieden erklärt, wobei der Begriff definiert und in drei Unterarten aufgegliedert wird:

samdhivigrahayorāsanaṃyānaṃ ca vyākhyātam / sthānam āsanam upekṣaṇam vetyāsanaparyāyāḥ / viśeṣas tu — gunaikadeśe sthānaṃ, svavṛddhiprāptyartham āsanam, upāyānām aprayoga upekṣṇam / atisaṁdhānakāmayor arivijigīṣorupahantum aśaktayor vigṛhyāsanaṃ saṁdhāya vā /

« Abwartend dasitzen und Losmarschieren in Krieg und Frieden wird (jetzt) erklärt. Stillstehen, abwartendes Dasitzen und (neutrales) Zusehen — das sind die Arten des abwartenden Dasitzens. Der Unterschied aber ist (folgender): Stillstehen (heiβt es), wenn man bei ein und demselben Verfahren bleibt [16]; *āsana*, wenn man eigenes Wachstum erreichen will; Zusehen (ist es), wenn man keines der (vier) politischen Mittel anwendet. Abwarten, nachdem man Krieg erklärt oder Frieden geschlossen hat, ist dann am Platze, wenn *vijigīṣu* und Feind, die sich gegenseitig überwinden wollen, sich keine Niederlage beibringen können » [17].

Die Voraussetzung für das abwartende Daliegen im KA — die Existenz eines gleichstarken Gegners, den man nicht ohne weiteres besiegen kann — kennzeichnet auch den Ausgangspunkt der Überlegungen Sutvans im AB. Während sich *sthā* im AB und *sthāna* im KA bedeutungsmäβig unterscheiden und sich keine direkte Beziehung zwischen beiden anbietet [18], ist eine Verbindungslinie von *āsad* im AB zu *āsana* bei Kauṭilya m.E. deutlich. Man muβ natürlich im Auge behalten, daβ zur Zeit des AB die gesellschaftlichen Voraussetzungen für die spätere raffinierte Politik mit ihren vielerlei Arten, den Gegner nicht nur in kriege-

15. So Meyer. Kangle hat « *staying quiet* ».

16. In diesem Sinne möchte ich jedenfalls den umstrittenen Satz *guṇaikadeśe sthānam* verstehen, im Gegensatz zu Meyers « Verharren in *einer* bestimmten Art von politischem Verhalten » und Kangles « *when there is only a part of the excellence present* » — *ekadeśe* also im Sinne von « an ein und demselben Ort befindlich ».

17. Man hat den Eindruck, daβ Kauṭilya in Kapitel 1 und 4 des 7. Buches versucht hat, zwei Traditionen miteinander zu vereinen, die die Begriffe *sthāna* und *āsana* ähnlich, aber doch nicht ganz im gleichen Sinne verstanden. Dafür spricht das unterschiedliche Verhältnis von *sthāna*, *āsana* und *upekṣaṇa* in den beiden Kapiteln. 7.1 wird *āsana durch upeksaṇa* erklärt, *sthāna* gehört zu einer anderen Begriffsgruppe. 7.4 erscheint *āsana* doppelt, als Oberbegriff im gleichen Sinne wie 7.1 und als Unterbegriff neben *sthāna* und *upekṣaṇa*, von beiden abgegrenzt dadurch, daβ *vṛddhi* als Ziel angegeben ist, während bei den beiden anderen Begriffen nicht das angestrebte Ziel genannt wird, sondern lediglich Aktivität (bei *sthāna*) oder Inaktivität (bei *upekṣana*) als Kennzeichen für die Unterschiedlichkeit der Begriffe.

18. Allenfalls gibt es Anklänge zwischen der Bedeutung des Verbs *sthā* in beiden Texten (d.h. im KA nur in bezug auf die ersten Kapitel des 7. Buches).

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rischer Auseinandersetzung, sondern auch « friedlich » mit listigen Mitteln zu ruinieren, noch nicht vorhanden waren. Es standen sich eben noch keine Staaten mit ausgebildetem Staats- und Verwaltungsapparat, hervorragend organisiertem Spionenwesen und stehendem Heer gegenüber, sondern « Königreiche », in denen Auseinandersetzungen mit feindlichen Nachbarn wohl noch generell in offener Konfrontation geführt wurden, wobei Krieg noch eine Sache aller Männer, nicht eines Standes oder einer Berufsgruppe allein war. Im AB dienen daher die taktischen Überlegungen vorwiegend dazu, zu verhindern, daß man durch unvorhergesehene Handlungen des Gegners überrumpelt wird. Im KA dagegen geht es darum, durch Abwarten des Gegners schwache Stellen zum Vorschein zu bringen, selbst ökonomisch und militärisch stark zu werden und dann loszuschlagen. Kauṭilyas Politik ist aktiver, sie besteht nicht mehr nur in einer Reaktion auf die Handlungen des Gegners, sie entspricht einem fortgeschritteneren Stadium der Staatslehre auf dem Hintergrund einer gegenüber der *Brāhmaṇa*-Zeit weiter fortgeschrittenen Gesellschaft.

Für die immer wieder diskutierte Frage, wann und wie Staatslehre entstand und welche Gruppen der Gesellschaft an ihrer Formulierung und Tradierung beteiligt waren, ist die AB-Stelle recht aufschlußreich, denn es ergeben sich aus ihre einige neue Gesichtspunkte:

1. Man begann bereits, *nīti*-Prinzipien zu entwickeln, als der Begriff des *dharma* noch nicht im religiös-moralischen Sinne auf die Gesellschaft bezogen und zur Einteilung dieser Gesellschaft in bestimmte Gruppen verwendet wurde; diese Konzeption war erst im Entstehen begriffen, am deutlichsten sichtbar im *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*. *Artha-* und *Dharmaśāstra* entwickelten sich folglich nebeneinander, nicht das *Artha-* auf der Grundlage des *Dharmaśāstra*.

2. Die *nīti*-Prinzipien aus dem AB werden ausdrücklich einem König zugeschrieben. Daß sie darüber hinaus auch noch einzig und allein in dem *Brāhmaṇa* zu finden sind, das am stärksten auf Könige und Königsweihe Bezug nimmt und in das Ritual der Königsweihe stark von der übrigen vedischen Tradition abweichende Züge einbringt, läßt darauf schließen, daß sich Staatslehre zuerst in *kṣatriya*-Kreisen, sozusagen aus dem Alltag des Königs heraus, entwickelte oder daß zumindest *kṣatriya*-Kreise nicht unwesentlich an der Entwicklung der Staatslehre beteiligt waren.

3. Ausgehend von der Tradition, die den mythischen Weisen Bṛhaspati und Uśanas die Begründung des *nītiśāstra* zuschreibt, bezeichnet R. P. Kangle die *purohitas* als die Väter dieses *śāstra*: « *Precepts or rules bearing on matters on administration and of state policy at home and abroad may be supposed to have been framed by the early purohitas for the guidance of the kings whom they served. Such rules were obviously found useful for the instruction of other kings as well. The precepts may have been supposed to have been collected together and*

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to have thus constituted a sort of manual for the guidance of rulers in general » (a.a.O., S. 10). In der Tat bildet der Ritus des « Sterbens um das *brahman* herum » mit den anschließenden Maximen König Sutvans den Abschluß der Darstellung des *purohita*-Amtes im AB. Die Art, wie die Maximen dort angeführt werden (s.o. S. 3) unterstützt zwar Kangles These nicht in dem Sinne, daß *purohitas* allein als die Begründer des *nītiśāstra* zu gelten hätten. Sie zeigt jedoch, daß die *purohitas* offenbar sehr früh schon eine Lehrerfunktion bei ihrem König usurpierten und sich aus dieser Stellung heraus bemühten, nacheinander die verschiedenen Gegenstände des späteren *Arthaśāstra* in die brahmanische, religiös ausgerichtete Weltsicht zu integrieren. In der Zeit der *Brāhmaṇas*, als dieser Prozeß offensichtlich begann, maß man dem Opfer und seiner magisch-spekulativen Ausdeutung noch wesentliche Bedeutung bei. Folglich integrierte man die Anfänge der Staatslehre in das brahmanische Wissen durch Verknüpfung mit dem Ritus, wie gewollt eine solche Verknüpfung uns auch heute erscheinen mag.

Dieser Prozeß setzte sich folgerichtig fort mit der Einbeziehung des *rājadharma* und des zivilen und Strafrechts (*vyavahāra*) in die *Dharmasūtras* und-*śāstras* in der entwickelten hinduistischen Gesellschaft. Kangle hat allerdings wohl recht, wenn er die Bedeutung der *purohitas* für die anfängliche Formulierung und frühe Tradierung eines *nītiśāstra* betont und den speziellen lehrhaften Charakter sowie die praktische Ausrichtung dieser Textgattung auf sie zurückführt (a.a.O., S. 12) — waren doch die *purohitas* in dem sich herausbildenden Staatsapparat der frühen nordindischen Staaten die ersten und lange auch noch die höchsten Beamten. Daß die *purohitas* in bezug auf *nīti* von Königen und Stammesführern mit ihrer praktischen Erfahrung lernten und vieles übernahmen, macht eine Stelle wie AB 8.28 wahrscheinlich — waren doch Könige wie Janaka von Videha, Aśvapati u.a. für Brahmanen in jener frühen Zeit anerkannte Diskussionspartner und sogar Lehrer in religiösen und philosophischen Fragen.

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IGOR D. SEREBRYAKOV

A FEW THOUGHTS ON KṢEMENDRA'S NARMAMĀLĀ

Hardly any sphere of India literary history in general as well as in history of Sanskrit literature is studied less than satire. After S. K. De's brilliant work *Wit, humour and satire in Sanskrit literature*[1] one may find scanty notes on this subject in general works on Sanskrit literature or articles accompanying publications of satirical works or their translations. It has to be noted that Prof. A. K. Warder paid rather serious attention to problem of satire in his *Indian Kāvya literature*[2], some special articles written mostly by Indian authors appeared in different periodical and occasional publiations. Dr. L. Sternbach contributed a lot to this sphere by number of his publications, especially by his excellent and unique *Mahāsubhāṣitasaṅgraha*[3], containing a lot of satirical strophes by Sanskrit poets. It seems that time came when problem of satire in Ancient and Mediaeval Indian literature demands more than ever attention of research scholars.

Literary history of India preserved traces of satire even in very ancient layers but as distinct trend satire takes its beginning in the middle of first millenium A.D. Since this period Sanskrit literature preserved quite a number of proper satiric works in different genres. Specific character of Sanskrit literature as the treasury of literary experience of different Indian peoples accumulated and embodied in classical works, presenting common heritage of all peoples of South Asian subcontinent. It has to be marked that it also embraces in certain periods synchronically such phenomenas which relate to different stages of development of India society or even present certain anachronism in sequence of literary development as *Hanūmannāṭaka* which seems to be later than Bhavabhuti's Ramaplays, though hardly could be treated

1. S. K. De, *Aspects of Sanskrit Literature*, Calcutta, 1959, pp. 281-83.
2. A. K. Warder, *Indian Kavya Literature*, Vol. I, Delhi-Varanasi-Patna, 1972.
3. L. Sternbach, *Mahā-Subhāṣita-Saṁgraha*, Vol. I, Hoshiarpur, 1974; Vol. II, Hoshiarpur, 1976; Vol. III, Hoshiarpur, 1977; Vol. IV, Hoshiarpur, 1980.

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as a symbol of decay. Sanskrit literature displays also such interesting and important feature as existence within its limits certain definite literary communities, complexes of works in Sanskrt determined and born by definite ethnoses of ancient and mediaeval India.

Among such complexes we could quote example of Kashmirian literature in Sanskrit as relatively independent, distinct community representing important element of Sanskrit literature's structure. The most spectacular rise of Kashmirian literature in Sanskrit falls on period of VII-XIII centuries coinciding with growth of tendency towards strong centralised state whatever could be internal strife and controversies. Kashmirian literature in Sanskrit of this period had quite wholesome, well developed and dynamic structure.

Among important elements of this structure must be named satire born of humanistic protest against feudal oppression and directed mostly against bureaucracy which symbolised for common people the very gist of feudal state. Dāmodaragupta, Śyāmilaka, Kṣemendra and some other brightest representatives of Kashmir satire painted in their works extremely impressive picture of social and moral degradation. It is worthy to note that if Dāmodaragupta and Śyāmilaka in their critical pathos did not burden satire with any more or less definite programmatical stands Kṣemendra displayed some humanistic tendencies which could be treated as a certain though vague system.

As a preliminary attempt before any solid research let us try to analyse Kṣemendra's *Narmamālā* which was written not later 1060 A.D.[4]. It consists of three chapters which author named parihāsa inspite of traditional division of kāvya into khandas or sargas. It seems that such naming was his own invention. As a main figure — hardly he may be qualified as a hero — is taken kayastha as a type, embodiment of all vices inherent for any representative of bureaucracy without any difference in his caste status or official stand in bureaucratic ierarchy. Life of kāyastha was traced by the poet on every level in every transformation and rebirth. As social layer well knit with corruption and all possible evils bureaucracy presents for Kṣemendra that centre around which everything turns round in the country.

In some ways unexpectedly as another object of satirical denigration clergy steps out. Sharpness of Kṣemendra's satire sounds unexpectedly harsh and even sacrilegious if we try to judge it from the point of view of established opinion about early mediaeval India's way of life. It deviates so much from traditionally accepted assessments that it became a real reason for not so just appreciations of his poetry in general and *Narmamālā* in particular. Some of scholars even did not take notice of *Narmamālā* though it was published as early as in 1923. S. K. De tried for the first time to assess it from literary point of view[5]. He expressed

4. Suryakanta, *Kṣemendra Studies*, Poona, 1954, pp. 23, 28.
5. S. K. De, pp. 281-83.

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opinion that in Kṣemendra's satires we have « an approach to realistic satirical writing which is so rarely cultivated in Sanskrit ». Since these words were written our idea about satire in Indian literature became richer.

Satirical pathos is pathos of negation but behind it is screened positive humanistic ideal, which according to our opinion found more explicit expression in such poems as *Darpadalana*, *Sevyasevakopadeśa* etc. Basically it is ideal of virtuous person whose actions are directed for benefit of others not from above, not in the sense of dharmaśastras' dictum, but on the same level of common life realistically understood. Kṣemendra was extremely compassionate to the people, which appears in *Narmamālā* not as an aggregate of a certain number of individuals but as a victim of feudal bureaucracy. As such it is passive though one may find hints in *Rajatarangini* concerning popular revolts and movements.

As the main force able to solve social conflicts in society Kṣemendra saw state wisdom of a ruler and particularly of King Ananta who reigned in Kashmir in the middle of XI century A.D. However rich historical data given by *Rājataraṅginī* do not tell us about outstanding statesman's abilities of Ananta [6]. Actually he was removed from reigns of state by his wife Queen Sūryavatī and her favourite Haladhara who were able for some time stabilise political and economic position of the country. In this respect Kṣemendra's compliments to Ananta have only meaning of literary convention, of established literary device.

Analysing *Narmamālā* we come across mainly something what contradicts established poetic norms and devices if one may say about them as established in sense of canonised. Whatever we could call deviations from literary canons are actual innovations, defined by the very task put by the poet before himself. He subjected all elements of composition to this task.

Instead of traditional mangalaśloka containing dedication to or praise of a certain god we read in *Narmamālā*'s mangalaśloka nothing else but praise of kayastha compared in his mightiness with nobody else but Maheśvara himself [7]. As it was sarcastically shown in the poem kayastha in context of Kashmir' life in XIth century actually was « a supreme god » in whose will not only a life of an individual was but even the very current of life in general. Mangalaśloka was followed by very short story about origin of the poem — a certain poet is requested by his friends to describe former tricks of kāyasthas [8]. This story is framed by the eulogy to king Ananta [9] and actual maṅgalaśloka in which Śiva is praised [10]. Further three parihasa follow and each of them bring

6. KALHANA, *Rājataraṅginī*, VII, 135-451.
7. *Minor works of Kṣemendra*, Hyderabad, 1961, Narmamālā, pp. 307-46, I, i.
8. I, 5-6.
9. I, 2-4.
10. I, 7-8.

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more innovations. First of all genealogy of kāyastha [11] connected with legends on struggle of asuras and devas was written by Kṣemendra in quite original way as there was no such story in whole preceding literature in Sanskrit from where such plot could be taken and elaborated by the poet. It is a kind of prophecy correlated to primaeval times about future of kāyastha who presented to reader as asuras' accountant. Moreover this prophecy comes out from Kali's mouth and Kali here is spirit of evil prevailing in last yuga named after him.

Genealogy is closed with general picture of all possible misdeeds of kāyastha who even is given name of Kāyasthanātha [12]. This name could be treated as Kṣemendra's reference to Nāth movement.

Another innovation may be seen in author's personal attack on kāyasthas which is given as interpolation in this genealogy [13]. Passages of such type containing expression of author's personal attitude to concrete situations or persons or events are present in all three parihāsas. In no way it means that this expression is limited only to these passages — author's attitude saturates the whole poem but for such places poet reserved all his personal and direct attacks on kāyasthas as well as on social evils in general. Another new device is presented by Kṣemendra in combination of traditional *Śivastuti* with dirty backthoughts of hypocritic gṛhakṛtyādhipati, the highest of kāyasthas, whose actions are directed to squeeze wealth from the people [14].

Whole gallery of lively written portraits follows — gṛhakṛtyādhipati, paripālaka, lekhakopādhyāya, gañjadivira, mārgapati, grāmadivira. First parihāsa ends with portrait of a wife of grāmadivira, whose behaviour brings in another gallery of portraits — viṭas, jīvanadivira, śramaṇika, dārakopādhyāya, officer (another kāyastha), vaidya, gaṇaka, khāśapati, guru, āsthānadivira, adhikaraṇabhaṭṭa. False sickness of kāyastha's wife causes necessity of sacrifice and it gave Kṣemendra possibility to present the third gallery of portraits. It opens with continuation of guru's portrait which was started in previous parihāsa. His arrival brings into the picture a whole crowd of companions. Sacrifice itself involves much more people of different professions and denominations — strumpet, who happened to be sister of kāyastha himself, brahmacharin, gṛhakṛtyamahattama, veśya, śalyahartā, old trader and his young wife.

Poems closes with orgiastic scene of sacrifice turned in a kind of public entertainment; it is followed by picture of crash of kāyastha, caused by dismissal and arrest of his superiors. Pitiful and miserable end of kāyastha was preceded by final interpolation — poet's vehement attack on those at power, full of haughtiness and greediness, maltreating

11. I, 9-30.
12. I, 28.
13. I, 18-23.
14. I, 40-44.

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those who do not have neither high rank nor wealth [15]. Closing ślokas underline didactic aim of the poem and contain a kind of author's signature.

History of *Narmamālā*'s text is studied rather badly and it is difficult to state whether it represents the poem as it was actually written. There are some lacunae in development of plot which are not thinkable in work of so highly experienced poet — at least some logical inconsistencies force us to suspect such lacunae. For instance it cannot be explained from where Maricha cripples in the plot [16]. His function is clear, but neither he was mentioned before nor appeared later. Reader also is at loss reading the story of viṭas' attempts to seduce kāyastha's wife as this story ends nowhere. Some other discrepancies of the same type could be quoted. Hardly such lacunae could be ascribed to the fact that author himself being taken away by satirical pathos was not able to avoid such discrepancies.

Another enigmatic place deserves special attention — those strange quotations which were used by dārakopādhyāya in his « lessons »:

bhābhuto kunakumādrau rainaisadṛśau
... musimusilakṣaṇau phenaparvau
... maṇikanakadharau divyagandhānuliptau
saṅgrāmeṇa praviṣṭau palupa...nau labhyatāṁ rājyalakṣmīḥ
gaṅgāyamunayorbilvavṛṣabham kūrṇakumbhayoḥ
pañcacandrana...li paṭṭabandhaṁ bhaviṣyati [17]

Hardly they are translatable unless we find texts of those « school textbooks » from where they were taken.

The very poetic texture of *Narmamālā*, its diction and style prove serious influence of folklore material, particularly of folklore satire as well as devices of traditional Sanskrit poetics well known to Kṣemendra who himself made serious contribution to this field. Being interested first of all in creation of typical character of kāyastha Kṣemendra used some time such devices which were strictly speaking not permissible. Apart of quoted above paripālaka's monologue consisted of *Śivastuti* mixed with this highranking official's scandalous temptations and thoughts alternatively presented in the same metre, we could name also introduction into the poem samples of letter of superior to subordinate [18], of what could be treated as protokol of proceedings of the council in which gṛhakṛtyādhipati presided etc. [19].

It must not be missed that giving names of gṛhyakṛtyādhipati's servants poet used devices characteristic for folk satire having used for their names such words which designate not only personal qualities but as well express emotional assessment of each personality in very

15. III, 98-99.
16. I, 46-61.
17. II, 42-44.
18. II, 94-99.
19. I, 46-60.

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eloquent manner:

Dambhadhvajo niśprapañco lubdhaka kalamākaraḥ
Sūcīmukho bhūrjagupto mahīmaṇḍaśca duḥsahaḥ
Upatāpo vajratāpaḥ parigho dvārabhañjakaḥ
Dhūmaketuḥ kapimukhaḥ kukṣibhedo gṛholmukaḥ [20]

Apart of this we meet in *Narmamālā* parodying of so many realities of everyday life and routine, documents, proceedings, institutions, personalities, praise of guru turning into humilating derision, counterposing of ambitious pretensions of kāyastha to his low earthly living conditions [21]. It would be only just to state that Kṣemendra in many respects continued line of Indian satire which got very strong impetus from works of Bhartrihari, Daṇḍin, Somadevasuri, Haribhadra and many others. Equally would be just to state that so far this line is rather neglected and we do not have adequate idea about development of satire in India.

Though Kṣemendra himself was a Śaiva his heritage taken as a whole nowhere displays any trace of partisan or sectarian approach to realities of life. Moreover it gives a hint to certain equidistance of the poet from any strict religious position. In all his works we find that he concentrated his attention mostly on basic problems of human life, whether he treats on Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava or Bauddha topics and here is source of his secular and humanistic approach to all such problems and of his humanistic compassion to common people.

Last decades saw some new editions of Sanskrit texts of Kṣemendra's works and their translations into English and Hindi, as well as some monographs on his creative work. Especially we would like to mention here works by Prof. O. Botto, Suryakanta, Raghavacharya and Padhye, B. Avasthi and Arora, C. Pathak etc. Extremely important for Kṣemendra studies became the latest publications of Dr. L. Sternbach. Particularly since publication of his *Unknown verses attributed to Kṣemendra* [22] fund of works written by remarkable Kashmirian poet has been widened substantially. This creates possibilitiy to see *Narmamālā* as well as any other work by Kṣemendra in wider context and give more exact assessment. It would be not out of place to remind that this publication as so many Dr. L. Sternbach's other works like for instance his *Catalogue of Sanskrit Poets Quoted in Anthologies and Inscriptions* [23] is an outcome of his *Mahāsubhāṣitasaṁgraha*, unique and most fundamental work providing real basis for sober solution of so many vexing questions in history of Sanskrit literature.

Moscow.

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20. I, 34, 36.
21. II, 100-116.
22. L. Sternbach, *Unknown verses attributed to Kṣemendra*, Lucknow, 1979.
23. L. Sternbach, *A descriptive catalogue of poets quoted in Sanskrit Anthologies and Inscriptions*, Wiesbaden, 1978.

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B. N. SHARMA *

AN ICONOGRAPHICAL SURVEY OF HINDU DEITIES OF NEPAL

The picturesque valley of Nepal situated in the lap of the mighty Himālayas between the borders of India and Tibet is full of sculptures of Hindu deities. The earliest sculptures of Nepal are all Brāhmaṇical, dating back to the 5th-6th century A.D. [1]. The rich variety of image-types includes Viṣṇu in his various incarnations, Śiva in his different forms, Śakti in her numerous manifestations, Sūrya, Brahmā, Gaṇeśa, Kārttikeya, Hanumān, Indra, Kāmadeva, Ardhanārīśvara, etc., which show the feeling of religious tolerance amongst the followers of different sects. It will be interesting to note that like India in Nepal also Buddha was regarded as one of the incarnations of Viṣṇu. The Rādhākṛṣṇa temple at Patan, datable to the 17th century A.D., is adorned with the beautiful sculptures of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu, namely, Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Nṛsiṁha, Vāmana, Paraśurāma, Balarāma, Buddha and Kalki. We will now briefly describe some important images of various Hindu deities in the following pages.

Vāmana-Trivikrama

Viṣṇu in his various incarnations and forms was worshipped in Nepal from very early times. The Purāṇic stories associated with Viṣṇu appear to have travelled from India to Nepal in the early centuries of the Christian era [2]. One of the finest images of Viṣṇu dated in 389 L.S. (467 A.D.) shows him in his Trivikrama incarnation. This in Viṣṇu's fifth incarnation and its story is repeatedly mentioned in several *Purāṇas* and other ancient Sanskrit works. The image found at Paśupati shows

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* B. N. SHARMA, Keeper, National Museum, New Delhi (India).

1. H. GOETZ, *Early Indian Sculptures from Nepal*, in AA, XVIII, I (1955), pp. 61-74 and figs.

2. B. N. SHARMA, *Viṣṇu-Trivikrama in Literature, Art and Epigraphs*, in EW, 18, 3-4 (Sept.-Dec. 1968), pp. 329 ff. and figs.

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the multi-armed Trivikrama taking decisive step to measure the three worlds[3]. His right leg is firmly planted on the ground and the left is raised above the shoulders. The whole myth of Bali and Vāmana is beautifully narrated below the uplifted leg of the deity[4].

A slightly late image of Trivikrama (476 A.D.), discovered at Lajampat is exhibited in the National Museum, Kathmandu (fig. 1). The right leg of the deity is held in reverence by Nāgarāja and the left foot touches the mouth of Rāhu. Below the raised leg of Trivikrama, king Bali with his queen Vindhyavatī is shown pouring the sacred water on the hands of Viṣṇu in guise of a Brahmachārī and behind the royal couple, the sacrificial horse is depicted. Dr. Stella Kramrisch has dated this excellent sculpture to 476 A.D.[5]. Contemporary sculptures of Trivikrama in Indian art can be seen in the Archaeological Museums at Mathura and Gwalior.

An excellently carved image of Trivikrama at Changunarayana is datable to the 9th century A.D.[6]. In this sculpture, the mighty god holding various attributes, is represented as a pillar of victory traversing the universe with his out-stretched left leg. Thus, it recalls to our mind the famous rock-cut image of the god at Mahabalipuram[7].

An unique image of Trivikrama, datable to late 17th century A.D. is found at Sankhu. He holds a lotus, a disc, a mace and a conch in his four hands. In this sculpture, the god has three legs. His left leg is placed on a double lotus, the right is reverentially held by Bali and the middle leg is raised high up in the sky. It probably represents the Vedic idea *-tredhā nidadhe padam.* No such image has so far been published from India.

Varāha

Varāha is also one of the most important incarnations of Viṣṇu. The details about Varāha, his iconography and centres of worship are vividly described in the *Varāha Purāṇ*[8]. Some chapters of this *Purāṇa* are also said to have been added by an inhabitant of Nepal, who was well-versed in Indian mythology and religion.

The brick temple at Dhum, Visala Nagara, contains a colossal image of Varaha lifting Bhū-devī on his left hand. Nāgarāja is supporting his left foot, while right foot is placed on the coils of the great serpent. The image datable to 7th century A.D., is still worshipped by the local people.

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3. Cf. S. Levi, *Lé Nepal*, II, Paris, 1905, p. 101.
4. B. N. Sharma, *Vāmana in Literature and Art*, in Purāṇa, XII, I (Jan. 1970), pp. 54-64 and pls.
5. S. Kramrisch, *The Art of Nepal*, New York, 1964, pl. II.
6. *Indian Archaeology - 1963-64, A Review*, p. 100, pl. LIV.
7. K. R. Srinivasan, *Cave Temples of the Pallavas*, New Delhi, 1964, p. 147, pl. XLIV.
8. R. C. Hazra, *The Varāha Purāṇa*, in ABORI, 18, 1-4 (1937), pp. 323 f.

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The Sundari Chowk at Patan has a sculpture of Varāha with Śakti. The six-headed deity is seated in *sukhāsana* on a lying nude human figure. He is eight-armed and holds in his right hands a noose, a drum, an arrow, and a mace or a staff; the left hands carry a lotus, bow, noose; while his front left hand is placed on the left shoulder of his consort. The right hand of Śakti is around the neck of her consort and the left is placed on her left knee. They are decked in the usual jewellery of the period.

Nṛsiṁha

The *Nṛsiṁha Purāṇa* begins with a salutation to Nṛsiṁha, the fourth incarnation of Viṣṇu. An excellently carved image of Nṛsiṁha is found at Changunarayana. The god is tearing the entrails of the demon Hiraṇyakaśipu lying on his lap. The wrath of the god can very well be marked on his face. Indra and other *devas* flank him on either side. And Nāgarāja under the canopy of snake-hoods is seen below the feet of the god. The image showing power and dynamism, can be dated to the 13th century A.D.[9].

Kṛṣṇa

Kṛṣṇa is regarded as an incarnation of Viṣṇu. Various episodes from Kṛṣṇa's life have been mentioned in several *Purāṇas* and particularly in the *Harivaṁśa* and the *Bhāgavata*. Scenes from Kṛṣṇa's life are found carved at several places in Nepal. Among these, Kṛṣṇa subjugating the serpent Kāliya appears to have been a quite favourite subject among the ancient Newārī artists. A wonderfully carved sculpture belonging to c. 7th century and deposited in the old palace at Kathmandu depicts child Kṛṣṇa vanquishing the Nāga by placing his right foot on the right arm of the great serpent and the left on his crowned head. Kṛṣṇa's right hand is raised high and the left hods one of his hoods. But inspite of the great fury, eternal peace and happiness can be marked on his face. Another equally interesting image exists in the Kumbheśvara temple at Patan.

The Indreśvara Mahādeva temple at Panauti (16th century) shows Kṛṣṇa with Gopīs. The four-armed deity stands in the centre holding a disc and a mace in his upper hands, and is playing on the flute held in the lower ones. On his either side stands a Gopī in adoration.

Balarāma

Balarāma, the elder brother of Kṛṣṇa, is also regarded as an *avatāra* of Śeṣanāga. The figure of Balarāma at Deopatan and datable to the

9. A. RAY, *Art of Nepal*, New Delhi, 1973, pl. 42.

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15th century A.D., holds a pestle and a ploughshare in the upper hands and a disc in the lower ones. He is standing under the canopy of the serpent-hoods.

Kalki

Kalki is the tenth incarnation of Viṣṇu. A few images of Kalki have also been found in Nepal. In these, he is shown riding on a caparisoned horse with his right hand raised and carrying a double-edged sword and the left holding the reins. He wears a crown, usual ornaments and the lower garment.

Besides these, some other varieties of the images of Viṣṇu are also found in Nepal showing the wide popularity of his worship in ancient and mediaeval times.

Garuḍārūḍha Viṣṇu

Several types of Garuḍa-Nārāyaṇa images have been discovered from various sites in Nepal. In a rare type, the deity is seated in European fashion on his celestial *vāhana*, Garuḍa, having stretched wings forming a sort of back-arch. He holds a disc and a club in his upper pair of arms and a citron and conch in the lower ones, placed on his knees. His bejewelled crown has a lion's face in centre in the front as also shown in a similar Pāla sculpture of the god new exhibited in the Cleveland Museum of Art. It belongs to the 9th century A.D. It is *in situ* at Changunarayana.

There is another icon of Viṣṇu in the Hanumanghat temple at Bhaktapur, where the three-faced and ten-armed deity is standing with his feet placed on two Garuḍas. He holds in his right hands a lotus, a disc, an arrow, a sword, and in the left a shield, a bow, a mace and conch. His front right hand is in *varada-mudrā*, while the left is in *abhaya*-pose. This image appears to be a product of 18th century A.D.

Viṣṇu as Śrīdhara

Among the various form of Viṣṇu, his Śrīdhara form was quite popular and several images of the deity chiselled in this form have been discovered in Nepal. The four-armed image of Viṣṇu at Changunarayana holds a disc and a mace in the rear hands. His lower right hand is in *varada-mudrā* and the corresponding left carries a conch. He is flanked by his consort on the right, holding a full-blown lotus in her left hand, and the winged Garuḍa on the left with his hands joined in *añjalī-mudrā*. The image is an excellent example of the 9th century A.D.

Sarvatobhadra

A rare Sarvatobhadra image of Viṣṇu is *in situ* in one of the niches of the Kumbheśvara tank at Patan. His arms bifurcated at the shoulders

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carry a citron, a disc, a club, and a conch [10]. The deity is flanked by his consort on the right holding the stalk of a lotus in her left hand and winged Garuḍa on the left. This fine peice belongs to the 10th century A.D.

Yogāsana

Mediaeval images of Viṣṇu as Yogāsana have been found at Abaneri, Dindwana, Mathura and other places in India. The image of the deity discovered at Sankhu (Nepal), not only carries a vase in his hands but isa also shown seated on a *pūrṇa-ghaṭa*, from which flowers and creepers are issuing. This is a rare example of the 17th century A.D.

Viśvarūpa

The Viśvarūpa aspect of Lord Kṛṣṇa has been beautifully described in the eleventh canto of the *Bhagavadgītā*. Several images illustrating this aspect have been noticed both from India and Nepal. The wonderfully carved image of Viśvarūpa Viṣṇu assignable to the 9th century A.D., can be seen at Changunarayana. The multi-headed god stands gracefully in centre surrounded by numerous figures. The deity is ten-armed. He holds an axe, a disc, a conch, a mace, a shield and other attributes in his hands. In the lower panel, as suggested by Dr. P. Pal, is the representation of Ananta as an incarnation of Viṣṇu and symbolozing the nether regions, rather than Viṣṇu himself [11]. A contemporary sculpture in Indian art depicting Viśvarūpa Viṣṇu can be seen at Kannauj.

The Boston Museum, has recently acquired a gild copper image of Viśvarūpa Viṣṇu standing in *samapāda-sthānaka*-pose on a block pedestal. Unlike the other images of the deity, he has only one face and his ten hands carry various attributes like a disc, a sword, an axe, a goad, a shield, a mace, a conch, etc. The image datable to the 9th century A.D. is one of the masterpieces of Nepalese metal sculpture [12].

Jalaśayana Viṣṇu

Images of Viṣṇu as Śeṣaśāyin are well known from Deogarh, Gaya, Neelkantha, Baijnath, Khajuraho etc. in India. In Nepal, there are atleast two colossal sculptures in which Viṣṇu is shown lying in his eternal sleep on a couch composed of the coils of the great serpent Śeṣanāga. They are carved inside large ponds at Hanuman Dhoka (c. 600 A.D.; fig. 2) and at Budhanilakantha (c. 642 A.D.) and can safely be regarded as great masterpieces of Nepalese art.

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10. A. Lippe, *Viṣṇu's Conch in Nepal*, in OA (N.S.), VII, 3 (Autumn 1962), figures 2 and 3 on p. 118.

11. P. Pal, *Vaiṣṇava Art From Nepal in the Boston Museum*, in BMFA, LXV, n. 340 (1967), p. 50, fig. 8; P. R. Sharma, *Viṣṇu in Viśvarūpa from Nepal*, in BDCRI, XXIV (1963-64), pp. 28-30.

12. P. Pal, *op. cit.*, p. 45, figs. 6 and 7.

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Śiva

Śiva is one of the most commonly worshipped deities in Nepal and his blessing was sought by kings of almost all the dynasties. Among all the temples of Śiva, the shrine of Lord Paśupatinātha is supposed to be the oldest [13]. Herein the deity in form of a *Chaturmukha-liṅga*, carved out in black stone, is universally respected [14].

Images of Śiva as Gaṅgādhara with Pārvatī on Kailāsa have been found in large numbers in the valley [15]. An exquisitely carved sculpture in the Kumbheśvara temple at Patan shows four-armed Śiva seated in *sukhāsana* with Pārvatī on a cushioned seat on the Kailāsa mountain (fig. 3). They are surrounded by Kārttikeya and other figures. Śiva's *vāhana*, the couchant Nandi-bull, is depicted near his right knee. In the centre above, four-armed Gaṅgā, is descending from the heaven with her lower hands held in *añjalī-mudrā*. The pedestal shows from the right a flute player, a *gaṇa* having an *udara-mukha*, *nṛtya*-Gaṇapati, a *gaṇa* and the emaciated Bhṛṅgī dancing, a lion-faced figure playing on a drum, and a cymbal player. The image on the stylistic grounds can be assigned to the 10th century A.D.

The lovely theme also found expression through the medium of metal, as is evident by the discovery of some very fine images of the mediaeval period, now preserved in different collections [16].

Ekapāda Trimūrti

A four-armed image of Trimūrti is in the Sundari Chowk at Patan. He holds a cup, a trident, an axe, and his lower left hand is in *abhaya*-pose. In this image, four-armed Brahmā and Viṣṇu are shown projecting from his right and left sides respectively with their front hands joined in *añjalī-mudrā*. Another, somewhat a similar image is preserved in the Kathmandu Museum. These images belong to the late mediaeval period [17].

Virupākṣa

A colossal sculpture of three-eyed Virupākṣa-Śiva can be seen at Aryaghat in the Paśupatinātha area. According to legends, the sculpture, whose lower half portion is buried in the ground was fashioned in circa 6th century A.D.

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13. Cf. D. L. Snellgrove, *Shrines and Temples of Nepal*, in AA, VIII, I (1961), pp. 3-10 and fig.; *ibid.*, VIII, 2 (1962), pp. 93-120 and figs.
14. D. R. Regmi, *Mediaeval Nepal*, I, Calcutta, 1965, p. 557; N. R. Banerjee, *Nepalese Architecture*, Delhi, 1980, pl. LXXI.
15. N. R. Banerjee, *A Note on the Iconography of Umā-Maheśvara in Nepal*, in AN, I (October 1967), pp. 22 f. and plates.
16. P. Pal, *Umā-Maheśvara Theme in Nepali Sculpture*, in BMFA, LXVI, n. 345 (1968), pp. 85 f., figs. 1-6.
17. B. N. Sharma, *Śiva Icons of Nepal*, in « India's Contribution to World Thought and Culture », Madras (1970), p. 378, pl. 39.

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Naṭarāja

Two sculptures of Śiva as Naṭarāja can be seen in the Sundari Chowk at Patan. The multi-armed god holding various attributes like an axe, a trident, a kettle-drum, a bow, a lotus, etc., is show dancing on his *vāhana*, the Nandi-bull, as is also generally found in Pāla and Sena sculptures from eastern India [18]. They appear to belong to the 17th century A.D.

Bhairava

Bhairava images represent one of the terrific aspects of Śiva. Early images of this variety in Nepal are extremely rare. One inscribed image of Bhairava dated 827 N.S. (1707 A.D.) in the Darbar Square at Bhaktapur shows him standing with his feet placed on the backs of two nude male figures facing each other. He has a terrific countenance, round eyes and wears cobras in his ears, on arms and the feet, and has a garland of human skulls in the neck. The deity is twelve-armed and carries a cup, kettle-drum, bell, sword, *khaṭvāṅga*, *muṇḍa*, shield, etc., while his two hands are in the *abhaya*-pose. A small figure having the same appearance is shown on each side of the god.

Lakulīśa

Several interesting images of Lakulīśa have been found in Nepal. Among these, an image of the deity shows him seated cross-legged with raised knees. A *yoga-paṭṭa* is tied around his waist and the shins. The image datable to the 15th century A.D., can be seen at Deo Patan. Another image of the deity of the mediaeval period is kept in Police Station at Dharan. He wears a crown and other ornaments and holds a staff in his left hand. The *ūrdhva-retas* aspects is quite distinct in this piece [19].

Śiva-Liṅga

Worship of Śiva in his phallic form was also quite popular in the valley. The *Ekamukha-liṅga* at Mṛgasthali datable to c. 500 A.D. has justly been regarded as the finest of all the Śiva-*liṅgas* in Nepal (fig. 4). Its calm and serene face, elaborate *jaṭā-mukuṭa* and the elongated ears reminds us of the Gupta *mukha-liṅgas* from Khoh in the Allahabad Museum and from Nachna-Kuthara in the National Museum, New Delhi.

The *Chaturmukha-liṅga* (14th century A.D.) in the famous Paśupatināṭha temple has most of the characteristics of the Gupta art and can be regarded as a prototype of the Bhāraśiva-*liṅga* at Nachna-Kuthara in Madhya Pradesh.

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18. C. Sivaramamurti, *Naṭarāja in Art, Thought and Literature*, New Delhi, 1974, pp. 298-306, figs. 171-74, 179-82.

19. J. L. Sharma, *Varāhakṣetra ra kehī anya sthala*, in AN, 4 (July 1968), p. 28, pl. II.

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Sun

Sun or Sūrya, who is regarded as the most beneficient of all the gods, also had his devotees in Nepal. Numerous images of Sūrya have been found in the valley, which prove the extent of the wide popularity his worship.

It will be interesting to record that in Nepal, both north and south Indian traditions of fashioning the images of Sūrya, were prevalent. A sculpture of the god at Naksal shows him wearing an armour and the long boots, as we generally notice in the icons of the deity from north India (fig. 5). In contrast to it, a sculpture of Sūrya at Sangal shows him bare footed, as one may find in the sculptures from south India.

A beautiful bronze image of Sūrya shows him seated cross-legged on a chariot drawn by seven galloping horses. He wears a typical crown, usual ornaments and has an oval-shaped halo behind the head. The image belongs to c. 12th century A.D. and is now deposited in the National Museum, New Delhi.

Śakti

Since time immemorial, Śakti in one form or the other has been worshipped in Indian sub-continent. In Nepal also, she was venerated both in her benign and terrific aspects. The benign aspects of Śakti is best presented by a fine image of Pārvatī, now in the Kumbheśvara temple at Patan. Her right hand is in *varada-mudrā* and in the left she holds the stalk of a lotus (damaged). The nimbate figure wears a crown, usual ornaments and *sāṛī* secured with an elaborate girdle having a floral clasp in front. The image can be dated to the 10th century A.D.

Like India, in Nepal too, « Pārvatī performing penance » was a popular theme for the ancient artists. A magnificent sculpture from Naghaltole depicts Pārvatī in penance as Aparṇā [20].

The most terrific aspect of Śakti is Mahiṣāsuramardinī, in which she is represented as killing the buffalo demon, Mahiṣāsura. An image of *devī* in this form is preserved within the precints of the Paśupatinātha temple. The ten-armed *devī* is shown killing the demon in full-human form. The sculpture is an excellent example of early 14th century A.D.

There is a rare image of Mahiṣamardinī as Ugrachaṇḍī at Bhaktapur. The eighteen-armed goddess holds a sword, an arrow, a discus, a *vajra*, an *aṅkuśa*, a trident, a *ḍamaru*, and her one hand displays the *varada*-pose; while her left hands carry a shield, a bow, a small trident, a noose, a *khaṭvāṅga*, and one hand is in *abhaya-mudrā*. With one of her right hands, she is piercing a trident in the chest of the demon in full human form, emerging out from the severed body of the

20. N. R. Banerjee, *Pārvatī's Penance as revealed by the Eloquent Stones of Nepal*, in AN, 2 (Jan. 1968), pp. 301-4, and figs.

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buffalo, whose decapitated head is lying in front. Her two hands tightly hold the hair of the demon, who is taking out a sword with his right hand from the sheath held in the left. Her *vāhana*, the lion, is also attacking the demon from the front side. Besides her usual ornaments, she also wears a *muṇḍa-mālā* and a skull is depicted on her crown. A female attendant holding a sword and a shield stands on her either side. The image bears a dated inscription of 827 N.S. (1707 A.D.).

Sarasvatī

Images of Sarasvatī, the goddess of wisdom and fine arts, are also found represented on the temples of Nepal. The Indreśvara Mahādeva temple at Panauti has an image of the goddess seated in *lalitāsana* on a double lotus. She holds a rosary and a manuscript in her upper hands; her lower right hand placed on the knee is in *varada*-pose and the corresponding left is in *abhaya-mudrā*. It belongs to the 18th century A.D.

Gaṅgā and Yamunā

The depiction of Gaṅgā and Yamunā in Indian art can be traced back to the Gupta period; but in Nepal, their representation became popular, probably from the early mediaeval period. The beautiful sculptures of these personified river goddesses at Paśupatinātha, datable to the 10th century A.D., show all the characteristics of the Pāla art. The figures stand on their usual *vāhanas*, a crocodile and a tortoise respectively and they wear diaphanous *uttarīya* and *sāṛī* in similar fashion as is shown in the famous image of Gaṅgā from Rajshahi [21]. Some other sculptures of Gaṅgā and Yamunā, assignable to the 17th century A.D., can be seen in Mulachowk at Patan.

Brahmā

Brahmā, the Creator of the universe, is the first god of the Hindu trinity. One of the earliest images of the god contemporary to the famous bronze icon from Mirpur Khas (Sind), now in the Karachi Museum, shows him as a two-armed figure carrying a rosary and a water-pot. The four-headed deity (fourth head is not visible) wears a crown on the central head which is quite similar to the crowns of the Viṣṇu images carved during the Gupta period in the Mathura region. The image datable to 500-550 A.D. may be seen at Chapagaon [22]. Another sculpture of the god carved in the round shows him wearing the *jaṭa-*

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21. For Pāla influence on Nepalese art, see K. J. KHANDALAVALA, *Some Nepalese and Tibetan Bronzes in the Collection of Mr. R. S. Sethna, Bombay*, in Mārg, IV, i, pp. 24-5.

22. P. PAL, *The Arts of Nepal*, I (Sculpture), Leiden/Koln, 1974, fig. 11.

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mukuṭas with locks of hair trailing on the shoulders. The sculpture assignable to 8th century A.D. is at Deo Patan (fig. 6).

Gaṇeśa

A beautifully modelled image of Gaṇeśa from Banepa is shown seated on a seat of inter-twined coils of serpents over a lotus pedestal. He is four-armed. His right hand carries a radish and the left a bowl of sweets, on which the tip of his proboscis is placed. His two hands are held against the chest. It has been assigned to c. 1390 A.D.[23].

Another four-faced and ten-armed sculpture of Gaṇapati is shown standing on two rats. He wears a *sarpa-hāra* and holds a tooth, a hammer, an axe, a goad, a noose, a trident, a skull, and a *modaka-pātra* at the tip of the trunk. His two hands are in *abhaya* and *varada*-poses. The image was found at Hanumanghat, Bhaktapur and belongs to the 18th century A.D.

Kārttikeya

A sculpture of Kārttikeya, the younger brother of Gaṇeśa, found at Gairidhara shows him standing and carrying a long spear in his left hand. A kneeling devotee is depicted on his either side. Though defaced, the image is a fine example of late 12th century A.D. The Kumbheśvara temple at Patan has a multi-headed and four-armed sculpture of Skanda-Kumāra (17th century A.D.) standing against his *vāhana*, the peacock Paravāṇī. He has a rosary and a spear in his upper hands, while his lower hands are in *abhaya* and *varada-mudrā*.

Hanumān

Images of Hanumān, the Monkey-God, are rare in Nepal. A standing image of Hanumān at Rapti Manauri shows him standing with his right foot placed on the ground and the left on the back of Laṅkā, as described in the *Sundara-kāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. His right hand is raised above the head as if he has lifted a mountain, while the left is held near the chest. The sculpture is a fine example of the late 12th century A.D. Similar images in India have been recorded from Mathura and Khajuraho[24].

Indra

The worship of Indra also appears to have been quite popular in ancient Nepal. A beautiful image of the deity in bronze shows him seated

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23. P. Pal, *Notes on Five Sculptures from Nepal*, in BMQ, XXIX, 1-2 (Winter 1964-65), p. 31, pl. XIV.

24. B. N. Sharma, *Hanumān in Indian Art*, in JAS, Bombay (N.S.), 49-50-51, 1974-75-76 (1979), pp. 186-190.

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at ease with his right hand held in *chin-mudrā* (index finger and thumb joined) and the left placed on the ground. He wears a bejewelled crown, elaborate jewellery and the lower garment. A horizontal eye is carved on his forehead. The image is a masetrpiece of the 12th century A.D.[25]. A wooden sculpture (17th century) in the National Museum, Kathmandu, illustrates Indra and his consort Sachi seated under trees on a cushion over two elephants.

Kāmadeva

Sculptures of Kāmadeva, the God of Love, have also been noticed in Nepal, where he is generally shown as holding a flag and a fish in his upper hands and an arrow and a bow in the lower ones. Rati is shown seated on his right thigh, with her right hand in *abhaya*-pose and carrying a cup in the left, which is held near the mouth of her consort. Prīti sits on the left thigh of Kāmadeva and lovingly looks at him. They are shown seated amidst flowers. The sculpture can be seen in the Sundari Chowk at Patan.

Chandra

Images of Chandra are also found in Nepal. One such sculpture illustrates Chandra or the moon riding on a chariot drawn by seven geeses. A dwarfish figure holds the reins to control them. Chandra is standing and holding stalks of full-blown lotuses. An arrow-shooter is shown on either side of the deity. The image, now at Gokarna, belongs to the 18th century A.D.

Kubera

Kubera or the Lord of riches was also worshipped by the Newaris, for he is the bestower of wealth and happiness. Among the numerous sculptures of the deity, the one in the Kumbheśvara temple at Patan, shows him standing with one foot placed on a couchant horse and the other on a lotus. His right hand, which is held near the chest holds a citron, while the left carries a money bag in the sape of a mangoose vomitting jewels. The image of the protuberant-bellied divinity wearing a crown and ornaments, belong to the 17th century A.D.

Syncretistic images
Harihara

Harihara images represent the harmonisation of two important sects of Hinduism, viz., Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism. A finely carved sculpture of

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25. S. KRAMRISCH, *Art of Nepal and Tibet*, in « Philadelphia Museum of Art Bulletin » (Spring 1960), fig. 2.

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Harihara illustrates a four-armed deity holding an *akṣamālā* and a *triśūla* in his right hands and a *chakra* and a *śaṅkha* in the left. He wears a *jaṭā-mukuṭa* on the right half of his head. He is flanked by Pārvatī on his right and Lakṣmī on the left. The image found at Balaju is assignable to the 11th century A.D. Similar other sculptures can also be noticed at Naksal and Paśupatinātha.

Hari-Hara-Pitāmaha

To these two members of trinity, namely, Viṣṇu and Śiva, the third, *i.e.*, Brahmā is also sometimes added and such images are known as Hariharapitāmaha. The Kumbheśvara temple at Patan has an image, where the three gods are shown standing on lotuses under a decorated arch. Brahmā is standing on the right, holding a rosary and a manuscript in his upper pair of arms. His lower right hand is in *abhaya-mudrā* and the left carries a *kamaṇḍalu*. His *vāhana*, a swan, is depicted near his feet. Śiva stands in the centre. He holds clock-wise a rosary, a kettle-drum, a trident and a damaged object. He wears cobras in his ears, a *sarpa-yajñōpavīta*, and a tiger's skin as his lower garment. Two couchant bulls are shown near his feet facing opposite directions. Viṣṇu stands on extreme left and carries a lotus, a discus, a club, and a conch. He wears a bejewelled crown and ornaments. His mount, Garuḍa, is depicted near his feet. This beautiful and rare icon can be assigned to the 17th century A.D.

Sūrya flanked by Viṣṇu and Śiva

A unique image of Nepalese art shows Sūrya standing in the centre. He holds lotuses in his hands. Sūrya and his charioteer Aruṇa, who holds the reins of the seven horses, wear armours. One arrow-shooter is shown on his either side. He is flanked by Viṣṇu on right and Śiva on the left, who are holding their *āyudhas* in the usual manner. The image is placed in compound of the Kṛṣṇa temple at Panauti and is datable to the 13th century A.D.

Ardhanārīśvara

A lovely terracotta figure of Ardhanārīśvara-Śiva shows him standing with the right foot placed on the couchant Nandi-bull and the left on a lion. The upper right hand of the deity is damaged, the lower right holds a rosary and the corresponding left hand is placed on the thigh. The right-half of the head bears a *muṇḍa*, while the left-half is decked with flowers. He wears a cobra in the right ear and a lotus in the left. The deity is decked in *sarpa*-ornaments in the right-half and the quaint jewellery of the period in the left-half. His *antarīya* consists of a *vyāghra-charma* on the right and a diaphanous *sāṛī* on the left. The image is *in situ* at Rani Pokhari, Kathmandu, and can be assigned to the 18th century A.D.

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Besides this, several other sculptures of Viṣṇu as *ardhanārī* are also known in Nepal [26]. An interesting example of this variety is housed in the Indreśvara Mahādeva temple at Panauti. The eight-armed deity holds a lotus, a club, a conch and a discus in his right hands, and a manuscript, a lotus, a mirror and a vase in the left. The image having a flaming border can be regarded as one of the finest examples of the Malla period, 16th century A.D.

An unique image of Hariśaṅkarī, datable to the 18th century A.D., is preserved in the Art Gallery, Bhaktapur. He has three faces in front and one above the central face. The eight-armed deity, who is seated in *padmāsana*, holds a rosary and a *muṇḍa* in his right hands and a lotus in the left. The attributes held in other hands are damaged and lost. The image has all the features of a male figure on the right and that of a female on the left. No other such image is known to us from elsewhere.

It will be quite interesting to note that a good number of terracottas (17th century A.D.) discovered at Bhaktapur and now displayed in the Kathmandu Museum, illustrate a number of Hindu deities like Brahmā, Gaṇeśa, Mahālakṣmī, Chāmuṇḍā, Vaiṣṇavī, Vārāhī, Vīrabhadra, Nandīśvara, etc. Besides these, early sculptures of Yakṣa and Nāga were also found from Hadigaon and Naksal, respectively, which prove the popularity of their cults in ancient Nepal [27].

Thus, keeping the above in view, we can conclude in words of Dr. R. C. Majumdar, that « in language, literature, art, religion and social ideas, Nepal formed an integral part of India and was completely saturated with its culture. It had close political and social association with India, and had not developed that isolation which characterised it in later ages. It was a strong centre of both Brāhmaṇical and Buddhist religions; and in spite of strange vicissitudes of fortune, it has still retained vestige of its old Indian culture » [28].

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26. P. Pal, *Composite Form of Vāsudeva and Lakṣmī*, in JASB, V, 3-4 (1963, pp. 73-9; D. Bhattacharya, *The Composite Image of Vāsudeva and Lakṣmī*, in *ibid.*, VIII, 4 (1966), pp. 261-66; B. N. Sharma, *Pahāṛī Bronzes*, in « Arts of Himachal » (ed. by V. C. Ohri), Simla, 1975, p. 21, fig. 7.

27. N. R. Banerjee and B. K. Rijal, *Three Early Sculptures in Stone from the National Museum, Kathmandu*, in AN, 4 (July 1968), pp. 37-9, pls. V-VI.

28. R. C. Majumdar, *The Classical Age*, Bombay, 1962, pp. 136-37.

I am very grateful to Dr. L. S. Bangdel, Chancellor, Royal Nepal Academy, Kathmandu, who kindly accompanied me to different places in Nepal and showed numerous interesting sculptures most of which have been referred to in this paper.

The article has been typed by Mr. R. K. Sharma.

Photographs are by the author.

ABBREVIATIONS

AN	Ancient Nepal (Journal of the Department of Archaeology), Kathmandu.
BMFA	Bulletin of Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
BMQ	The British Museum Quarterly, London.

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Fig. 1. Trivikrama, 476 A.D. Lajampat, Kathumandu, National Museum, Kathumandu.

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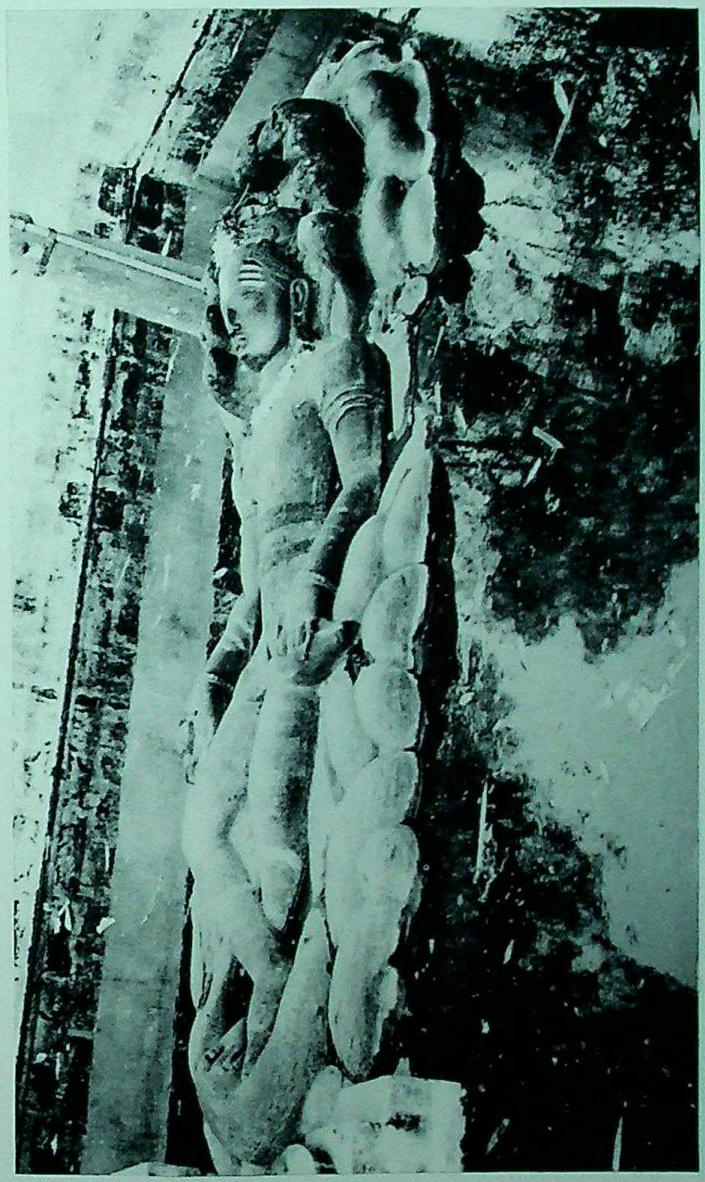

Fig. 2. Jalaśayana Viṣṇu, c. 600 A.D. Hanuman Dhoka, Kathumandu.

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Fig. 3. Gaṅgādhara, 10th cent. A.D. Patan.

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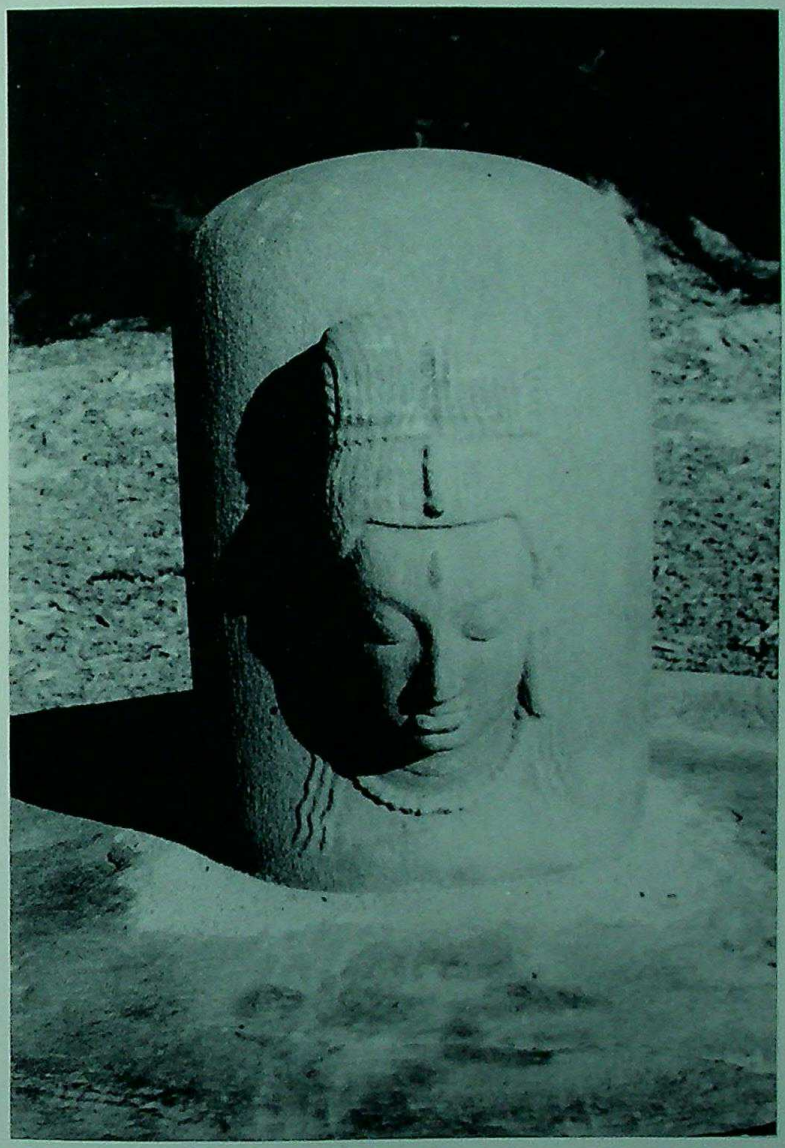

Fig. 4. Ekamukhaliṅga, 500 A.D. Mṛgasthali.

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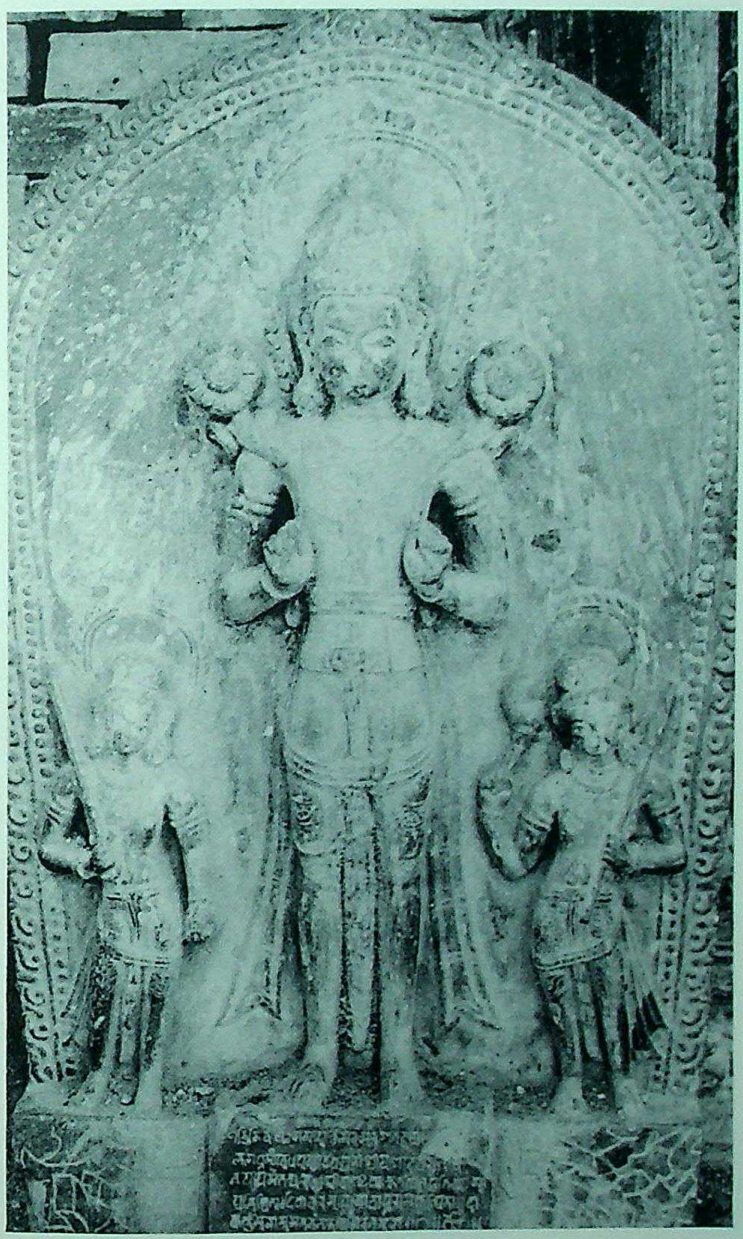

Fig. 5. Sūrya, 1083 A.D. Saugal, Patan.

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Fig. 6. Brahmā 7th-8th cent. A.D. Deo Patan.

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MUKUNDA MADHAVA SHARMA

ON AN EXTRACT FROM THE ABHINAVABHĀRATĪ

In this paper it is intended to examine the implications of a number of technical terms occurring in a short but very significant extract from the sixth chapter of the *Abhinavabhāratī*[1] having a lot of bearing on the principles of Indian aesthetics as propounded by Abhinavagupta.

After establishing the celebrated *rasa-sūtra*[2], according to which *rasa* is suggested through a delineation of the *bhāvas*, i.e., *vibhāvas*, *anubhāvas* and *vyabhicāribhāvas*, Bharatamuni raises the question as to whether (i) *bhāvas* owe their origin to *rasas* or (ii) *rasas* owe their origin to *bhāvas* or (iii) *bhāvas* and *rasas* owe their origin mutually. In reply Bharata first says that *rasas* owe their origin to *bhāvas*, since the *bhāvas* are called so only because they « lead to the realisation » (*bhāvayanti*) « of these *rasas* » (*rasān imān*)[3]. Then Bharata concedes also to the third position, i.e., that of mutual causality. As already propounded *rasas* owe their origin to *bhāvas*, because the latter alone can lead to any aesthetic experience. But *bhāvas* also depend on the *rasas* since they are called *bhāvas* only because of being instrumental to the realisation of *rasas*. Out side the realm of aesthetic consideration

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1. Published along with the *Nāṭyaśāstra* in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Baroda, ed. by M. R. Kavi. References are to vol. I, 2nd edn., 1956.

2. « *vibhāvānubhāvavyabhicārisaṁyogād rasaniṣpattiḥ* », *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Ch. VI, p. 272, in vol. I, 2nd edn., 1956.

3. *nānābhinayasambaddhān bhāvayanti rasān imān*
yasmāt tasmād amī bhāvā viṁeyā nāṭyayoktṛbhiḥ.
nānādravyair bahuvidhair vyañjanaṁ bhāvyate yathā
evaṁ bhāvā bhāvayanti rasān abhinayaiḥ saha (*Nāṭyaśāstra*, VI.34-35).

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bhāvas are not called so[4]. Thus in fact it is not the *bhāvas* but only their nomenclature which owes its origin to *rasas*. Hence, although a state of mutual causality may be shown to be there with the help of an intelligent interpretation[5], yet on strictly aesthetic grounds, *bhavas* alone have the claim for being recognised as the cause of *rasas*. But this position happens to run counter to an earlier statement of Bharata himself, i.e., *na hi rasād ṛte kaścid arthaḥ pravartate*[6]. The literal meaning of this statement is either, « Nothing (i.e., *na kaścid arthaḥ*) can exist without *rasa* » or, « Nothing arises without *rasa* (i.e., without *rasa* as the cause) ». In view of the second meaning there arises the question as to how it could be justified to hold only that *rasas* owe their origin to *bhāvas* and not *vice versa* also. Apprehending such an objection Bharata says:

yathā bījād bhaved vṛkṣo vṛkṣāt puṣpaṁ phalaṁ yathā
tathā mūlaṁ rasāḥ sarve tebhyo bhāvā vyavasthitāḥ[7].

Just as a tree occurs from a seed, and flowers and fruits from a tree, similarly *rasas* are the roots, and all *bhāvas* arise out of them (i.e., out of *rasas*).

On this Abhinavagupta comments as follows:

nanu yadi bhāvebhyo rasās tarhi katham uktaṁ « na hi rasād ṛte kaścid apyarthaḥ pravartate. tena pūrvaṁ ta evoddeśyāḥ » ityāśaṅ-

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4. Mammaṭa says that *vibhāvas*, *anubhāvas* and *vyabhicāribhāvas* are called so only in case of a drama or a poem. In the practical world they are known simply as causes, effects and auxiliary causes respectively.

Cf. *karaṇānyatha kāryāṇi sahakāriṇi yāni ca*
ratyādeḥ sthāyino loke tāni cen nāṭyakāvyayoḥ.
vibhāvā anubhāvāśca kathyante vyabhicāriṇaḥ.
vyakaḥ sa tairvibhāvādyaiḥ sthāyibhāvo rasas smṛtaḥ.
(*Kāvyaprakāśa*, IV.27-28).

5. Cf. « ——— *evaṁ trayo'pi pakṣāḥ kathañcidupagatā abhiprāyavaicitryeṇeti tātparyam* » (*Abhinavabhāratī*, p. 294).

6. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, VI, p. 272. Here Abhinavagupta explains this in three different ways. (i) From the view point of the theorist (*vyākhyātṛ*) it means that without *rasa* objects (*arthas*) like *vibhāvas* etc., do not come into existence so as to deserve an explanation by the theorists. (ii) From the view point of the actor it means that without *rasa* the purpose (*arthaḥ*) of giving delight cannot be served. (iii) From the view point of the spectator it means that once he gets absorbed in the relish of *rasa* the spectator ceases to have any idea of any other object (*artha*) like the *bhāvas* other than the *rasa* (*rasād ṛte*) separately.

Cf. « *hi yasmāt rasaṁ vinā vibhāvādirartho buddhau*
vyākhyeyatayā na pravartate yataśca taṁ vinā arthaḥ prayojanaṁ
prītipurassaraṁ vyutpattimayaṁ na pravartate yataśca rasaṁ
pratyādṛte rasanātmakapratītyekaghanaviśrānte sāmājikaloke'nyo
bhāvādir arthaḥ pravibhāgena buddhau na vartate ——————— ato
vyakhyātṛnaṭasāmājikābhiprāyeṇa —————— » (*Abhinavabhāratī*, p. 271).

Under *Nāṭyaśāstra*, VI.38, again Abhinava seems to have given in a general way a fourth meaning that « nothing arises without *rasa* as the cause ».

7. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, VI.38.

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kyāha — yathetyādinā. bījaṁ yathā vṛkṣamūlatvena sthitaṁ tathā rasāḥ. tanmūlā hi prītipūrvikā vyutpattiriti ta eva vyākhyānārhāḥ. kavigatasādhāraṇībhūtasamvinmūlaś ca kāvyapurassaro naṭavyāpāraḥ. saiva ca samvit paramārthato rasaḥ. sāmājikasya ca tatpratītyā vaśīkṛtasya paścād apoddhārabuddhyā vibhāvādipratītiriti prayojanaṁ nāṭye kāvye sāmājikadhiyi ca. tadevaṁ mūlaṁ bījasthānīyaḥ kavigato rasaḥ. kavir hi sāmājikatulya eva. tata evoktaṁ « śṛṅgārī cet kaviḥ » (dhvanyāloka. 3.42) ityādyānandavardhanācāryena. tato vṛkṣasthānīyaṁ kāvyam. tatra puṣpādisthānīyo' bhinayādinaṭavyāpāraḥ. tatra phalasthānīyaḥ sāmājikarasāsvādaḥ. tena rasamayam eva viśvam [8].

From this we learn that just as the seed is the cause of the tree and the flower and the fruit, and the same seed also is the final effect, similarly *rasa*, realised by the poet, is the cause of poetical creation, and *rasa*, realised by the *sahṛdaya* (i.e., the aesthete), is the final effect. *Rasa* is a delectable knowledge or a delightful state of sensing. A dramatic presentation is preceded by the composition of a drama (which is also technically called a *kāvya*). The creation of the *kāvya* (i.e., the drama) proceeds from the feeling (*samvit*) of a sentiment in a generalised form (*sādhāraṇībhūta*) by the poet. That very feeling (*samvit*) belonging to the poet is in fact the *rasa*. The spectator (or the reader) also gets absorbed in the same delectable feeling. In this state of delightful absorption no distinct idea of the *vibhāvas* etc., occur to the aesthete. The knowledge of the *vibhāvas* etc., can arise only through a later analysis (*apoddhārabuddhyā*)[9]. Thus the same *rasa* is both the cause and the effect. For any poetical creation the poet must first experience the *rasa* himself, and only after that he would communicate it with words. In the matter of experiencing the generalised emotion the poet is as good as the spectator or the reader. That the poet himself must experience the rasa is warrented by Ānaṇdavardhana's verse, « śṛṅgārī cet » etc. [10]. This involvement of *rasa*, both as the cause and the effect, leads Abhinavagupta to make a very serious observation that the whole universe is « made of *rasa* » (*rasamayam*).

Though the *rasa* realised by the poet immediately before the proneness for creation does not seem to be the same as *rasa* technically defined, yet it is also nothing other than that. Ānandavardhana clearly shows that the realisation of an impersonal universalised *sthāyī* (i.e., permanent mood) is the cause of poetry. For, he says:

kāvyasyātmā sa evārthas tathā cādikaveḥ purā
krauñcadvandvaviyogotthaḥ śokaḥ ślokatvamāgataḥ [11].

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8. *Abhinavabhāratī*, p. 294.
9. Cf. *Vākyapadīya*, I.24, for the meaning of the term *apoddhāra*.
10. « *śṛṅgārī cet kaviḥ kāvye jātaṁ rasamayaṁ jagat*
sa eva vītarāgaścen nīrasaṁ sarvam eva tat » (Under *Dhvanyāloka*, III.42).
11. *Dhvanyāloka*, I.5.

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[That very meaning (i.e., *rasa*) is the soul of poetry, and that is how the sorrow (i.e., *śoka*) of the First Poet, that arose out of the separation of the couple of the krauñca birds, took the form of a verse (i.e., *śloka*).]

Ānandavardhana confirms the implications of this *kārikā* [12] by saying that the *śoka* which took the form of *śloka* is the *sthāyibhāva* of *karuṇarasa* [13]. He means to say that not as a personal sorrow, but only as the universalised sorrow of a sympathetic heart, a *śoka* becomes the *sthāyibhāva* of *karuṇarasa*.

Abhinavagupta explains this position by saying: *na tu muneḥ śoka iti mantavyam*, It is not to be taken as a *śoka* of the sage himself. Then whose *śoka* is this? It is an impersonal *śoka*. It belongs to the *muni* and the bird alike, and in the same generalised form it is realised and relished by the *sahṛdays* (i.e., the aesthetes) also.

Thus in the realm of poetry there is no difference between the cause and the effect. But the poetical creation is also the same as the cosmic creation and the poet is rightly called the creator, Brahman: *apāre kāvyasaṁsāre kavirekaḥ prajāpatiḥ* [14]. If the poetical creation is an ideal one, the cosmic creation is also ideal.

The analogy of the seed and the tree which explains the non-difference of the cause and the effect in the realm of poetic creation conforms to a sort of monism or idealism. In fact the very process of rasa-realisation or aesthetic experience involves the principle of monism or non-difference in many ways, some of which are hinted at by the above passage of the *Abhinavabhāratī* itself, e.g., (i) *rasa* is a delightful knowledge or realisation (*prītipūrvikā vyutpatti*). But the delight and the realisation are both non-different from the realising self [15]. (ii) There is no difference between the poet and the reader. The reader is technically called a *sahṛdaya*, i.e., one who has a similar attitude of the heart. (iii) There is no difference between the feelings of the character depicted, the poet and the reader [16]. This happens through the processes of *sādhāraṇīkaraṇa* and *hṛdayasaṁvāda*. By the earlier process the situation, the characters and the spectators, all lose their spatial and temporal limitations. By the later process sentiments are shared by the spectator not only with other human beings, but also with animals and birds, etc. Thus an aesthetic experience involves the elimination of difference and the realisation of oneness with other human beings or other creatures.

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12. The term *kārikā* means a memorial verse on any subject-matter of technical nature.

13. Cf. « *śoko hi karuṇasthāyibhāvaḥ* ».

14. Given under *Dhvanyāloka*, III.42.

15. This is warranted by the idea that the Absolute, which is non-different from the individual self, is Being-Consciousness-Delight, *sat-cit-ānanda*.

16. Abhinavagupta's teacher Bhaṭṭa Tauta says, « *nāyakasya kaveḥ śrotuḥ samāno'nubhavas tataḥ* ». Vide *Locana* under *Dhvanyāloka*, I.6.

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Abhinavagupta opines that what has been stated in the passage of the *Abhinavabhāratī* may be supported also from the angle of Vijñānavāda, Dvidhābhidhāna, Sphoṭatattva, Satkāryavāda and Ekatvadarśana, etc. cf. *atra ca vijñānavādo dvidhābhidhānaṁ sphoṭatattvaṁ satkāryavāda ekatvadarśanam ityādi ca draṣṭavyam* [17].

This is the extract which particularly deserves a careful elucidation. Perhaps what Abhinava means to say is that certain points of Vijñānavāda etc., may be shown to have full agreement with certain aspects of the philosophy of *rasa*-realisation and particularly the principle of non-difference as hinted at by the passage quoted earlier. For examining these agreements let us take the doctrines viz., Vijñānavāda, etc., one by one.

VIJÑĀNAVĀDA — The school of Yogācāra or Vijñānavāda maintains a thorough-going idealism. Accordingly the world is built of consciousness and has no more reality than a dream [18]. The most striking point relevant to the present context is that in Vijñānavāda no difference is maintained between (i) the cognised (*grāhya*) and the cogniser (*grāhaka*), and between (ii) the cognised and the cognition (*taddhīḥ*, i.e., « the knowledge of that »).

(i) In a Kārikā, given in the *Śāstradīpikā*, it is succinctly put that according to Vijñānavāda « there is no perceptible object other than the knowledge itself. But there is no later cognition of a perception as well. *Buddhi* or *Vijñāna* or consciousness or knowledge alone shines because of the absence of separate entities called perceptible (*grāhya*) and the perceiver (*grāhaka*) » [19]. (ii) In Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇaviniścaya* it is stated that « there is a lack of difference (*abheda*) between the blue colour (*nīla*) and the knowledge of the same (*taddhīḥ*), since they are both perceived together as a rule. (*sahopalambhaniyamāt*). Whatever difference is noticed is because of an erroneous perception just as (through error of vision or due to disease of the eyes) the single moon is observed to be two » [20].

DVIDHĀBHIDHĀNA — This term literally means « naming the same thing with two different names ». As far as my information goes *dvidhā-*

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17. *Abhinavabhāratī*(vi), p. 294. Abhinavagupta, however, does not go into the details of the points of correspondance, for the fear of being accused of indulging in an exhibition of his scholarship. Cf. « *vayaṁ tu prakṛtānupayogi* ——— *ityāstām* », *loc. cit.*

18. Cf. A. L. BASHAM, *The Wonder that was India*, London, 1954, p. 279.

19. Cf. *nānyo'nubhāvyo buddhyā'sti tasyā nānubhavo'paraḥ*
grāhyagrāhakavaidhuryāt svayaṁ saiva prakāśate.
Śāstradīpika of Pārthasārathimiśra, with the com. *Yuktisnehaprapūraṇī*, Chowkhamba, Benares, 1916.

20. Cf. *sahopalambhaniyamādabhedo nīlataddhiyoḥ*
bhedaśca bhrāntivijñānair dṛśyatendāvivādvaye.,
Pramāṇaviniścaya of Dharmakīrti, I.
See also K. C. PANDEY, *Abhinavagupta An Historical And Philosophical Study*, 2nd edn. Chowkhamba, Varanasi, 1963, p. 711.

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bhidhāna is not a familiar term. I could trace out this term neither in the notable modern works on Indian philosophy nor also in the other works of Abhinavagupta. But I am led to believe that it may have something to do with the concept of creation as detailed in the *Ahirbudhnyasaṁhitā*[21]. In this work there are certain expressions which I conjecture to be at the root of the formation of the term *dvidhābhidhāna*. Let me first quote the relevant portions and then show the points of similarity:

atha śuddhetarasṛṣṭivarṇanaṁ nāma ṣaṣṭho'dhyāyaḥ
(tatra śaktitadvato bhedavadabhedasyāpyupapattiḥ)
ahirbudhnyaḥ:
yo'sau nārāyaṇo devaḥ paramātmā sanātanaḥ
ahaṁbhāvātmikā śaktistasya taddharmadharmiṇī. (1)
tāvimāvekadhaivoktau bhedyabhedakabhāvataḥ
pṛthaktvena ca śāstreṣu jagaddhetutayoditau. (2)
atha śuddhetarasṛṣṭivarṇanaṁ nāma saptamo'dhyāyaḥ —
(adhyāyadvayasaṁkṣepaḥ)
bhūyaśca śṛṇu saṁkṣepam imaṁ nārada tattvataḥ. (64b)
ekā śaktir harerviṣṇoḥ sarvabhāvānugāminī
devī ṣādguṇyapūrṇā sā jñānānandakriyāmayī. (65)
bhāvyabhāvakabhāvena sā dvidhābhāvamṛcchati
bhāvakas tatra saṁkalpaḥ sudarśanamayo hareḥ. (66)
avyāghātas tu yas tasya sā sudarśanatā mune
jñānamūlakriyātmāsau svacchaḥ svacchandacinmayaḥ. (67)
bhāvyo nāma parāṁśo yaḥ sā bhūtiriti gīyate
saṁkarṣaṇādibhūmyantā śuddhetaravibhāginī. (68)[22]

The purport of these verses, briefly put, is as follows:

The creative potentiality (*śakti*) of Hari is not a physical power involving mechanical movement; « but it is in a sense homogeneous with God »[23]. It is of the nature of pure selfdetermined thought (*svacchandacinmaya*); it is a thought in potentiality, a thought that is to realise itself in subject-object forms, manifesting itself as a spiritual thought movement (*jñānamūlakriyātmā*). It is this spiritual movement of that *śakti*, which by self-diremption splits itself up (*dvidhābhāvam ṛcchati*) as the thought of God (*saṁkalpa*), the determiner (*bhāvaka*), and the passive objectivity (*bhāvya*), called *prakṛti*. Through the *saṁkalpa*, which is *bhāvaka*, the *bhāvyā prakṛti* developes and differentiates itself into the categories occurring in the form of a ramification from *prakṛti* onward. Now let us see the points of similarity:

(1) The term *dvidhābhidhāna* in *Abhinavabhāratī* refers to a concept of non-difference between the cause and the effect. In *Ahirbudh-*

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21. It is noteworthy that this tantric text was also a product of Kashmir.
22. *Ahirbudhnyasaṁhitā*, Adyar Library, Madras, 1916, pp. 70-2.
23. Cf. « *bhedavad abhedasyāpyupapattiḥ* ».

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nyasaṁhitā there is a similar expression *dvidhābhāvam ṛcchati* in a similar context.

(2) In *Abhinavabhāratī* the poetical creation (and as a matter of fact the whole cosmic creation) is ideal in so far as it proceeds from *rasa*, « *tena rasamayam eva viśvam* ». The whole world is a *vikāra* (i.e., just an evolved form) of *rasa*. This *rasa* is a *samvit* (i.e., a consciousness) or a *jñāna* (i.e., a knowledge), « *saiva samvit paramārthato rasaḥ* ». In *Ahirbudhnyasaṁhitā* also the creation proceeds from an ideal thought, a *saṁkalpa*, which proceeds from a *śakti*, which also involves a *samvit* being *jñānamūlakriyātmā*.

(3) But this *śakti* is identical with the *śaktimān* Hari (i.e., the God endowed with the *śakti*). There is an *abheda* (i.e., non-difference) of the two. It is only in the *śāstras* that they are separately spoken of as the causes of the world. The expression « *pṛthaktvena uditau* » given in this context has a striking similarity with the term « *dvidhā abhidhāna* ».

(4) In the theory of rasa- realisation there is no difference between the knower (*jñātṛ*) and the object of knowledge (*jñeya*). *Jñātṛ* and *jñeya* are the dfferent names (*dvidhābhidhāna*) for the same thing. According to the *Ahirbudhnyasaṁhitā* also the Devī (i.e., the *śaktī*), who is on her own part identical with Hari (i.e., Nārāyaṇa) just assumes (*ṛcchatī*) a duality (*dvidhābhāvam*) in the form of *bhāvya* and *bhāvaka*, the object of perception and the perceiver[24].

(5) Likewise in Abhinavagupta's theory of aesthetic experience also there is no difference between the *puruṣa* (i.e., the aesthete)[25] and the *rasa* realised by him. The *puruṣa* himself is *rasa*. While commenting on the *Kārikā*:

sukhaprāyeṣu saṁpannaḥ ṛtumālyādisevakaḥ
puruṣaḥ pramadāyuktaḥ śṛṅgāra iti saṁjñitaḥ[26].

A *puruṣa* endowed with most of the pleasures, used to the enjoyment of seasons, garlands, etc., and accompanied by a woman is called śṛṅgāra[27], Abhinavagupta says: *puruṣa iti bhoktā saṁvedanātmako'bhipretaḥ. bhoktaiva ca sthāyisaṁvidrūpaḥ. vyabhicārinastu bhogasvabhāvāḥ. tena ratireva purusaḥ. tathā coktam — śraddhāmayo'yaṁ puruṣa iti*[28].

The word *puruṣa* here is intended to mean the realising aesthete who relishes (the *rasa*). One who relishes (the *rasa*) himself is of the

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24. Cf. lines 65b and 66a.
25. It is to be remembered that in the time of rasa-realisation the aesthete realises an identity with the character depicted on the stage or in the *kāvya*.
26. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, VI.46.
27. *Rasa* in general is implied by the term *śṛṅgāra*, which is the name of the foremost variety of *rasa*.
28. *Abhinavabhāratī*, p. 311.

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nature of a realisation of the *sthāyibhāva*, the permanent mood. The *vyabhicāribhāvas* are of the nature of a relish. Hence, the aesthete (*puruṣa*) and the permanent mood of love (*rati*) are identical. A similar expression where a person is said to be identical with an abstract mental attitude is « *śraddhāmayo'yaṁ puruṣaḥ* », « This person is all devotion ».

Thus, on the basis of these points of similarity with the theory of creation as given in the *Ahirbudhnyasaṁhitā* we may form an idea about what is probably intended by the term *dvidhābhidhāna*, and we may perhaps be justified also to take the said theory of creation itself as what is actually implied by the term in the extract from the *Abhinavabhāratī*.

SPHOṬATATTVA — The correspondance of the theory of *sphoṭa* with the aforesaid speculations on aesthetic experience may perhaps be shown as follows: (1) In the analogy of the seed and the tree, the *rasa* belonging to the poet is the seed or the cause [29] and the relish of the *rasa* by the spectator, or so to say the *rasa* belonging to the spectator [30] is the fruit or the effect [31]. Thus the cause and the effect are identical. In the *sphoṭa* theory, *sphoṭa* is the *nitya āntara akhaṇḍa arthavān śabda*; the speaker gives vent to this *sphoṭa* or inner real *śabda* belonging to himself [32] with the audible *vaikharī* sounds which on their own part suggest the *sphoṭa* belonging to the listener, who understands the meaning accordingly. In fact *sphoṭa* is one and unlimited and partless. Hence, the same *sphoṭa* pervades the hearts of both the speaker and the listener, just as the same *rasa* belongs to both the poet and the aesthete. *Sphoṭa* of the speaker being the cause has no difference with *spoṭa* of the listener as the effect [33]. (2) The term *sphoṭatattva* in the quoted passage of *Abhinavabhāratī* may also mean the whole philosophy of word and meaning propounded by Bhartṛhari, according to which the same solitary Brahman having no difference of any sort appears as it were to have difference because of assuming the potentialities to create. cf.

ekameva yad āmnātaṁ bhinnaṁ śaktivyapāśrayāt
apṛthaktve'pi śaktibhyaḥ pṛthaktveneva vartate [34].

This has a clear correspondance with *dvidhābhidhāna* explained above. (3) Bhartṛhari says that the same Brahman assumes the form of *bhoktṛ*, *bhoktavya* and *bhoga*. *Bhoktṛ* is the subject that experiences, *bhoktavya* is the object of experience, and *boga* is the experience. What is indicated is that there is no difference between the said three principles

29. Cf. « *mūlaṁ bījasthānīyāt kavigato rasaḥ* ».
30. As shown earlier the relish itself is the *rasa*.
31. Cf. « *phalasthānīyaḥ sāmājikarasāsvādaḥ* ».
32. For the idea of the « inner word » of the speaker cf. *Vākyapadīya*, I.131.
33. Cf. MUKUNDA MADHAVA SHARMA, *Vyañjanāprapañcasamīkṣā*, Chaukhambha Orientalia, Varanasi, 1979, p. 90.
34. *Vākyapadīya*, I.2.

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just as in the theory of *rasa*, it is maintained that, there is no difference between *jñātṛ*, *jñeya* and *jñāna*. (4) Abhinavagupta concludes that the whole world is made of *rasa*; *rasamayam eva viśvam*. As indicated in the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* [35], *rasa* is Braman. In the philosophy of *Bhartṛhari śabda* is Brahman. In the final analysis *rasa* is identical with *śabda*, both being identical with Brahman. Bhartṛhari also says that the whole world is only a *pariṇāma* (i.e., transformation) of the *śabdatattva* [36].

SATKARYAVĀDA — According to this doctrine of the Sāṁkhya philosophy an effect should necessarily be already present in the cause in a latent form. For example, the curd, which is an effect of the milk, remains latent in the milk itself before coming into existence as curd. This implies that the cause just assumes a new form and appears as the effect, and there is no ontological difference between the cause and the effect. This doctrine bears a correspondance with the position that the *rasa* belonging to the poet as the cause has no difference with the *rasa* belonging to the spectator as the effect.

EKATVADARŚANA — Like *dvidhābhidhāna*, this is also not a very celebrated term. This term may literally mean either (i) the philosophy of oneness or (ii) the act of perceiving oneness (of various objects). It has been already stated that the realisation of *rasa* depends on a process of generalisation (*sādhāraṇīkaraṇa*) involving elimination of all differences between, and realisation of oneness with, all other individual creatures. Philosophically this is as good as recognising all other creatures as similar to one another and non-different from the perceiver himself. This attitude may, hence, be called *samadarśana* also. In the passage concerned Abhinavagupta perhaps implies this very attitude of *samadarśana* with the term *ekatvadarśana*. This seems to be warranted by the following comment of Abhinavagupta, containing the terms *samadarśana(tva)* and *ekīkaraṇa* (i.e., *ekikuryāt*):

> *sarvabhūteṣu ātmānaṁ grāhakatayā anupraviśantaṁ bhāvayet, ātmani ca grāhyatājñānadvāreṇa sarvāṇi bhūtāni ekīkuryāt; ataśca samadarśanatvam saṁjāyate yogaśceti saṁkṣepārthaḥ* [37].

This occurs in his *Bhagavadgītārthasaṁgraha* on *Gītā*, vi.29 [38], and the concerned verse is:

> *sarvabhūtastham ātmānaṁ sarvabhūtāni cātmani*
> *īkṣate yogayuktātmā sarvatrasamadarśanaḥ.*

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35. Cf. « *raso vai saḥ* », *Taittirīya Upaniṣad*, II.7.

36. Cf. *Vākyapadīya*, I.1. Bhartṛhari uses the term *vivarta* (« *vivartate* ») here in the sense of *pariṇāma*.

37. This is quoted in K. C. PANDEY's, *Abhinavagupta An Historical And Philosophical Study*, Varanasi, 1963, p. 40.

38. K. C. Pandey gives the number as VI.30. The present number is given here in the light of S. RADHAKRISHNAN's, *The Bhagavadgītā*, 4th impression, London, 1956.

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This is out and out based on monism, and the same monism is the bed-rock of Abhinavagupta's theory of aesthetic experience. In the comment quoted above Abhinavagupta says that the devotee should conceive of (*bhāvayet*) his own self as present in (and hence identical with) all the creatures as the cognitive agent (*grāhakatayā*), and should conceive of an oneness of all the creatures with the idea of their presence in (and hence identity with) his own self as the objects of cognition (*grāhya*) [39]. This shoud lead to the feeling of similarity and the attainment of *yoga*. It is significant that here also there is the recognition of a non-difference between the object of cognition (*grāhya*) and the agent of cognition (*grāhaka*). The feeling of oneness needed for *rasa*-realisation should pertain not only to all human beings, but also to all varieties of creatures. Abhinavagupta perhaps gives the first illustration of *rasa* with a verse that describes the frightened deer [40] with the idea of implying this very aspect of monism.

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39. Seeing of the self as abiding in all beings and of all beings as abiding in the self is at the root of *sādhāraṇīkaraṇa* and *hṛdayasamvāda*.

40. I.e., the verse « *grīvābhaṅgābhirāmam* », etc. (*Śakuntalā*, I.7), Vide *Abhinavabhāratī*, p. 279.

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R. S. SHARMA

TRENDS IN THE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF MATHURA
(c. 300 B.C. - A.D. 300)

Evidence from Pali texts and archaeology suggests that Mathura was a considerable settlement in Maurya times. North Black Polished (NBP) ware sherds have been found in excavations at Mathura and Sonkh and also in explorations at several places in Mathura district. Although settlements at Mathura had started around the sixth century B.C. with the people who used Painted Grey Ware, they became substantial by *c.* 300 B.C. But coins, inscriptions and archaeology show that the real importance of Mathura as an urban centre started in the first century A.D.; about this time we find brick structures, roofing tiles, fortifications, etc.[1]. Mathura became a great centre of trade and crafts and of religion and administration in the first two Christian centuries in the Saka-Kuṣāṇa phase.

The great economic importance of Mathura was not derived from its hinterland or from the resources of that region. It has a desert type of climate[2]. Sandholes and ravines mark the bank of the Yamuna[3], and cultivation on the banks boardering the ravines is poor[4]. At Mathura the annual average rainfall is 21.43"[5]. Except during the brief south-west monsoon season the air over the district is genearlly dry[6]. The Mathura soil is good for excavators but bad for cultivators. However, the land adjacent to the Yamuna is quite often very fertile[7], but still irrigation is needed for the major part of the district. Till recent times a good part was irrigated by the *rahaṭ* or Persian wheel system, but this contrivance was not known in the early centuries of the Christian era.

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1. *Indian Archaeology 1974-75 - A Review*, p. 50; *ibid.* (1975-76), p. 55.
2. *Uttar Pradesh District Gazetteers*, Mathura, 1968, pp. 5-6.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 10.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

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Although the district is a part of the Indo-Gangetic alluvium[8], because of less rainfall it was not capable of producing much in ancient times. Probably it produced wheat, barley, millet, rice and pulses, but whether the rural base of Mathura was strong enough to support its urban settlement is doubtful. Mathura, however, is famous for its *tamāla* trees, and according to the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* spices in the form of green leaves were imported from India[9]. According to Wilfred H. Schoff the imported spice is the leaf of the *tamāla* tree. which is a variety of cinnamon or laurel[10]. Mathura may have contributed to the export of this spice from India. The mention of *cūtaka vihāra* suggests that Mathura also produced mangoes. Probably the Mathura artisans produced some luxury and essential goods for local use and export. Otherwise it is very unlikely that the natural resources/products of Mathura enabled it to pay its way.

We have no idea about the land system or the agricultural methods prevalent in the Mathura region. Finds of votive tanks in excavations and numerous references to the construction of wells, tanks and water reservoirs for religious purposes in inscriptions[11] suggests that the practice of providing water facilities may have also been followed in the countryside where it promoted the supply of water for both drinking and irrigation. Such facilities may have been organised individually or collectively; the state does not seem to have played any important part in it.

While some land grants were made by the Sātavāhanas in Maharashtra, none seems to have been made by the Kuṣāṇas unless it is understood in terms of indirect grant of land for the construction of monasteries, tanks, reservoirs, etc. The term *akṣayanīvi*, which indicates perpetual land tenure in a Sātavāhana inscription, is used in a Kuṣāṇa epigraph from Mathura[12], but not in the context of land grant. In villages headmen seem to have been men of importance, and the *grāmika* is mentioned in two Mathura inscriptions[13] and one of them had more than one wife[14]. Probably he assessed and collected taxes from the peasants ,as was the case with the *gāmasāmika*, mentioned in the *Milinda-pañho*[15]. Possibly he collected from the peasants *praṇaya*, *viṣṭi*, and taxes levied on their fruits and flowers from which they were exempted by Rudradāman in the construction of the Sudarśana lake. At any rate he may have collected the royal share of the produce. According to Agarwala *kālavāḍa* or *kārapāla*, collector of taxes, mentioned as one of the

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8. *Ibid.*, p. 8.
9. P. H. L. Eggermont, *The Muruṇḍas and the Ancient Trade-Route from Taxila to Ujjain*, JESHO, IX (1966), 278-79.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 279.
11. *Lüders' List*, nos. 64, 82, 102; Agarwala, in JUPHS, XXII, p. 204; XXIII, p. 75.
12. *Sel. Inscrr.*, p. 207, l.2; *ibid.*, p. 152, ll.3, 11-12; p. 157, l.1.
13. *Lüders' List*, nos. 48, 69a.
14. *Ibid.*, no. 48.
15. *Trenckner's edn*, p. 147.

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donors at Mathura, was an official of high rank whose title was in vogue even before the rise of the Kuṣāṇas [16]. It seems that in the Mathura region or in northern India there was hardly any class of landed intermediaries between the state and the peasants during the period we are considering.

An overall view of Mathura and whatever we can infer about its resources and its land system would show that it did not enjoy any special advantage from the agrarian point of view. The carrying capacity of its soil was poor. We have no means to show that taxes collected from the peasants were sufficient to maintain administrative and other establishments at this place during the Saka or the Kuṣāṇa regime. In spite of this archaeology and other sources of evidence indicate continuous progress of Mathura in structure and artifacts from the 3rd century B.C. to the 3rd century A.D. How did this happen? Mathura obviously owed all this to its pivotal position as a great clearing house of commodities, for it was well connected with Central Asia through the north-western route and also with the western coast through the Ujjain route. It was certainly situated at the centre of four cross-roads [17], if not several more as pointed out by Professor Bajpai [18]. The merchants undoubtedly played a significant role in the economic life of the city. Known by different terms such as *vaṇik*, *śreṣṭhin*, *sārthavāha*, *vyavahārin*, etc., at least twelve merchants are mentioned as donors in inscriptions from Mathura [19]. If we add the number of several *gandhikas* [20] (literally perfumers but generally merchants) the total number would reach seventeen. The merchants were rich enough to set up their monastery [21]; so were the goldsmiths [22] or *sauvarṇikas*, who are repeatedly mentioned [23]. All types of jewellery are profusely represented in sculptures [24]. We notice earrings, bracelet, double bracelet, necklace, double necklace, breast jewel, bangle, anklet, torque, bangles including the heavy ones, armlets, wristlets, crown, amulet string, ear-pendants, and metallic chain [25]. But earrings, bracelet and necklace figure commonly [26]. A gold leaf has been discovered at Sonkh. Apparently all this accounts

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16. JUPHS, XXIII, no. E, p. 147.
17. Eggermont, *op. cit.*, p. 293.
18. Shiva G. Bajpai, *Mathura: Trade Routes, Commerce, and Communication Patterns from the Post-Mauryan Period to the End of the Kuṣāṇa Period*, paper presented to the Seminar on Mathura in New Delhi, January 1980.
19. V. S. Agarwala, in JUPHS, XXXI, no. 121, p. 65; *Lüders' List*, no. 140, Addition and Correction, nos. 105, 24, 41; MI, nos. 44, 65, 172, etc.
20. *Lüders' List*, nos. 37, 39, 68, 76; V. S. Agarwala, in JUPHS, XXIII, no. B2 (p. 39), l.2.
21. *Lüders' List*, no. 140, p. 140, p. 174, Addition and Correction.
22. V. S. Agarwala, in JUPHS, XXII, p. 193, no. 260.
23. *Lüders' List*, nos. 95, 150, 168.
24. V. S. Agarwala, in JUPHS, XXI-XXIII.
25. *Ibid.*
26. *Ibid.*

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for the importance of goldsmiths, who, as artisans and merchants, served the needs of the upper crust of society.

This brings us to the question of semi-precious stones and possibly art objects. Fine textiles were produced in Mathura which was famous for its *śāṭaka*[27], a special kind of cloth. But in the period under review Mathura also traded in some essential commodities. We frequently come across iron mongers[28], suggesting thereby that agricultural implements needed by the ordinary folk in the countryside were manufactured and supplied by them although war weapons which are so frequently represented in sculptures and also in coins may have received priority in trade.

This leads us to the nature of trade in the Mathura region. A good many articles of trade seem to have been luxury and prestige objects. Trade in silk, when temporarily disturbed on the Central Asian route, was diverted to the eastern part of the Roman empire via Broach through the *uttarāpatha* which touched Mathura and from where goods went to the western coast via Vidisa, Ujjain. We hear of horse-dealers from Taxila passing through Mathura[29]. In addition to this the merchants of Mathura may have participated in trade in ivory objects, glass goods, semi-precious stones and possibly in art objects.

Six types of lances[30], six types of swords[31], various types of sheaths[32], three types of shields[33], and five types of daggers[34] are known from the sculptures of the period. These sculptures obviously belong to the 2nd century B.C. - 2nd century A.D. In addition to these numerous weapons of the period are mentioned in ch. IX of *Life* by N. P. Joshi. Vogel[35] and V. S. Agarwala[36] refer to many swords, spears, daggers, etc. Thus sculptures suggest that weapon-making was a thriving industry, and inscriptions indicate that blacksmiths and traders in iron objects were an important group, and their activities may have something to do with the steel goods that were sent to Rome where there was a complaint on waste of gold in purchasing the Indian cutlery. There also seems to have been some trade in brass goods at Mathura. A piece of brass rod, and brass hook, have been found[37], and we also get a refe-

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27. Patañjali, I.1.2; Kielhorn, I.19.
28. *Lüders' List*, nos. 29, 53 & 54.
29. Eggermont, *op. cit.*, p. 293.
30. N. P. Joshi, *Life in Uttarāpatha*, pp. 256, 259.
31. *Ibid.*
32. *Ibid.*, pp. 261, 263.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 263.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 264.
35. Vogel, AMM, C no. F.27 (p. 199), C no. F.1 (p. 111), C no. F.13 (p. 145), C no. E.13 (p. 108), C no. 73 (p. 112), C no. 732 (p. 116).
36. JUPHS, XXII, no. 1022 (p. 140), no. 1579 (p. 140), no. 592 (p. 152), no. 724 (p. 152), no. 2028 (p. 152), no. 889 (p. 158), no. 738 (p. 160), no. 739 (p. 161), no. 126 (p. 161), no. 604 (p. 165), no. 739 (p. 161), no. 126 (p. 161), no. 604 (p. 165), no. 739 (p. 205), no. 1244 (p. 205), no. D 46 (p. 167), no. 269 (p. 167), no. 894 (p. 168), no. 936 (p. 168), no. 938 (p. 168), no. 100 (p. 168).
37. Agarwala, in JUPHS, XXI, no. 2799 (p. 79).

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rence to brass scissors meant for cutting arecanuts [38]. But still even in the houses of upper class people pottery was not replaced by brass/ bronze utensils for eating and cooking purposes.

Numerous representations of tunics [39], trousers [40], scarfs [41], shawls [42], draperies [43], turban, head dresses [44], etc., in sculptures might suggest the needs of soldiers and upper class of society, but representations of *dhotīs* [45] and *sārīs* [46] suggest that the needs of the common people in the city were not ignored. We also hear of cotton-dealers [47]. Similarly the existence of the guild of flour-makers [48] suggests that wheat, barley or millet flour was sold to the urban population. Thus we have some evidence to show that essential articles meant for day to day needs had become marketable.

As stated above, in many cases it is difficult to demarcate between artisans and traders. Goldsmiths, for instanc, who had set up their own monastery, functioned as both traders and artisans. Although we may not be able to pinpoint such cases, there is no doubt that the later phase of the post-Maurya period saw a phenomenal progress in artisanal activities in northern and western India in whose trade Mathura participated as a great transit centre.

The general economic climate in northern India was favourable. The *Milinda-pañho* lists as many as seventy-five occupations [49], about sixty of which were connected with various kinds of crafts; eight crafts were associated with the working of such mineral products as gold, silver, lead, tin, copper, brass, iron, and precious stones or jewels [50]. The *Mahāvastu* mentions a variety of brass (*ārakūṭa*), zinc, antimony and red arsenic [51]. All this shows considerable advance and specialisation in the working of various kinds of metal. Chemical examination of iron

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38. VOGEL, AMM, C no. V.31 (p. 202).
39. K. D. BAJPAI, in JUPHS, XXI, no. 12, p. 127. Many examples of tunic have been quoted by Vogel and Agarwala.
40. AGARWALA, in JUPHS, XXI, pp. 43, 66; XXII, pp. 129, 167, 174, 195; VOGEL, AMM, pp. 84, 94, 110.
41. AGARWALA, in JUPHS, XXI, no. 485 (p. 67), no. 746 (p. 69), no. 1366 (p. 72), no. 1410 (p. 72), no. 2739 (p. 75), no. 2798 (p. 77). Several instances are quoted in JUPHS, XXII also. Other examples are given by Vogel in AMM, pp. 112-14, 137, 141-42, 144-48, 153.
42. VOGEL, AMM, C no. E.21 (p. 110), C no. 22 (p. 110), C no. 226 (p. 121).
43. AGARWALA, in JUPHS, XXI, pp. 64, 66, 68-9, 71-4, 77.
44. *Ibid.*, pp. 67, 70-1; VOGEL, AMM, pp. 113-16, 120-21, 124, etc.
45. There are more than a dozen references to *dhotī* in VOGEL, AMM, pp. 56-8, 62, 64, 83, 88, 90-9, etc. Agarwala makes seven references to it in JUPHS, XXI, pp. 47, 67, 69-72, 75, 127, 142.
46. K. D. BAJPAI, in JUPHS, XXI, no. 3, p. 119.
47. *Lüders' List*, no. 15.
48. EI, XXI, no. 10.
49. P. 331.
50. *Milinda*, p. 331.
51. *Senart's edn*, II.106.

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artifacts shows that by *circa* 100 B.C. steelmaking was known in India [52], and the *Milinda* tells us something about the process employed in making iron objects. According to it even when beaten black iron carries weight and it does not vomit up the water it has once soaked in [53]. Apparently on account of large scale production of iron goods Indian iron and steel are mentioned in the *Periplus* as imports into the Abysinian ports. That Mathura had an important group of artisans and traders dealing in iron goods is clear from numerous epigraphic references, although we do not know the source of their supply of iron ores which may have come from considerable distance.

Textile manufacture was another important handicraft in the period under reviw. According to the *Milinda-pañho* five processes of cloth manufacture were undertaken by Gotamī, the aunt of the Buddha [54]. But it should be understood that in spite of the use of wheels in numerous other objects such as pottery, carts/chariots, oil-making, the spinning wheel or *charkhā* was not known. Spindles and whorls seem to be the instruments meant for spinning. The presence of cotton dealers and representations of numerous types of cloth coupled with the reference to the Mathura *śāṭaka* in Patañjali shows that it was an important centre of cloth manufacture with a considerable population of weavers. Silk weaving may have also been practised at Mathura, for along with cloth making and the making of arms and luxury articles it is mentioned in the *Milinda* [55]. However, it is still not clear as to when the art of growing silk worms fed on mulberry leaves appeared in India. In any case it is a measure of the importance of the weaving class that Manu recommends levy of taxes on the produce of weavers.

Textile manufacture was supplemented by tailoring, which seems to have been known in the age of the Buddha. But the craft received special impetus because of the new type of the seven dresses introduced by the Indo-Scythians. Tunics, trousers, cloack or mantle, coloured coat, overcoat, embroidered coat, skirts, petticoat, conical hat, long-sleeved tunics, long trousers, etc., are represented repeatedly in Mathura sculptures, and have been noted by Vogel, Agarwala and K. D. Bajpai. Apparently all this provided sufficient work for tailors (*pravarika*) who are mentioned several times as donors in Mathura inscriptions [56]. It is interesting to note that tailors were rich enough to set up their own monastery [57]. Besides tailoring, dyeing was another subsidiary occupation, and we hear of a donation made by the wife of a dyer (*rayaginī*) [58]. Outside

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52. D. P. Agarwala & A. Ghosh, ed., *Radiocarbon and Indian Archaeology*, Bombay, 1973, pp. 398-99.
53. P. 415.
54. P. 240.
55. P. 331.
56. MI, nos. 7, 74, 81, 124 & 133.
57. *Ibid.*, no. 74.
58. *Lüders' List*, no. 32.

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Mathura we have several references to dyers and in an excavation in Tamil Nadu a dyer's vat has been discovered.

Pottery seems to have been a thriving craft at Mathura in the post-NBP phase. Apart from various types of red ware found in excavations, jars, vases, bowls, pitchers, large vessels, goblets, cups, etc., are found represented in sculptures, and have been noted by Vogel [59] and Agarwala [60]. A characteristic feature of some pots discovered from Mathura is their thin walls, particularly of sprinklers with bottle necks. Their walls are thinner even than those of NBP, and this thinness shows more skill and better technology. In any case sprinklers, which seem to have ben a typical feature of pottery in the first two or three centuries of the Christian era, were present at Mathura. They may been used either for religious purposes or for sprinkling perfumed water by affluent sections of society in the city.

In view of the profuse number of scultpures found in Mathura, especially those in red sandstone [61], we may visualise the presence of a large number of sculptors. Several sculptors are mentioned in inscriptions [62]. Probably they were literate enough to incise their names. It appears that architectural activities such as housemaking, pillar making (especially sacred ones), fortification, etc., constituted an important form of artisanal activity. The Kuṣāṇas introduced new types of shafts [63], which may have employed quite a few masons. At any rate these activities provided livelihood for a good number of people. Terracottas are found in good numbers, and their makers flourished in an urban milieu, as has been shown by Devangana Desai [64].

Because of the urban milieu a sizable class of entertainers including actors, dancers, etc. [65], appears as donors for religious purposes [66]. We also notice musical instruments, which are represented in sculptures [67]. This would suggest that a few artisans were engaged in the manufacture of these instruments. Since numerous slabs, tablets, images, etc., were set up, it is evident that sculptors were in good demand and probably paid handsomely.

Although we know something about artisanal and trading activities at Mathura, we have no means to find out the prices of different products and the nature of their distribution. We have no idea about the nature of taxes that were collected nor of the way they were disbursed. We have some idea about the large-scale donations that were made in

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59. AMM, pp. 109, 111, 162, 199, 201-4.
60. JUPHS, XXII, pp. 165, 180-86, 190-91, 193, 201, 204-5.
61. Vogel, AMM, p. 188; Agarwala, in JUPHS, XXII, pp. 158, 188.
62. MI, nos. 7, 146-49.
63. Joshi, *Life in Uttarāpatha*, ch. II.
64. *History and Society Essays in Honour of Professor Niharranjan Ray*, ed., D. P. Chattopadhayaya, Calcutta, 1978, pp. 153-61.
65. K. D. Bajpai, in JUPHS, XXI, p. 129; Agarwala, in JUPHS, XXII, p. 186.
66. MI, no. 27; *Lüders' List*, nos. 85, 100.
67. Vogel, AMM, p. 126; Agarwala, in JUPHS, XXII, pp. 186-87; XXIII, p. 131.

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Matuhra; more than 370 inscriptions deal with this subject. Most gifts were made in favour of the Buddhist cause, the Jains cause came second, and the brāhmaṇical gods were a very poor third. Kṛṣṇa, the popular god of Mathura, does not find any place in donative inscriptions known to me. Every donation was a form of economic activity, but most donations were made for non-functional, unproductive purposes, and did not promote the cause of production. If we leave out donation of tanks, water reservoirs, monasteries, etc., and the donation of money to the guild of flour makers for feeding the brāhmaṇas, it will appear that most gifts were useless from the economic point of view. They certainly gave employment to a large number of masons, sculptors and various categories of wage earners but did not contribute to the wealth of Mathura, unless we presume that art objects carried the same value as they do today and were exported in good numbers. However they may have strengthened the donors ideologically and psychologically in pursuing their normal avocations.

Compared to donations, trade was certainly a far more important mechanism in the distribution of various types of goods, and it seems that most goods were priced in terms of metallic money. We have no idea about the nature of profit reaped by the middlemen. An impressionistic view of the information available about the coins suggests that the period 2nd cen. B.C. - 2nd cen. A.D. was an age of most plentiful coinage in ancient India. It would be wrong to think that from the monetary point of view the post-Maurya period was marked by decline and the Gupta period by prosperity. The period is noted for the finds of both Roman and indigenous coins. 129 finds of Roman coins have been reported so far [68], but most of these have been found south of the Vindhyas. It is likely that some imitation Roman coins were being issued by Indian agencies, but the overwhelming part of transactions seems to have been carried on in indigenous coins. Possibly numerous agencies such as cities, guilds, « tribes » and ruling dynasties issued their coins in this period mostly in copper/bronze, lead, and potin, although gold coins appeared for the first time in good numbers under the Kuṣāṇas. So far the number of dies/moulds even for the published coins has not been worked out, but we possibly notice their largest number during this period. Apart from the circulation of uninscribed punch-marked coins this is a period of inscribed coins. Thus the city of Taxila issued three series of coins, (i) the *negama* series, (ii) the *paṃcanekame* series and (iii) the *hirañasame* serie. The first contained five varieties of legends and the last contained two such varieties [69]. Although Taxila came under the Greeks, Scythians, Parthians and Kuṣāṇas in post-Maurya times, its coinage continued till its conquest

68. Manfred G. Raschke, *Roman Coin Finds on the Indian Subcontinent: A Catalogue and Analysis* (Cyclostyled Paper; Place and Date not mentioned).

69. Bela Lahiri, in JNSI, XXXVIII, pt. II, pp. 52-3. Hiraṇyāśrama may have been a market quarter in the city of Taxila. *Ibid.*, p. 54.

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by the Kuṣāṇas [70]. Taxilan coins have been found at Sonkh [71] which shows commercial contacts between the two. Varanasi, Kauśāmbī, Vidisa, Erakiṇa, Bhāgila, Kaurara, Ujjayinī, Tripurī, Māhiṣmatī, and probably Tagar and Ayodhya, issued coins [72]. Indrapura or Indor also issued its coins [73]. Puṣkalāvatī and Kapiśā also seem to have issued their coins [74]. In some other cases such as Kādaṣa, Vatasvaka, Upagoasa, Upātikya it is not clear whether these were cities or « tribes » [75]. Certain features of the city coinage system may be noted. Most cities lay on trade routes [76]. At many places their coins are datable to about the third and second centuries B.C. and become rare in later layers [77]. All of these coins were made of copper or of some alloy of it [78]. In fact properly speaking they should be called bronze coins. In any case the point has to be stressed that these coins were meant for day-to-day transactions carried on by the ordinary folk. It is to be further noted that most city coins were die-struck [79], but in order to obtain even a rough idea of the volume of the coins we have to find out the number of dies used for this purpose. We may add that we have three types (I, II & III) of coins from Kauśāmbī; in addition we have three varieties with the legend *negama* or *gadhikan* [80]. Three types of coins have been found from Eran [81]. Two varieties called A & B are known from Bhāgila near Sanchi [82]. Two types of Māhiṣmati coins have been recovered [83].

In addition to city coins we have a large number of « tribal » coins which belong to a later period. It seems that those who issued these coins were not in the tribal stage of development, but divided into classes, as can be inferred from social distinctions in the states of the Mālavas and Kṣudrakas. However the nomenclature « tribal » persists and has been used by Allan and other scholars. They were coins issued by segmentary oligarchies. K. K. Dasgupta has made a detailed study of coins issued by 14 tribes, most of whom were located in Panjab and Rajasthan, and apparently their coins circulated in Mathura. Thus the Kuṇindas occupied a narrow strip of land between the Yamuna and the Sutlej [84]. The Yaudheya coins have been found plentifully in the country

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70. Bela Lahiri, in JNSI, XXXVIII, pt. II, p. 54.
71. Cf. H. Härtel, « Some Results of the Excavations at Sonkh », German Scholars on India, II, New Delhi, 1976, p. 87.
72. Bela Lahiri, *op. cit.*, p. 37.
73. Information from Professor A. M. Shastri.
74. Bela Lahiri, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-8.
75. *Ibid.*, pp. 35-8.
76. *Ibid.*, p. 39.
77. *Ibid.*, p. 36.
78. *Ibid.*, p. 39.
79. *Ibid.*
80. *Ibid.*, pp. 42-3.
81. *Ibid.*, pp. 44-5.
82. *Ibid.*, p. 45.
83. *Ibid.*, p. 50.
84. Allan, CCBM, p. CIII.

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to the westward of the Yamuna in Haryana and Panab [85]. They belong to the period from the late second century B.C. to the early fourth century A.D. [86]. Numerous coin mould of the Yaudheyas have been obtained from Rohtak and Sunet [87]. On the basis of K. K. Dasgupta we can count nearly 175 types of « tribal » coins [88], which would mean as many dies/moulds. But this list is not exhaustive. In addition to this coins were issued by numerous local dynasties, the most famous of these being the « Mitra » rulers. In the Pañcāla area we have a large number of such coins, espacially from Ahicchatra. The Pañcāla coins have been carefully studied by Dr. K. M. Shrimali, in his doctoral thesis on the History of Pañcāla, which is yet to be published. On the basis of symbols, palaeography, etc., Agnimitra alone seems to have used nearly 100 dies/moulds [89]. Apparently the Pañcāla coins may have circulated in the Mathura region.

An idea of the abundance of coins in this period can be had from the fact that the Śaka and Pahlava coins which circulated in north-western India had more than 200 monograms [90] which would presuppose a similar number of dies/moulds. Similarly, as can be said on the basis of the study of Professor A. M. Shastri, the Maghas of Kausāmbī issued 121 varieties of coins, which would mean as many dies. If we carefully examine the coins issued by the foreign and indigenous dynasties in post-Maurya times we will notice a bewildering variety of dies/moulds used by them. In examining the number of moulds/dies we have to take into account the nature of symbols, palaeography, size, metal, etc.

It is strange that although Mathura was an important commercial centre, so far we have not recovered any coins issued by it as a city. Obviously its needs were served by the coins issued by the dynasties which ruled here and also by numerous other city and « tribal » and dynastic coins from outside. The Mitra and Datta coins « cover the period from the end of the third to the middle of the first century B.C. », when these were succeeded by a dynasty of the Sakas bearing the title *kṣatrapa* and *mahākṣatrapa* [91]. It seems that the Kuṣāṇas issued the largest number of copper coins, and I am told by a numismatist [92] that Kuṣāṇa coppers are found in almost every important museum in India. So far as the Mathura Museum is concerned, it

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85. *Ibid.*, p. CLI.
86. *Ibid.*, pp. CLII-CLIII.
87. K. K. Dasgupta, *A Tribal History of Ancient India, A Numismatic Approach*, Calcutta, 1974, p. 255.
88. *Ibid.*, Appendix IV.
89. I gather this from a chart prepared by Dr. Shrimali and also from discussion with him.
90. K. Walton Dobbins, *Saka-Pahlava Coinage*, Varanasi, 1973, pp. 149-93.
91. Allan, CCBM, p. CXI.
92. Information from Dr. Pratipal Bhatia.

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contains copper coins of Soter Magus[93], Wema Kadphises[94], Huviṣka[95] and Indo-Scythians or Kuṣāṇa type[96]; a copper coin of late Indo-Sassanian type is also available[97]. Coppers were meant for the use of the ordinary people, but for big transactions gold coins were issued by the Kuṣāṇas on a large scale. Vogel's catalogue of the antiquities of the Mathura Museum lists the gold coins of Scytho-Sassanian or Kuṣāṇo-Sassanian type, of the later Kuṣāṇa type and of the later Indo-Kuṣāṇa or Little Kuṣāṇa type[98]. Some coins have also been recovered from Sonkh and other excavations, but the general impression is one of the predominance of coppers in the Mathura region, which would imply that marketisation had affected even the common people. The general picture of coinage in India in the period 2nd cen. B.C. - 2nd cen. A.D. is consistent with the high peak of urbanism, handicrafts and commerce in this period.

No background study of trends in the economic history of Mathura can be complete without some idea of the technological factors operating in this period. There is little doubt that urbanism reached its climax in northern and western India in this period. Several factors contributed to it. One such factor was the change in building methods. At Mathura[99], and Ganwaria[100] in Basti district in north-eastern Uttar Pradesh the flooring was made of brick concrete mixed with lime. This indicates the use of *surkhi* which contributed to the stability of structures. Further baked tiles for roofing appear in this period at several places in both the Sātavāhana[101] and Kuṣāṇa zones including Mathura[102]. These innovations added to the solidity and longevity of urban structures in the early centuries of the Christian era.

In addition to improvement in housing facilities we notice some new features in the use of horse, which may have indirectly helped commerce. Stirrups were illustrated both at Sanchi and Mathura[103]. Although these seem to have been loose ropes in the form of toe stirrups and less in use, they may ave provided better control of the horse to

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93. Vogel, AMM, p. 205.
94. *Ibid.*
95. *Ibid.*
96. *Ibid.*
97. *Ibid.*
98. *Ibid.*
99. Archaeological Survey of India (cyclostyled) *Report of the Director General for the Years 1974-78*, 25th Meeting of the Central Advisory Board of Archaeology, New Delhi, 9 December 1979, p. 20.
100. *Ibid.*, p. 28.
101. *Ibid.*, p. 38; *Indian Archaeology 1974-75 - A Review*, p. 32.
102. *Indian Archaeology 1974-75 - A Review*, pp. 49-50. There seems to be some confusion in ascribing the use of roof tiles to Period I (*circa* fourth-third century B.C.) at Mathura on p. 49 (*ibid.*).
103. N. P. Joshi, *Life in Uttarāpatha*, pp. 107-9.

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the caravan leader. Saddles [104] and bridles [105] were also in use in this period, but the latter were more common. Although the equestrian technology primarily helped figghters, it may have also been of use to the trade caravans which certainly needed protection on long journeys. Moreover although camels were not so common as means of transport [106], the Central Asians introduced camels of double humped Bactrian variety, which were controlled by reins and switches made of twisted stuff [107]. It is interesting that even bulls were used for riding and controlled by thongs and long staffs [108]. Another improvement in transport seems to have been the use of bridge. Literature of about the 2nd cen. B.C. to the 2nd cen. A.D. shows that moats around fortification were provided with bridges (*saṃkrama*) [109]. It is likely that some kind of bridges, apart from boat bridges, may have been put up for crossing rivers intersecting the roads.

Apart from some of these improvements in transport technology we may also take note of the beginning of the techniques of making steel which seems to have appeared around 100 B.C. The technique of glass blowing may have been introduced about the beginning of the Christian era. While we have considerable evidence of the sale and manufacture of iron goods at Mathura, no such evidence is available about glass manufacture. But, as M. G. Dikshit has shown, the period 200 B.C.-A.D. 200 saw the high watermark of glass manufacture in India, and it is likely that Mathura had some share in it. We have already referred to the possible introduction of growing mulberry silk in this period.

But the most revolutionary change that affected foreign trade and economic life of the cities was the discovery of the monsoons. Its date is placed around A.D. 48, but the finds of Roman coins in south India from an earlier date suggests that this discovery may have occurred around the beginning of the Christian era. The discovery not only immensely helped sea trade but also encouraged export and import from the hinterland and interior.

According to a Hindi saying Mathura occupies a unique place in the three traditional worlds (*tīn lok se Mathurā nyārī*). This saying may have been derived from the heretical character of the city in the period under consideration. It was only in later times that this place became a centre of the Kṛṣṇa cult. But from the economic point of view Mathura's special feature lay in not possessing a strong rural base. Whatever importance it enjoyed in crafts, commerce and urbanism was derived mainly from certain economic and technological developments

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104. *Ibid.*, p. 107.
105. *Ibid.*, p. 105.
106. *Ibid.*, pp. 109-11.
107. *Ibid.*
108. *Ibid.*, p. 111.
109. *Ibid.*, p. 248.

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which characterised almost the whole of northern, western and a good part of coastal India. Mathura's share in all this development was substantial because of the strategic position it enjoyed. It is significant that the general decline in trade and urbanism based on artisanal and commercial activities from the third-fourth centuries A.D. also affected Mathura as it did many other towns in northern and western India. It is because of this that while we have seven layers of Kuṣāṇa structures at Sonkh, we have only one or two layers of Gupta structures. The later importance of Mathura was derived more from its being a place of pilgrimage than from its being a centre of crafts, commerce and administration.

Delhi.

ABBREVIATIONS

AMM	=	J. Ph. Vogel, *Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathura*, Allahabad, 1910.
CCBM	=	J. Allan, *Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum, Ancient India*, London, 1936.
EI	=	*Epigraphia Indica.*
JESHO	=	*Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Leiden.
JNSI	=	*Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Varanasi.
JUPHS	=	*The Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society*, Lucknow.
Lüders' List	=	*Epigraphia Indica*, Volume X, 1909-10, Appendix.
MI	=	H. Lüders, *Mathura Inscriptions*, ed. K. L. Janert, Gottingen, 1961.
Sel. Inscrr.	=	D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Volume I, University of Calcutta, 1965.

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JAI PRAKASH SINGH

ON THE SHAPE OF AHOM COINS

Ahom coins are usually found struck in two shapes — octagonal and round. Most of their known Mohurs and rupees and their halves and quarters are octagonal in shape. A few of them are also round and square. All Ahom kings that are known to have struck only a coronation-money, minted these in octagonal shape. Later, when their coinage became an annual or rather a regular affair some round and occasionally square pieces were also minted. Otherwise the usual round pieces of the Ahoms are coins of smaller denominations such as 1/8, 1/16 and 1/32. These smaller denomination coins were perhaps minted in round shape for technical reasons. Since all coronation year issues are octagonal in shape it can well be said that this shape has some special significance in the context of the Ahom history and is a unique feature of their coinage.

It is not known for certain as to how and why this octagonal shape was adopted by the Ahoms for their coinage. Some scholars have, however, tried to explain this feature of their coinage. Gait[1] held that this peculiarity of shape was in accordance with a statement in the *Yoginītantra* which refers to the Ahom kingdom as eight sided. This explanation has largely been followed by subsequent writers on Ahom coinage[2] and history. Our friend P. K. Bhattacharyya[3] has criticised the explanation offered by Gait about the eight cornered shape of the Ahom coins. He states that *Yoginītantra* is a late work, as such a statement found in it could not have determined the shape of a specie that ori-

1. E. A. Gait, *A History of Assam*, Calcutta, 1968, p. 276.
2. V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of The Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, Vol. I, Oxford, 1906, pp. 294 ff.; J. Allan, in *Numismatic Chronicle* (henceforth *NC*), Vol. IX (1909), pp. 300 ff.; A. W. Botham, *Catalogue of the Provincial Coin Cabinet of Assam*, Allahabad, 1930, p. 447.
3. P. K. Bhattacharyya, in *IS*, 10, No. 3 (April-June 1969), pp. 275 ff.; and in *JNSI*, 32, Pt. I (1970), pp. 43-5.

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ginated in an earlier period. To us it appears that Bhattacharyya's objection in this regard is not valid. It is true that *Yoginītantra* is a late work [4], but perhaps it is not later than the period of King Pratapa Simha (1611-1649 A.D.) who initiated the octagonal shape of the Ahom coinage. The fact that Assamese historical tradition refers to this work in the context of the coins of Pratapa Simha shows that the work is earlier in date than this king. It is therefore appropriate to discuss this issue in its proper context.

Kasinath Tamuli Phukan [5], who compiled a history of the Ahoms in 1835 A.D. under the orders of Purandara Simha, the last Ahom King, has discussed in some detail the introduction and issue of Ahom coins by king Pratapa Simha. This discussion is also repeated in another Buranji compiled at a still later date by Harakanta Barua Sadaramin [6]. Thus, it is said in both these chronicles that when Pratapa Simha decided to issue his own coins he consulted his scholars on this matter as he wanted his coins to be unique. It was then suggested to him that he should issue octagonal coins, as his kingdom, the kingdom of Saumara, was octagonal in shape according to the *Yoginītantra* [7]. Thus, it seems that the *Yoginītantra* was invoked only to impress upon the king that his kingdom was octagonal in shape. Therefore, Pratapa Simha issued octagonal coins in keeping with the fact or rather the tradition that his kingdom was eight cornered. We do not know whether his kingdom actually was eight cornered, probably it was not, but it seems certain that there was a tradition to this effect. It it also possible that this tradition with regard to the shape of Saumara was known in the time of Pratapa Simha.

We do not know the source of Kasinath Tamuli Phukan on this point. It is, however, possible to assume that he had access to some document or historical tradition on this issue. Another possibility is that he was himself puzzled by this shape of Ahom coins and hence worked out a reasonably possible explanation thereof. Under the present state of our knowledge we cannot do anything better than to accept his explanation with regard to the octagonal shape of Ahom specie.

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4. The *Yoginītantra* mentions the Koch King Viśvasimha (1515-40) and hence is supposed to be a later work. P. K. Bhattacharyya, in *IS*, 10, No. 3 (1969), p. 277, assigns it to the last decade of the 17th century.

5. Kasinath Tamuli Phukan, *Asam Buranji Sara* (Edited by P. C. Choudhury, Gauhati, 1964), pp. 24-5.

6. Harakanta Barua Sadaramin, *Assam Buranji* (Edited by S. K. Bhuyan, Gauhati, 1962), p. 37. The author of this book says in his introduction that his book was based on that of Kasinath Tamuli Phukan's Buranji.

7. The relevant portion of the *Yoginītantra* is quoted both in *Assam Buranji Sara* (p. 24) and *Assam Buranji* (p. 31). It is as follows:

aṣṭakonañcha Saumāram Yatra dikkaravāsinī,
tasminvasanti ye lokājñānādajñānatopi vā
tepi devyāḥ prasādena siddhim gacchanti nānyathā.

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There is, however, another possibility with regard to the octagonal shape of the Ahom coins. It is more reasonable to think that this shape of the Ahom coinage was adopted in imitation of a similar design found on the coins of the Sultans of Bengal. Some coins of the Sultans bear part of the legend, at times, on the obverse and at others on the reverse, within an octagonal border[8]. It is this octagonal border of the coinage of Bengal that possibly influenced the Ahoms to adopt an octagonal shape for their coinage. The octagonal borders, met with on the coinage of Bengal, are rather ornamental-made of arcs turning inward, or are formed by interlacing squares — but there is no doubt about their being octagons. And these were used to determine the octagonal shape of the Ahom coins.

Bhattacharyya states that most « Ahom rulers were devout worshippers of Lord Śiva, and it seems probable that this peculiar shape of the Ahom coins was the result of Saivite influence. According to such conception Lord Śiva protects the whole universe with His Eight Forms ». This is perhaps not tenable in this context. Tantricism was also very popular in Assam during the Ahom rule and the rulers were also considerably influenced by it. We all know that diagrams of various shapes and size were used in this form of worship. It is quite possible therefore, to presume that the shape of the Ahom coins may have been adopted under Tantrik influence. It is also possible that this shape was inspired by the hands of the presiding deity of the Kingdom (*dikkaravāsinī*). In fact the octagonal nature of Saumara itself may have been concieved by the eight handed form of the deity.

Explanations apart, the available evidence suggests that the octagonal shape of the Ahom coin was in all probability inspired and influenced by the octagonal border found on the coins of Bengal.

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8. The octagonal border is used on the following coins of the Bengal Sultans:
   (i) The obverse of a coin of Sikandar Shah Bin Iliyas Shah (A.D. 1358-1389) bears the legend in an octagon; H. Nelson Wright, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta* (henceforth *IMC*), Vol. II (Oxford, 1907), No. 55, p. 155.
   (ii) Some coins of Shihabuddin Bayazid Shah (A.D. 1409-1414) contain part of the legend in an « enclosure surrounded by eight arcs », *ibid.*, Nos. 90-92, pp. 160-61.
   (iii) A coin of Jalaluddin Muhammad Shah (A.D. 1414-1431) also has a similar enclosure on its reverse, *ibid.*, No. 102, p. 162.
   (iv) A coin of Nasiruddin Muhammad Shah (A.D. 1442-1459) contains part of the legend on obverse in an octagon, *ibid.*, No. 112, p. 164.
   (v) A coin of Jalaluddin Fath Shah (A.D. 1481-1486) also contains an octagonal border, *ibid.*, No. 156, p. 170.

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J. P. SINHA *

PRASTĀVARATNĀKARA: AN UNPUBLISHED ANTHOLOGY BY HARIDĀSA

When I was called upon by Prof. Oscar Botto, Director of the Institute of Indology, Turin (Italy) to contribute an article to the Felicitation Volume in honour of Prof. Ludwik Sternbach, my attention was naturally attracted towards a hitherto unpublished work on anthology viz. *Prastāvaratnākara* by Haridāsa. I could not think of any better subject for a work which intended to felicitate the « *Subhāṣitavidvān* ». During my reading of the fasciculus on *Subhāṣita, Gnomic and Didactic Literature* published by Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden (FRG) under the General Editorship of Prof. J. Gonda, I came across a reference of the *Prastāvaratnākara* by Haridāsa [1].

M. Krishnamachariar in his *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature* also referred to Haridāsa and his *Prastāvaratnākara* at several places. Under para 371 Krishnamachariar says — « Haridāsa, son of Puruṣottama, of the Karaṇa clan was an inhabitant of the Mahārāja-Kharagaḍa. Puruṣottama had four sons — Kṛṣṇadāsa, Dāmodara, Nārāyaṇa and Haridāsa. Haridāsa was a worshipper of Gaṇeśa and was proficient in all sciences and arts. He composed *Prastāvaratnākara* in 1614 probably of the Vikram Saṃvat, at Jatapattana during the reign of Varavīrasāhi in 21 chapters on various topics » [2]. Under para 893 Krishnamachariar reiterates that « Haridāsa was son of Puruṣottama of Karaṇa family. His *Prastāvaratnākara* deals with enigmatic composition and was composed in 1557 A.D. » [3]. Theoder Aufrecht had also taken note of the

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1. « X X X Haridāsa's anthology (MS no. 79, Bhandarkar, Reprint 1883-84, p. 56) compiled in 1614 (probably Saṃvat) divided into 22 sections of which the first (*nītiprakaraṇa*) is only preserved », pp. 36-37 (f.n. 204).

2. *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, p. 387.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 780.

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Prastāvaratnākara and its author Haridāsa in his *Catalogus Catalogorum*. « *Prastāvaratnākara* is a poem treating of various subjects, such as *alaṃkāra, nīti, jyotiṣ*, compiled by Haridāsa, son of Puruṣottama »[4], says he and further remarks that « Haridāsa of the Karaṇa family, son of Puruṣottama, and younger brother of Krishnadasa, Damodara, Narayana composed in 1557 — *Prastāvaratnākara* »[5].

In the *Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts* preserved in the India Office Library (No. 7232), London, there is a mention of a manuscript of the text at serial no. 3620. Its details are as under.

Fol. 1; Card Board; Size 6-5/8 in. x 7-5/8 in.; Elaborately written in Devanāgarī characters in the nineteenth century; 5 lines.

A sentence, written as a caligraphic specimen from the *Rājanīti* section of the *Prastāvaratnākara* of Haridāsa.

The verse is:

Yaḥ kākinīmaṇapathaprapannāṃ yo manyate niṣkasahasratulyam /
Dāneṣu koṭiṣvapi muktahastantaṃ rājasiṃhanna jahāti lakṣmīḥ /
Prastāvaratnākare rājanītau[6].

Incidentally a manuscript of the *Prastāvaratnākara* of Haridāsa is preserved in the Manuscripts collection of the Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad, Lucknow (India). It is catalogued on p. 234 and p. 509 of the *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad*, Lucknow (India), compiled by Shri D. R. Juyal and published in the year 1963. The details of the Ms. are as under:

Accession no.	696
Name of the work	*Prastāvaratnākara*
Name of the Author	Haridāsa
Material	Paper
Script	Devanāgarī
Size	23 × 11.5 cm.
Number of folio	104
Lines per page	9
Extent (in *Anuṣṭubh*)	1638
Complete/Incomplete	Complete
Condition	Old
Source	Shri Gopal Chandra Sinha Retd. Distt. Judge, Lucknow

4. *Catalogus Catalogorum*, p. 360.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 757.
6. This occurs as verse no. 80 on p. 18R of the manuscript under discussion and read as under:
Yaḥ kākinīmapyathaprapannāṃ yo nviṣyate niṣkasahasratulyam /
kāle ca koṭiṣvapi muktagātrastaṃ rājasiṃhaṃ na jahāti lakṣmīḥ //

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The MS. opens as:

Śrīgaṇeśāya namaḥ //
Vande taṃ gaṇanāthamāryamanaghaṃ dāridryadāvānalaṃ
Yaṃ natvā surakoṭayaḥ prabhuvaraṃ siddhiṃ labhante parāṃ /
Śuṇḍādaṇḍavidhūyamānasamalaṃ saṃsārasindhostarīṃ
Sindūrāruṇavigrahaṃ paripataddānāmbudhārāvṛtaṃ //

and ends as:

Gṛhapraveśe dāhaḥ syācchayanam niṣphalaṃ bhavet /
Vṛṣabhāśvagajārohaṃ sarvaṃ caiva tu varjayet // 274 //
Iti Śrīkaraṇakulālaṃkārapuruṣottamasūnuharidāsaviracite
[prastāvaratnākare jyotiḥśāstraprakaraṇam samāptaṃ //
Śubhaṃ // 3 //
Rasanetranidhiścandre śrāvaṇe śuklapakṣake /
Saptamyāṃ bhṛguvāre ca Jagannathopyalīlikhat //
Paṭhanārthaṃ Ambikāprasādasya //

It appears from the above that the MS. preserved in the collection of the Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad, Lucknow (India) was copied in 1926 (Vikrama Saṃvat?) by Jagannātha for some Ambikādāsa, but it was composed about three hundred years earlier in Vikrama saṃvat (?) 1614, a date which is given by the author himself in the following verse:

Varṣe vedarasārasendrakulite māghāsite paṃcamī /
Hastārke Varavīrasāhanṛpateḥ śrimadgaḍhāpattane //

According to Prof. Sternbach the work is divided into 22 Sections, but according to the list of contents, as given in the *Prastāvaratnākara* itself, the number of Sections is only 21[7]. In fact the number of Sections is 20 only, which comes to 21 by counting the first Section named as *Anukramaparicchedaḥ* (the chapter enumerating the contents) among the number of chapters. Similarly Prof. Sternbach's number (22) can be arrived at if the Section dealing with the praise and censure of women is taken as two separate Sections. Some of the Sections are further divided into sub-sections.

The Section on good and bad omens (*śakunaśubhāśubha*) has 6 sub-sections, that on Palmistry (*sāmudrika*) has 2, the one dealing with amusements (*Kautuka*) has 23 and the one on Astronomy (*Jyotiḥśāstram*) also has 23 sub-sections. According to the *Anukramaparicchedа* the subject matter of the *Prastāvaratnākara* is as follows:

1. *Nīti*, 2. *Rājanīti*, 3. *Prakīrṇākhyāna*, 4. *Anyokti*, 5. *Dhanapraśaṃsā*, 6. *Sajjanapraśaṃsā*, 7. *Udyamākhyāna*, 8. *Daivākhyāna*, 9. *Durjananindā*, 10. *Kūṭākhyāna*, 11. *Sadācāra*, 12. *Dharmākhyāna*, 13. *Strīnindāpraśaṃse*,

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7. *Evaṃ prakarṇānyatra kathitānyekaviṃśatiḥ //*

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14. *Tarumahimā*, 15. *Rāgākhyāna*, 16. *Śakunaśubhāśubha*, 17. *Sāmudrika*, 18. *Svapnādhyāya*, 19. *Kautukam* and 20. *Jyotiḥśāstram* [8].

All the Sections, except those on *Daivākhyāna*, *Strīnindāpraśaṃse*, *Tarumahimā* and *Rāgākhyāna*, have a colophon at the end [9]. It is clear fom the colophon that the author Haridāsa was son of Puruṣottama of the Karaṇa family [9]. Luckily the author has given a detailed account of himself in the opening verses just after paying obeisance to Gaṇeśa and Sarasvatī. According to this account, there lived in the great kingdom known as Kharagaḍha Puruṣottama of the Karaṇa family. He was a great scholar and had four sons of immense glory. Among them the eldest was Kṛṣṇdāsa, the best of the nobles and the youngest was Haridāsa himself [10]. The names of his two elder brothers are not given in the MS. under review. However, Krishnamachariar has given their names as Dāmodara and Nārāyaṇa [11]. In our MS. the original reading, perhaps due to the slip of the pen of the scribe, is « *Dāmodaraparāyaṇau* », but the lengthening of « *pā* » was corrected by him as « *pa* ». Perhaps the MS to which Krishnamachariar had an access was not corrected and read as « *Dāmodarapārāyaṇau* ». Thinking that this reading did not convey any sense he might have taken it as « *Dāmodaranārāyaṇau* » and came to the conclusion that Haridāsa's two brothers immediately elder to him were Dāmodara and Nārāyaṇa. Haridāsa was a great devotee of the Lord Gaṇeśa [12].

After a salutory sentence for the Lord Gaṇeśa the author starts with offering benediction to him and the first verse is composed by the

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8. *Athānukramaṇikā* /
Kriyatenukramaḥ spaṣṭaḥ subodhārthaṃ subhāṣitaṃ /
Nītiḥ prathamato jñeyā rājanīti tataḥ paraṃ //
Atha prakīrṇakākhyānamanyoktiśca tathaiva ca /
Dhanapraśaṃsābhimatā sajjanānām praśaṃṣanaṃ //
Udyamākhyānamaparaṃ daivākhyanamataḥ paraṃ /
Durjanānāṃ tathā nindā kūṭākhyānakameva ca //
Sadācārastato jñeyo dharmākhyānavimiśritaḥ /
Strīṇāṃ nindāpraśaṃse ca tarūṇām mahimā tathā //
Rāgākhyānam śākunikamatha sāmudrikaṃ mataṃ /
Svapnādhyāyaḥ kautukāni proktāni vividhāni ca //
Jyotiḥśāstraṃ tato jñeyaṃ ratnakośātsamuddhṛtaṃ /
Evaṃ prakaraṇānyatra kathitānyekaviṃśatiḥ //, p. 2V.

9. *Iti śrīkaraṇakulālaṃkārapuruṣottamasūnuharidāsaviracite prastāvaratnākare... paricchedaḥ.*

10. *Khārāgaḍhe mahārājye karaṇaḥ puruṣottamaḥ* /
Āsitprājñaḥ satām śreṣṭhaḥ kulaśīlayutaḥ kṛtī // 5 //
Abhavaṃstanayastasya catvāro bhūritejasaḥ /
Teṣām śreṣṭhaḥ Kṛṣṇadāso guṇaiḥ śreṣṭhastu sattamaḥ // 6 //
Tasyānujau mahātmānau dāmodaraparāyaṇau /
Kaniṣṭho haridāsobhudvighnarājsya sevakaḥ // 7 //

11. Purusottama had four sons, Kṛṣṇadāsa, Dāmodara, Nārāyaṇa and Haridāsa, *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, p. 387.

12. *Kaniṣṭho haridāsobhudvighnarājasya sevakaḥ* //, p. 2R.

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author himself [13]. It follows a verse in praise of the same deity and the goddess of learning (*Sarasvatī*). All these verses have been picked up from the writings of other poets. The author claims that he is compiling the work for the pleasure of the noble and for terrorising the ignoble and in doing so he has consulted a number of works on Astronomy, *Bṛhatkathā*, Smṛtis, *kathās*, Cāṇakya's *Arthaśāsta*, works on palmistry and those dealing with omens and medicine [14]. The date of the completion of the work, as given by the author himself, is the fifth day of the dark fortnight of Māgha (month of the Hindu calendar) in the year 1614 (Vikram saṃvat?) and it was compiled in the Gaḍhāpattana under the reign of the king Vīra Sāha [15].

Some of the twentyone Sections are further divided into subsections. The number of verses in each Section are as under:

Page No.	Subject	Number of verses
1. *IV-3R*	*Anukramaparicchedaḥ*	15
2. *3R-13R*	*Nīti*	123
3. *13R-24R*	*Rājanīti*	151
4. *24R-28V*	*Prakīrṇākakhyāna*	72
5. *28V-35R*	*Anyokti*	65
6. *32R-36V*	*Dhanapraśaṃsā*	18
7. *36V-40V*	*Sajjanapraśaṃsā*	48
8. *40V-41R*	*Udyamākhyāna*	11
9. *41R-43V*	*Daivākhyāna*	31
10. *43R-45R*	*Durjananindā*	17
11. *45R-48V*	*Kūṭākhyāna*	42
12. *48V-57R*	*Sadācāraprasaṃsā*	140
13-14. *57R-60R*	*Strīnindāpraśaṃse*	43
15. *60R-61V*	*Tarumahimā*	24
16. *61V-62R*	*Rāgākhyāna*	12
17. *62R-68V*	*Śakunaśubhāśubha*	
(i) 62R-65R	*Yātrāśubhāśubhalakṣaṇāni*	35
(ii) 65R-65V	*Pallīśubhāśubhavicāraḥ*	8

13. *Vande taṃ gaṇanāthamāryamanaghaṃ dāridryadāvānalaṃ*
Suṇḍādaṇḍavidhūyamānasamalaṃ saṃsārasiṃdhostariṃ /
Yaṃ natvā surakoṭayaḥ prabhuvaraṃ siddhiṃ labhante parāṃ
Siṃdūrāruṇavigrahaṃ paripataddānāmbudhārāvṛtaṃ // 1 //
(*Haridāsasya*), p. 1V.

14. *Jyotiḥśāstrabṛhatkathāsmṛtikathācāṇikyasāmudrikān*
Granthān śākunayaṃca tatra carakān kāvyādikāṃścāparān /
Ālocya prayatammude matimatāṃ bhītyaiva duṣṭātmanāṃ
Vijñāḥ śrīharidāsa eva tanute prastāvaratnākaraṃ // p. 2R.

15. *Varṣe vedarasārasendrakulite māghāsite paṃcamī*
Hastārke varavīrasāhanṛpateḥ śrimadgaḍhāpattane /
Puṇye(na)nārmadakoṭitīrthaviṣaye sampūrṇatāmāgamad-
Vijñaḥ śrīpuruṣottamātmajakṛtau prastāvaratnākaraḥ //

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(iii)	65V	*Śṛgālaḥ*	4
(iv)	65V-67R	*Śṛgālīśakunaṃ*	18
(v)	67R-67V	*Khaṃjarīṭaśakunaṃ*	7
(vi)	67V-68V	*Kākaśubhāśubhaceṣṭitāni*	1+(Prose)
18. *68V-74V*		*Sāmudrika*	
(i)	68V-71R	*Puruṣalakṣaṇam*	44
(ii)	71R-74V	*Strīlakṣaṇam*	56
19. *74V-77R*		*Svapnādhyāyaḥ*	43
20. *77R-86V*		*Kautukaṃ*	
(i)	77R-81R	*Vaśīkaraṇam*	61
(ii)	81R	*Stanotthāpana*	2
(iii)	81R	*Lomapātanaṃ*	3
(iv)	81R	*Lomajananaṃ*	1
(v)	81V	*Mukhakaṇṭakāharaṇaṃ*	2
(vi)	81V	*Dadhijananam*	2
(vii)	81V	*Sarvajvaravināśanaṃ*	1
(viii)	81V	*Vādhiryanāśanaṃ*	1
(ix)	81V	*Netraroganāśa*	1/2
(x)	82R	*Gāyanārthamauṣadhāni*	4-1/2
(xi)	82R-83R	*Śastravāraṇaṃ*	12
(xii)	83R	*Vidyudvāraṇaṃ*	4
(xiii)	83R	*Kalpasthāna*	1
(xiv)	83R-83V	*Udantīkalpaḥ*	5
(xv)	83V	*Triphalākalpaḥ*	3
(xvi)	83V-84R	*Bhṛṅgarājakalpaḥ*	2-1/2
(xvii)	84R	*Viḍaṅgakalpaḥ*	1
(xviii)	84R	*Bhallāṭakalpaḥ*	1-1/2
(xix)	84R	*Aśvagandhakalpaḥ*	2-1/2
(xx)	84R	*Pānīyakalpaḥ*	2-1/2
(xxi)	84R-84V	*Keśaraṃjanāni*	7
(xxii)	84V-86R	*Sthāvarajaṃgamaviṣāpaharaṇaṃ*	20
(xxiii)	86R-86V	*Vṛścikacikitsā*	12
21. *87R-104V*		*Jyotiḥśāstraṃ*	
(i)	87R-88V	*Sāmānya*	30
(ii)	88V-90R	*Navagrahagocaraphalaṃ*	13
(iii)	90R-90V	*Tārāphalaṃ*	5
(iv)	90V-91R	*Strīṇāṃ prathamārtaphalaṃ*	11
(v)	91R-92R	*Niṣiddhakaraṇaṃ*	12
(vi)	92R	*Sīmanta*	4
(vii)	92R-92V	*Jātakarma (diṃbhacakraṃ)*	6
(viii)	92V-93R	*Gaṇḍāntaḥ*	10
(ix)	93R-93V	*Snāna*	3
(x)	93V	*Annaprāśanaṃ*	2-1/2
(xi)	93V-94R	*Kṣaurakarma*	7-1/2
(xii)	94R	*Karṇavedha*	2
(xiii)	94R-95R	*Vratabandhaḥ*	12

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(xiv)	95R	*Vidyāraṃbhaḥ*	4
(xv)	95R	*Vārādiśūlaṃ*	1
(xvi)	95R-96R	*Yātrāprakaraṇaṃ*	15
(xvii)	96R-96V	*Yoginīcakraṃ*	8
(xviii)	96V-97V	*Kṛṣiprakaraṇaṃ*	14
(xix)	97V-100R	*Gṛhaprakaraṇam*	67-1/2
(xx)	100R-102R	*Devapratiṣṭhā*	14-1/2
(xxi)	102R	*Gokrayavikraya*	3
(xxii)	102R	*Rājābhiśecanaṃ*	1-1/2
(xxiii)	102R-104V	*Yātrā*	27-1/2

Thus, the total number of verses in the manuscript of the *Prastāvaratnākara* under discussion is 1,454, besides a few prose sentences scattered here and there in the *Rājanīti* Section and sub-section *kākaśubhāśubhaceṣṭitāni* under the Section *Śakunaśubhāsubhaṃ*. A large number of these verses occur in the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati* and the *Subhāṣitaratnabhāṇḍāgāram*. Besides, they have been collected from other sources such as *Āryāsaptaśatī, Bhallaṭaśatakam, Bhartṛhariśatakatrayam; Bhojaprabandha, Cāṇakyanītisāra, (Laghu) cāṇakyaśatakam, (Vṛddha) cāṇakyaśatakam, Daśarūpaka, Garuḍapurāṇa, Hanumannāṭika, Hitopadeśa, Mahābhārata, Manusmṛti, Matsyapurāṇa, Mṛcchakaṭika, Padmapurāṇa, Pañcatantra, Śiśupālavadha, Vānarāṣṭaka, Vānaryāṣṭaka, Viddhaśalabhañjikā, Vikramacarita, Vikramorvaśīyam, Yājñavalkyasmṛti etc.* The entire section on *Jyotiḥśāstra* has been collected from the *Ratnakośa* [16]. Similarly, the Sections on *Śakunaśubhāsubha, Sāmudrika, Svapnādhyāya,* and *Kautukam* also appear to have been collected from the same source. Due to shortage of time and space at my disposal it is not possible for me at this stage to trace and give in detail the source of each and every verse occurring in the *Prastāvaratnākara.* I leave it as well as a comprehensive study of the work to the Introduction of the Critical Edition of the text which will be brought out in due course of time.

16. *Vināyakaṃ praṇamyāhaṃ bālānāṃ hitakāmyayā /*
Uddhṛtaṃ tu mayā kiñcicchāstragauravakāraṇaṃ //
Chhandolakṣaṇasaṃyuktaṃ nakṣatrāṇāṃ samuccayam /
Saṃkṣepeṇa paraṃ jñānaṃ ratnakośātsamuddhṛtaṃ //
Prastāvratnākara, p. 87R, vv. 1-2.

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D. C. SIRCAR

SOME PROBLEMS OF TEXTUAL STUDY

Students of old texts preserved in different copies sometimes come across an inetresting feature which is the suppression of the less known by the well known in the use of words and the presentation of ideas. Two handy illustrations of this characteristic are offered by Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa*, IV.67-68. These two stanzas describe Raghu's *digvijaya* with particular reference to the Hūṇa people in the northern region. They run as follows in the reading accepted by the popular commentator Mallinātha and his followers:

Vinīt-ādhva-śramās tasya Sindhu-tīra-viceṣṭanaiḥ /
dudhūvur vājinaḥ skandhāṃl lagna-kuṅkuma-kesarān //
Tatra Hūṇ-āvarodhānāṁ bhartṛṣu vyakta-vikramam /
kapola-pāṭal-ādeśi babhūva Raghu-ceṣṭitam //

The first of the two verses says how Raghu's horses were trying to shake off from their shoulders the filaments of the *kuṅkuma* or saffron flowers that had stuck to their manes when they were taking rest on the banks of the river Sindhu (i.e. the Indus) in the Hūṇa land. The second stanza speaks of Raghu's valour which crushed the Hūṇa people so that his activity became responsible for the sorrow-stricken widows of the Hūṇas making their cheeks (*kapola*) red (*pāṭala*) by constant striking at them in grief.

It is interesting to note that Vallabha, who is earlier than Mallinātha, and a few other commentators have accepted different texts of the two verses. Thus, in the first stanza, they read *Vaṁkṣu* or the Oxus in place of *Sindhu* or the Indus. The question that offers itself to us is then whether Kālidāsa locates the Hūṇa people on the Oxus or in the valley of the Indus. Scholars are now generally in agreement that it was some copyist who substituted, in the passage in question, the name of the Vaṁkṣu, with which the people outside the north-western region of the Indian sub-continent were not so familiar, by the Sindhu which

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was so very well known to the people of all parts of the country. It is therefore supposed that Kālidāsa locates the Hūṇas on the Oxus and not on the Indus.

This difference in the reading of the stanzas reminds us of an incident in my life. When quarter of a century ago I was an officer of the Epigraphical Branch of the Archaeological Survey of India and was stationed at Ootacamund in Tamil Nadu, the late Professor Dr. Buddha Prakash once requested me to offer him my views regarding the correctness of the readings preferred respectively by Vallabha and Mallinātha in the first of the two stanzas quoted above. On receipt of my reply in favour of the reading *Vaṁkṣu* offered by Vallabha, Buddha Prakash argued that it was wrong because *kuṅkuma* (saffron) is grown in Kashmir and not in Afghanistan so that the river mentioned in connection with saffron must be the Upper Indus and cannot be the Oxus. At first, I found a little difficulty in replying instantly to the question raised by Buddha Prakash because no book on the agricultural products of Afghanistan was readily available to me at Ootacamund. However, while searching for information on this question here and there, I found out within a day or so from the article on Afghanistan in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* that a quantity of saffron is exported by Afghanistan and passed this information on to Buddha Prakash. Within another day or so again I also found out that the word *bāhlika* (also spelt *bālhika*, and with *ī* for *i* and *v* for *b*) is a synonym of *kuṅkuma* (saffron) and that this fact undoubtedly associates the object with the Bāhlika country on the Oxus in Northern Afghanistan, just as the Bengali words *supāri* (arecanut), *cini* (refined sugar) and *misri* (sugarcandy) appear to have been derived form the names of Sopara, China and Misr (Egypt) respectively. This information was likewise passed on at once to Buddha Prakash. Sometime later the said scholar contributed a paper to the *Journal of Indian History*, published by the Kerala University, Trivandrum, in which the problem was discussed without reference to the correspondence he had with us on the subject.

In the second stanza quoted above from the *Raghuvaṁśa*, Vallabha and some other commentators read the expression *kapola-pāṭala* as *kapola-pāṭana*, i.e. scarification of the cheeks, and there is no doubt that this is the correct reading because it not only gets an unexpected support from Chinese evidence regarding a Turkish custom but is also supported spectacularly by a tenth-century inscription.

While Kālidāsa and some of the commentators speak of the scarification of the cheeks of the Hūṇa widows, a few commentaries mention their breasts also in this connection[1]. The commentaries sometimes speak of the scarification made by finger nails. The same custom is attributed to the Turkish people by some Chinese authors who say that

1. IHQ, vol. 38 (June, 1957), pp. 139 ff.; D. C. Sircar, *Studies in the Society and Administration of Ancient and Medieval India*, vol. I, Calcutta, 1967, pp. 216 ff.

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the widows go around their tents making doleful lamentations and prick their faces with a knife so that one sees blood flowing with the tears. Reference is made here to scarification of faces by means of knives and not by finger nails [2].

Verse 14 of the Paschimbhag plate [3] of Śrīcandra (c. 925-75 A.D.) says how the Candra king satisfied the god of warfare by rubbing off the decorations on the breasts of the Yamana or Yavana women, by causing scarification of the cheeks and bellies of the berieved Hūṇa widows and by rooting out the Utkala ladies' love for toddy. Here belly is added to the list of limbs which were scarified by the womenfolk of the Hūṇa and Turkish peoples.

The above distortion of Kālidāsa's meaning in the hands of one of the most erudite medieval commentators on Sanskrit *kāvya* literature reminds us of the well-known saying *vastu-viplava-kṛtaḥ prāyeṇa ṭīkā-kṛtaḥ*, an early and interesting instance of which is exhibited by the Singhalese commentator who wrote, in the fifth or sixth century A.D., the story of the *Dasaratha Jātaka* on the basis of the old Jātaka *gāthās* in the *Khuddakanikāya* Section of the *Suttapiṭaka* which is assignable to the second or third century B.C. According to the first of the *gāthās* of the Jātaka in question, when Bharata gave the news of Daśaratha's death to Rāma, the latter advised Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā, who were respectively his brother and sister according to the Jātaka story, on their arrival, to get into the waters — *ubho otarath odakaṁ.* The obvious meaning of this is that Rāma advised Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā to prepare for performing the *tarpaṇa* or water-ceremony for their deceased father. In a similar context, the *Rāmāyaṇa* [4] also uses analogous language — *kriyatām udakaṁ pituḥ.* Because the fabricator of the story of the *Dasaratha Jātaka* was not an Indian but apparently a Singhalese monk, the real meaning of the *gāthā* was not clear to him so that he offered an absurd interpretation. In his views, Rāma thought that, if he disclosed the sad news to Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā all at once, they might die of grief, but that the sorrow might be somewhat bearable to them if they would hear the news when they would be in water. He therefore thought of a trick and said to Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā to get into the water of a neighbouring tank as a sort of punishment for returning late to their hut. When Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā were in the waters and heard from Rāma the news of Daśaratha's death, we are told, they thrice fainted there and then had to be dragged out to the bank of the tank. It will be seen

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2. *Loc. cit.*
3. EI, vol. 37, pp. 289 ff.; D. C. Sircar, *Epigraphic Discoveries in East Pakistan*, Calcutta, 1973, p. 66. The verse runs as follows:
Santoṣaṁ raṇa-devatāṁ gamayatā vīry-āvadānair nnijair
unmṛṣṭaṁ Yama(va)nī-payodhara-taṭe patr-āṅguli-maṇḍanam /
śoka-pracchana-jarjjaraṁ viracitaṁ Hūṇī-kapol-odaraṁ
yen onmūlitam Utkalī-nayanayos tālī-surā-ghūrṇṇitam //
4. II.103.17.

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that the story is utterly foolish because, if Rāma was within his senses, he was not expected to create the said situation in which Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā had every possibility of being drowned by fainting in the waters[5].

A more or less analogous instance is found in the inscriptions of the Pāla kings of Bengal and Bihar, although it is really a case of the use of a Sanskrit word modified by local use. There is a verse in the description of Dharmapāla (c. 775-812 A.D.) which is first noticed in the copper-plate grant[6] of his grandson, king Śūrapāla I (c. 850-58 A.D.), and was adopted in the charter of Nārāyaṇapāla (c. 860-917 A.D.) and afterwards copied in all the later grants of the family. The text of the stanza as found in the different records runs as follows:

Lakṣmī-janma-niketanaṁ samakaro voḍhuṁ kṣamaḥ kṣmābharaṁ
pakṣa-ccheda-bhayād upasthitavatām ek-āśrayo bhūbhṛtām /
maryādā-paripālan-aika-nirataḥ śaury-ālayo 'smād abhūd
dugdh-āmbhodhi-vilāsa-hāsi-mahimā śrī-Dharmapālo nṛpaḥ //[7]

The poet indirectly compares king Dharmapāla with the ocean, all his epithets except only one being suitable for the ocean also. The said epithet is — *dugdh-ambhodhi-vilāsa-hāsi-mahimā*, i.e. his greatness laughed at the sports of the ocean. It is interesting that the word *hāsi* used in the above passage in the sense of laughter (i.e. derisive laughter) in all the records in question is not Sanskrit, the correct Sanskrit word being *hāsa*. There is also no doubt that the poet who originally composed the stanza must have written *vilāsa-hāsa* because that gives the pleasant repetition of the sound *āsa*, such repetitions being much liked in India throughout the ages. The word *hāsi* is popular in Bengali and several other Neo-Indo-Aryan dialects, and some copyist must have changed *hāsa* to *hāsi*, and he was followed by all the later authors of the copper-plate grants, who failed to notice that the word is not Sanskrit. We know that the word is *hāsi* in Kumāunī. *hāsī* or *hāṃsī* in Gujarātī and *hāṃhi* in Assamese, and it reminds us of Prakrit *hāsīa* and Neo-Sanskrit *hāsikā*[8].

The above case of the influence of local usage on Classical Sanskrit vocabulary reminds us of other similar cases, particularly the medieval spelling of Sanskrit words under the influence of local pronunciation. An itneresting instance of this is the epigraphic support for the East Indian modification of Sanskrit *ṣṇa* as *ṣṭa*. Thus the Parbatiya plates[9]

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5. See JAIH, vol. 8, pp. 331-32. The Buddhist and Jain authors had a pleasure in distorting Brāhmaṇical legends. The Singhalese fabricators of the Jātaka stories are generally silent on Vālmīki's Rāma story apparently because it mentions the people of Siṁhala as Rākṣasa or ogres (*ibid.*, pp. 333 ff.).

6. JBRS, vol. 61, 1975, pp. 131 ff.

7. A. K. Maitreya, *Gauḍalekhamālā* (in Bengali, B.S. 1319), pp. 57, 93, 123, 149.

8. See R. L. Turner, *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages*, London, 1966, p. 814.

9. EI, vol. 29, pp. 145 ff.

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of king Vanamālavarman of Assam, who flourished about the middle of the ninth century A.D., writes *Viṣṇu* and *Kṛṣṇa* as *Viṣṭu* and *Kṛṣṭa* respectively [10]. What is equally, if not more, interesting is that the same inscription writes the word *tuṣṭa* as *tuṣṇa* [11] which exhibits a rustic tendency resulting from the consciousness for improvement in a wrong way. It reminds us of the unlettered people of certain areas of Central Bengal mentioning *Lalit* (Sanskrit *Lalita*) as *Nalit*, but *Nagen* (Sanskrit *Nagendra*) as *Lagen*, and also *Saroj* as *Haroj* but *Harekṛṣṇa* as *Sarekṛṣṭa* [12].

The early medieval inscriptions of the Pālas and Senas and their contemporaries in Bengal and Bihar exhibit certain tendencies which can be traced as early as the sixth or even the close of the fifth century A.D. Thus *va* began to be pronounced as *ba* although, strangely enough, the fashion that developed was the writing of *ba* by the sign of *va*. However, the actual position is indicated by the spelling of words like *saṁvat* as *samvat* because it was certainly pronounced as *sambat*, which spelling actually occurs in some early epigraphs [13]. The local pronunciation of the *anusvāra* is likewise indicated in the said epigraphic records by the spelling of words like *vaṁśa* as *vaṅśa* and *saṁsāra* as *sansāra*, and also possibly by changing the final *m* to *anusvāra* at the end of the first and second halves of stanzas. The writing of *Vaṭeśvara* as *Vaḷeśvara* [14] and *ṣaḍaṅga* as *ṣaḷaṅga* [15] in a few pre-Pāla records probably suggests the gradual disappearance of the lingual *ḷa* and its substitution at a later date by the intervocal *ḍa*.

Just as Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* shows how proper names were often written in Kashmir in their Prakrit forms, e.g., *Sūrya* as *Suyya* and *Kalyāṇa* as *Kalhaṇa*, etc., the early medieval inscriptions of Assam exhibit local as well as Prakrit influence in a number of geographical names. As regards the first category, mention may be made of *Heṅsibābhūmi* [16] while the second type is illustrated by the mention of the same village as *Santivaḍā*, *Santipāṭaka* and *Śāntivāḍa* [17] though the Sanskrit form of the name would be *Śāntipāṭaka*.

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10. See text lines 16 and 38.
11. Cf. text line 7.
12. Cf. *saṭāt* for *haṭhāt*, *sākhas* for *sāhas*, etc. Similar is the change of *Rām* to *Ām*, but *āmāvāsyā* to *rāmāvāsyā*. The interchangeability of *l* and *n* has been discussed by S. K. Chatterji in his *The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, vol. I, Calcutta reprint, Rupa, 1975, pp. 545-46, but not from this angle. Some words like *sākas* (*sākhas*) for *sāhas*, *lāc* for *nāc*, *lāṅ* for *nāṅg*, etc., have been recognised in *Bāṅglādeśer Āñcalik Bhāṣār Abhidhān*, ed. M. Shahidullah, Dacca.
13. Cf. D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, vol. I, 1965, pp. 291, 295, 393; see also p. 126.
14. JBRS, vol. 37, parts 3-4, 1951, p. 6; text line 2, where the name was wrongly read as *Vaḍḍeśvara*.
15. *Select Inscriptions*, *op. cit.*, p. 366, text line 19.
16. P. N. Bhattacharya, *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvali* (in Bengali, Rangpur, B.S. 1338), p. 78, text lines 33-34.
17. A. K. Maitreya, *op. cit.*, pp. 134-35, text lines 49, 53 and 61-62.

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There are many cases of badly edited texts in our country. Sometimes it has been our sad experience to note that the author of a work exhibits greater alertness in textual matters than the editor of his volume. In this connection, we are reminded of Vardhamāna's *Daṇḍaviveka* badly edited by Mahāmahopādhyāya Kamala Kṛṣṇa Smṛtitīrtha in the Gaekward Oriental Series, vol. LIII, 1931. Vardhamāna quotes the following passage from Nārada —

Kākinī tu catur-bhāgo Māṣasya ca Paṇasya ca

and comments on it as follows —

atha Ratnākare Vṛddhi-prakaraṇīyaḥ kvacit Palasy eti pāṭho lipi-pramādaḥ / Kāmadhenu-Kalpataru-Kṛtyasāra-Mitākṣarā-Smṛtisāreṣu Māna-prakaraṇe mūrdhaṇya-pāṭha-darśanāt Paṇa-Kārṣāpaṇ-ādi-prakaraṇe Suvarṇa-Māṣasya Palasya lakṣaṇa-yogāc ca / [18]

Here Vardhamāna first says that, according to Nārada, Kākinī is one-fourth of both the Māṣa and the Paṇa. He then observes that *Pala* is the reading in place of *Paṇa* in the passage quoted above in the Section on Vṛddhi in the *Ratnākara*, but points out how the reading *Paṇa* is supported by the Section on Māna in the *Kāmadhenu, Kalpataru, Kṛtyasāra, Mitākṣarā* and *Smṛtisāra* as well as by what is gathered from the Section on Suvarṇa-Māṣa and Pala in the Section on Paṇa, Kārṣāpaṇa, etc.

This alertness may be compared with the inability of the Editor, Mahāmahopādhyāya Kamala Kṛṣṇa Smṛtitīrtha, to detect even the most palpable copyist's error in the following passage —

Abhidhāna-koṣe tu —
Niṣkam astrī s-āṣṭa-hema-śate Dīnāra-Karṣayoḥ /
rakṣo-'laṅkaraṇe hema-pale pi c ety uktam /

This will at once remind any serious student of Sanskrit literature of the *Amarakoṣa* passage —

S-āṣṭe śate Suvarṇānāṁ hemny uro-bhūṣaṇe Pale //
Dīnāre 'pi ca Niṣko 'strī... / [19]

It is quite clear that what is quoted as *rakṣo-'laṅkaraṇa* is given as *uro-bhūṣaṇa* in the *Amarakoṣa*, and *uro-bhūṣaṇa* means «an ornament adorning the chest ». This shows beyond doubt that, in the *Daṇḍaviveka*, the above synonym of *niṣka* is not *rakṣo-'laṅkaraṇa* which is meaningless, but *vakṣo-'laṅkaraṇa* which means the same thing, i.e. a necklace. There are several other such cases of editorial inefficiency.

Even more worthless editorial work is exhibited by texts like Munindra Mohan Chaudhuri's edition of Mathureśa's *Śabdaratnāvalī*,

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18. *Op. cit.*, pp. 27-8.
19. See *Nānārtha-varga, Sāmānya-kāṇḍa*, verses 13-14.

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published in 1970 in the famous Bibliotheca Indica Series by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta. The instances of editorial inefficiency is innumerable in the publication. It is really strange that the Editor failed to suggest the filling up of the lacuna in the following verse —

Nāg-āṅko Hāstinapuraṁ Hāstinaṁ Hastināpuram /
Gajāhvayaṁ Gajāhvañ ca Gaja...m eva ca // [20]

when the restored reading of the last foot should quite clearly be *Gajasāhvayam eva ca.* This is because *Gajāhva* and *Gajāhvaya* mean « [the city] bearing the name Gaja » which is also the meaning of *Gajasāhvaya.* Strangely enough, the *Śabdakalpadruma* recognises *Gajasāhvaya* as a synonym of *Hastināpura* on the authority of the *Śabdaratnāvalī.* This shows that Chaudhuri's edition of the same work is based on poor manuscript material.

We may refer in this connection to another interesting aspect of textual study. A remarkable case of improvement in a badly deciphered text was offered by a grant of king Vanamālavarman of Assam, to whom reference has been made above. The introductory stanzas are common in the two records of the king so far discovered, viz. the Tezpur and Parbatiya plates. A tentative transcript of the Tezpur plates had been published in 1840 when our epigraphical studies were at a rudimentary stage [21]; but no improvement upon the text could be made afterwards because the inscription was lost. However, the large number of serious errors in the reading of the text became known to the world of scholars only with the publication of the Parbatiya plates [22] in 1951 after a period of more than a century. Some of the errors now removed are that Vanamāla's great-grandfather was Arathi the name of whose elder brother was Prālambha although the name was formerly read wrongly as Sālambha, that there was no king named Āratha regarded as the son of Arathi and the grandfather of Vanamāla, that Vanamāla's mother's name was Maṅgalā and not Śrīmattarā, that the name of the same king's grandmother was Jīvadevī not Jīvadā, and that the name of the capital city of the kings of the dynasty in question was Haḍapeśvara (also spelt *Haḍappeśvara, Haṭapeśvara* and *Haṭappeśvara*) and not *Hārūppeśvara* [23]. The rectification of the errors in the published transcript of the Tezpur plates on the discovery of the Parbatiya plates in similar to the corrections effected in the text of a work prepared on the basis of manuscripts full of errors with the help of one or a few newly discovered manuscripts offering satisfactory readings.

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20. See the geographical names in the latter part of the *Bhūmivarga.*
21. JASB, vol. 9 (1840), pp. 766-82.
22. EI, vol. 29, pp. 145 ff.
23. *Ibid.*, pp. 149-50.

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The reading of the name Haḍappeśvara is supported by the recently discovered Saratbari plates[24] of Ratnapāla and the Gachtal plates[25] of Gopāla, which apply the name Haḍappakā to the same city. The real name seems to have been Haḍappā, usually called Haḍappeśvara owing to the existence of a temple enshrining the god Īśvara (Śiva, i.e. a Śiva-liṅga) who was worshipped by the kings of the Sālastambha line[26]. The kings were also devoted to the god Kāmeśvara (i.e. Īśvara enshrined on Mt. Kāmakūṭa or the Kāma or Kāmākhyā hill) as well as his spouse Mahāgaurī (i.e. Kāmeśvarī also called Kāmā or Kāmākhyā)[27]. The formation of the names Haḍappeśvara and Kāmeśvara is similar.

24. JAIH, vol. 10, p. 119.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 122.
26. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 119.
27. P. N. Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, p. 63; also see p. 138; EI, 29, pp. 145 ff., text line 39.

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R. MORTON SMITH

ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE TRIṢṬUBH

I have been long seeking to find new means of disentangling the chronology of the development of Indian culture. Verse scansion should be informative. though it will cease to give chronological information on its full development. I began on the anuṣṭubh in Ślokas and Vipulas (Indo-Iranian Journal 1961), but did not deal with the RgVeda. For the development of the *triṣṭubh* one must begin there. I have therefore scanned over 6000 lines, excluding repetitions (but including jagatī), to get what should be a representative sample. The hymns used were:

RV	I	32-5 51 58-9 61-4 71-3 76 85 91-2 117-8 121 140-1 143-8 163-7 189	lines 1702
RV	II	2 4 12-3 27-8	lines 306
RV	III	1-2 15 17-20 22 31 33-4 60-1	lines 508
RV	IV	2-3 25-6 36 42-4 50-1 53	lines 446
RV	V	11-2 29-31 44-5 54-5 81 85	lines 488
RV	VI	8-9 18-9 21 31-4 49-50 67-8	lines 506
RV	VII	4-5 18 21 25 33 60-1 75 82-3 88	lines 504
RV	VIII	48 57-9 86 96 100	lines 250
RV	IX	68-9 74 93-4 96	lines 252
RV	X	13-5 30-1 34 39-40 42 67-8 73 88 91-2 94-5 98 108 110 121 124-5 129-30 138 169	lines 1232
			Total lines 6194

We must now say how we scanned. Since a final consonant at the end of a line must make a closed syllable, I have counted such long (-). Only a final short vowel should make a short (⏑). Thus I find:

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RV	I	⏑ final	348	- final	1354
RV	II	⏑ final	58	- final	248
RV	III	⏑ final	83	- final	425
RV	IV	⏑ final	94	- final	344
RV	V	⏑ final	93	- final	395
RV	VI	⏑ final	97	- final	409
RV	VII	⏑ final	133	- final	375
RV	VIII	⏑ final	57	- final	193
RV	IX	⏑ final	45	- final	207
RV	X	⏑ final	274	- final	959
	Total	⏑ final	1281	- final	4913

The long final seems to be 4 (±) times commoner than the short (total ratio 1 : 3 · 835), though the short final seems to be rarer in *jagatī*, just as ⏑ ⏑ is not favoured at the caesura. Noting that if we include -e and -o from -as, half the hiatus is found at the caesura, e.g. from the figures of my sample:

RV	I	H	145	+ HC	142
RV	II	H	23	+ HC	23
RV	III	H	29	+ HC	26
RV	IV	H	24	+ HC	50
RV	V	H	44	+ HC	46
RV	VI	H	45	+ HC	49
RV	VII	H	48	+ HC	42
RV	VIII	H	15	+ HC	20
RV	IX	H	13	+ HC	15
RV	X	H	93	+ HC	105
	Total	H	479	+ HC	518

I conclude that the caesura involved a pause, sufficient to change a closed syllable into a long, or to break a hiatus. The ratio of ⏑ : - before caesura varies from 1 : 3 · 03 to 4 · 17, i.e. less than the finals, and not parallel, but the overall ratio of 1300 : 4867 is 1 : 3 · 74.

I have scanned the first part of the *triṣṭubh/jagatī* on these principles in RV and AV (*AtharvaVeda*), but have not recognized the caesura as a break in the *Upaniṣad* or Epic owing to the progressive weakening of the caesura as shown by the increase of 6th and 7th syllable caesura, and the tendency to run pairs of lines ino one, most obvious in the *anuṣṭubh*. Retaining as long syllables that would be short without a break, as against final shorts that would be long without a break (i.e. before initial two consonants) I found in

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RV	I	214	against	69 ⏑
RV	II	39	against	12 ⏑
RV	III	63	against	4 ⏑
RV	IV	69	against	10 ⏑
RV	V	68	against	12 ⏑
RV	VI	73	against	9 ⏑
RV	VII	73	against	12 ⏑
RV	VIII	33	against	5 ⏑
RV	VIII	33	against	9 ⏑
RV	IX	31	against	5 ⏑
RV	X	180	against	29 ⏑
	Total	843	against	171 ⏑

With these the ratio of final ⏑ to - at caesura and end of line is almost identical, 1 : 3·74 and 1 : 3·83.

It is certainly true that a short before the caesura is commoner in the 5th syllable than at the 4th: thus I find

⏑ at 5th syllable at caesura 849, - 2220: ratio 1 : 2·615.
⏑ at 4th syllable at caesura 451, - 2647: ratio 1 : 5·87

This accounts for 6167 lines; the remaining 27 have caesura at 6th or 7th, (often 3+4) or do not scan at all. Some irregular lines can be made regular by transpositions, and I would not be surprised if they were composed regular but transposed to baffle the demons (always ubiquitous). For caesuras in compounds, excluding dual *dvandvas* like MitrāVaruṇā, Dyāvāprthivī, I found only 25, 7 being in RV 1/61 (which has also 3 bad caesuras), and 3 in 1/62 with 5 bad caesuras. The regularity of Vedic scansion was somewhat surprising; also in the matter of 4/6 and 5/7 *triṣṭubhs* (4/7 & 5/8 jagatī). Of the former I find 64 (13 in 1/61), and of 5/7(8) 23. I find 28 at 5/5.

Caesura at the 5th is commoner in *jagatī:* thus

		Jagatī caesura 4th	caesura 5th	*Triṣṭubh* caesura 4th	caesura 5th
RV	I	190	290	692	528
RV	II	52	45	108	101
RV	III	38	51	224	195
RV	IV	34	31	206	172
RV	V	83	97	172	135
RV	VI	12	21	224	247
RV	VII	19	57	202	222
RV	VIII	12	26	107	105
RV	IX	46	54	69	82
RV	X	136	206	468	421
	Total	622	878	2472	2208

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The ratio of 4th to 5th caesura is: *jagatī*: 1 : 1 · 41, *triṣṭubh* 1 : 0 · 89.

I have not found myself keen to accept metrical lengthening. The reason is that the avoided scansion too often occurs inevitable in the same verse or hymn. I have accepted phonetic lengthenings, e.g. *vāvr-dhāna* for *Padapatha vavrdhāna*, but I feel the other is as likely to be a musical as a linguistic phenomenon, especially because on its alleged occurrence it has *no* relation to accent. There are doubtful cases; is the lengthening philological or metrical? e.g. *atha* could be Gk. *enθa* or *athā*, parallel to *tathā*; *atrā* could be compared to Lat. *intrā* or *ultrō*, but the shortening of Skt. final *ā* is not a normal development. Some lines could be divided at the 4th or 5th; phrasing may guide to probability, and if the 6th & 7th are ⏑, division should be taken at the 5th. There is therefore some ambiguity in our figures, but not significant.

As a result of our scansion we think we understand the nature of the *triṣṭubh* and its general development, but have been quite unable to find chronological strata in RV on purely metrical grounds: concomitances are not consistent. *A priori*, verse should go from rough to polished; but in fact the *triṣṭubh* seems to go back to Indo-European times, as suggested by the Greek lyric metres, and the iambic trimetre making a good *jagatī*. Primitive stages are therefore likely to have been long passed. The tendency of post-RV verse is to weaken the caesura, hence I do not feel that a caesura in a compound must be a sign of early date.

Our theory therefore is: the original metre was 4 + 4; if the 4s are not separated, we have the *gāyatrī* line; if they are, we have the *triṣṭubh* (*jagatī* is just *triṣṭubh* + 1 syllable). The 4s tend to contrast metrically, as in the classical *śloka*, and can carry one or two syllables before or after, or even, in the case of the second expected 4, three before (between). Thus 6/4. 6/5 can exist, and I found 7 (3 in 1/61); so can 7/4, of which I found 8. Since the 4s are significant, one will not normally want heavy syllables in the copula, the middle. It is therefore significant that after the 5th caesura ⏑ ⏑ is the overwhelming favourite, and even after the 4th caesura, a triad beginning with ⏑ ⏑ is much commoner; thus:

	RV I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X=	1:lines
⏑ ⏑	699	122	201	188	212	228	218	110	120	576=2674	1: 1· 154
– ⏑	107	14	41	11	17	30	44	18	15	51= 348	1: 8· 868
⏑ ⏑ –	425	69	149	128	162	103	97	54	64	306=1557	1: 1· 987
⏑ ⏑ ⏑	139	35	24	43	30	47	31	20	9	105= 483	1: 6· 406
⏑ ⏑ – + ⏑ ⏑ ⏑	564	104	173	171	192	150	128	74	73	411=2040	1: 1·5166
– ⏑ –	185	29	66	41	37	38	52	22	23	115= 608	1: 5· 89
– ⏑ ⏑	70	13	12	14	14	25	20	10	12	51= 241	1: 12· 838
– ⏑ – + – ⏑ ⏑	255	42	78	55	51	63	72	32	35	166= 849	1: 3· 644

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⏑ – –	11	5	6	1	4	7	4	—	1	8=	47	1: 65· 83
⏑ – ⏑	16	2	4	5	3	7	19	2	3	6=	67	1: 46· 18
– – –	1	7	1	2	2	1	—	2	—	3=	19	1:162· 84
– – ⏑	11	—	—	3	1	—	1	—	1	2=	19	1:162· 84

It will be seen that ⏑ ⏑ – after the 4th caesura is commoner than all the rest combined (1557 : 1484) one should also note that – ⏑ ⏑ is only half as common as ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, and less than half – ⏑ –; by the time of *MBh.* ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ is rare, though – ⏑ ⏑ still comes third in non-*Upajati* lines (here called not-Regular). The remaining post-5th caesura two syllables show:

	RV I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X=		1:lines
– –	12	1	2	1	1	6	2	4	1	3=	33	1: 93· 51
⏑ –	15	5	2	1	2	6	2	2	1	1=	37	1: 83· 405

It is clear that the heaviest copulas are the least popular, presumably deemphasizing the main 4s.

We may now look at the pre-caesura syllables of 4th caesura. Thus:

	RV I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X =
– – – –	128	35	43	33	31	40	42	21	13	102 = 488
– – – ⏑	32	5	7	12	8	5	11	2	8	29 = 119
– ⏑ – –	54	11	9	10	17	13	18	5	3	39 = 179
– ⏑ – ⏑	13	2	3	2	6	5	—	4	—	8 = 43
– – ⏑ –	152	30	47	43	38	34	43	19	20	89 = 515
– – ⏑ ⏑	23	2	5	4	3	7	8	4	4	9 = 69
⏑ – – –	107	14	32	33	43	40	26	24	15	87 = 421
⏑ – – ⏑	27	7	11	5	5	13	7	5	4	17 = 101
⏑ – ⏑ –	213	23	66	67	66	53	45	21	34	141 = 729
⏑ – ⏑ ⏑	20	1	10	4	7	3	1	4	2	13 = 65
⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –	22	6	—	7	8	3	4	2	—	13 = 65
⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑	2	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	— = 4
– ⏑ ⏑ –	25	4	8	6	7	5	5	1	2	19 = 82
– ⏑ ⏑ ⏑	4	2	2	1	—	1	—	—	—	7 = 17
⏑ ⏑ – –	54	15	19	13	13	11	7	5	7	24 = 168
⏑ ⏑ – ⏑	6	1	2	1	3	3	4	2	3	8 = 33

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Let us look at the order of popularity:

⏑ – ⏑ –	729	– – – –	488	– ⏑ – –	179	– – – ⏑	119
– – ⏑ –	515	⏑ – – –	421	⏑ ⏑ – –	168	⏑ – – ⏑	101
	1244		909		347		220
– ⏑ ⏑ –	82	– – ⏑ ⏑	69	– ⏑ – ⏑	43	– ⏑ ⏑ ⏑	17
⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –	65	⏑ – ⏑ ⏑	65	⏑ ⏑ – ⏑	33	⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑	4
	147		134		76		21

The discrepancy of 69 after 65 is negligeable, especially as 8 of the 69 – – ⏑ ⏑ are in the badly scanning RV 1/61. Note how the variations go in pairs, the long initial being preferred, except in ⏑ – ⏑ – and possibly ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑. Pairing by the last syllable does not give any similarly patterned and so significant progression.

If we now look at the pre-caesura syllables of the 5th caesura, we find, again taking the 5th rather than the 1st syllable as having been added, a remarkable parallelism between the 4s and the 5s in popularity, which is disturbed by the dislike of 2 short, ⏑ ⏑, immediately preceding the Caesura: thus:

	RV I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X =
– – – – –	80	22	22	16	14	26	34	14	11	76 = 315
– – – – ⏑	42	13	19	10	16	11	19	10	1	24 = 165
⏑ – – – –	80	18	24	18	12	28	25	11	10	72 = 298
⏑ – – – ⏑	34	10	8	9	13	14	23	5	7	26 = 149
– – ⏑ – –	158	20	47	36	51	34	35	23	30	113 = 547
– – ⏑ – ⏑	51	15	17	15	18	19	13	6	9	35 = 198
⏑ – ⏑ – –	142	19	63	44	47	50	53	21	31	112 = 582
⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑	43	7	16	16	11	24	18	9	5	39 = 188
– – – ⏑ –	12	2	1	1	4	3	2	2	3	10 = 40
– – – ⏑ ⏑	1	—	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	— = 5
⏑ – – ⏑ –	14	2	2	3	3	4	3	1	1	11 = 44
⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑	—	—	1	—	2	—	1	—	—	— = 4
– ⏑ – – –	23	2	6	5	4	6	2	4	1	17 = 70
– ⏑ – – ⏑	16	3	1	—	5	8	4	2	3	3 = 45
⏑ ⏑ – – –	15	2	3	7	5	8	8	4	2	17 = 71
⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑	11	3	—	2	3	9	2	1	5	9 = 45
– ⏑ – ⏑ –	11	2	2	3	1	3	6	2	—	3 = 33
– ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	— = 0
⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ –	7	—	1	2	1	2	2	3	4	6 = 28
⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	— = 0
– – ⏑ ⏑ –	17	1	5	2	4	7	12	6	5	8 = 67

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- - ◡ ◡ ◡	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2 = 5
◡ - ◡ ◡ -	11	1	2	1	4	4	3	1	2	11 = 40
◡ - ◡ ◡ ◡	—	1	—	—	1	1	—	—	1	2 = 6
- ◡ ◡ ◡ -	2	1	2	—	1	—	—	2	—	— = 8
- ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1 = 2
◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ -	2	1	—	—	1	1	2	—	—	— = 7
◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	— = 0
- ◡ ◡ - -	11	1	1	5	4	1	6	2	1	8 = 40
- ◡ ◡ - ◡	9	—	—	2	4	—	1	1	1	5 = 23
◡ ◡ ◡ - -	13	—	1	4	—	3	2	1	2	10 = 36
◡ ◡ ◡ - ◡	2	—	—	1	1	1	3	—	—	4 = 12

Let us now look at the order of popularity:

◡ - ◡ - - 582	◡ - ◡ - ◡ 188 = 770	◡ - ◡ - 729
- - ◡ - - 547	- - ◡ - ◡ 198 = 745	- - - - 515
- - - - - 315	- - - - ◡ 165 = 480	- - - - 488
◡ - - - - 298	◡ - - - ◡ 149 = 447	◡ - - - 421
- ◡ - - - 70	- ◡ - - ◡ 45 = 115	- ◡ - - 179
◡ ◡ - - - 71	◡ ◡ - - ◡ 45 = 116	◡ ◡ - - 168
- - - ◡ - 40	- - - ◡ ◡ 5 = 45	- - - ◡ 119
◡ - - ◡ - 54	◡ - - ◡ ◡ 4 = 48	◡ - - ◡ 101
- ◡ ◡ - - 40	- ◡ ◡ - ◡ 23 = 63	- ◡ ◡ - 82
◡ ◡ ◡ - - 36	◡ ◡ ◡ - ◡ 12 = 48	◡ ◡ ◡ - 65
- - ◡ ◡ - 67	- - ◡ ◡ ◡ 5 = 72	- - ◡ ◡ 69
◡ - ◡ ◡ - 40	◡ - ◡ ◡ ◡ 6 = 46	◡ - ◡ ◡ 65
- ◡ - ◡ - 33	- ◡ - ◡ ◡ 0 = 33	- ◡ - ◡ 43
◡ ◡ - ◡ - 28	◡ ◡ - ◡ ◡ 0 = 28	◡ ◡ - ◡ 32
- ◡ ◡ ◡ - 8	- ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ 2 = 10	- ◡ ◡ ◡ 17
◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ - 7	◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ 0 = 7	◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ 4

The only figures really out of place there is 67 for - - ◡ ◡ -, which might take ◡ - ◡ ◡ - with it; but while the distortion caused by dislike of final ◡ ◡ pre-caesura is plain, the discrepancies of the other figures with final — is not great enough to be significant, all being within 10 per cent of 40. Taking the 1st rather than the 5th as the added syllable. there is no correspondence whatsoever between the pre-4th caesura scansion; e.g.

× - ◡ - - 1129	- ◡ - - 179
× - - - - 613	- - - - 488
× - ◡ - ◡ 385	- ◡ - ◡ 43
× - - - ◡ 514	- - - ◡ 119
× ◡ - - - 141	◡ - - - 421
× - - ◡ - 83	- - ◡ - 515
× ◡ - ◡ - 61	◡ - ◡ - 729

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Obviously no correlation. The above should substantiate our analysis of the *triṣṭubh/jagatī*, but we repeat that within RV, we can not find chronology on purely metrical grounds. Nor do ratios of resolutions, hiatus and crasis seem to shed any light without much more individual treatment than I have been able to give.

We may now turn to the AV. The verses I used are not found elsewhere, as far as I saw indicated. The hymns taken were (Šaunaka numbering)

AV	I	9	12	25	30	+ Paippalāda only, Orissa text 45-6, 74-5, 101
AV	II	2	28-9			+ Šaunaka only 1, 12
AV	III	4	8			+ Šaunaka only 1
AV	IV	2	22	27		+ Paippalāda only 3, 11, 14
AV	V	28				+ —
AV	VI					+ Šaunaka only 117-21
AV	VIII	9				+ —
AV	XI	1				+ —
AV	XII	3				+ —
AV	XVIII	2				+ Šaunaka only 3
AV	XIX	3				+ —

Lines: Šaunaka 942 Paippalāda 804

One development has been the increased number of 10 or 12 syllable lines (4/6 & 5/5/*triṣṭubhs* [4/7 & 5/6 jagatī], and 5/7 *triṣṭubhs* [5/8 jagatī]). Thus

in the Šaunaka hymns I find 4/6́ (4/7) 32, 5/7 35, 5/5 10, other 6
in the Paippalāda hymns I find 4/6 (4/7) 30, 5/7 26, 5/5 11, other 6

I would attribute this to the habit of reusing with appropriate or necessary alteration RV lines in new contexts, for new purposes. This continues in the religious verse of the Upaniṣads, but the secular (epic) returns to the proper number of syllables.

Another development is in the use of the *avagraha*, eliding a-initial metrically; In our RV selection I found 18, of which 8 were augments; in the AV selection, counting only hymns in both recensions, I find 11 Š and 13 P, of which only 1 and 2 respectively are augments. The ratio of hiatus to lines I find at 1 : 8 · 17, 8 · 22, in AV, and 1 : 7 · 97 in RV; clearly this cannot be called a significant decline. On the other hand, resolution within words occur 1 : 12 · 73 lines in AV (Paip. selection, Š & P hymns, but 1 : 12 · 72 including Paip. only hymns), against 1 : 5 · 84 in RV; the words resolved also seem more stereotyped in AV.

Coming to scansion, I find that the preferences of scansion in our sample for the pre-5th caesura closely parallel the pre-4th caesura in RV when taken in pairs; again the 5th, not the 1st syllable is added. Thus:

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	Ś total	ŚP hymns	Ś total	Total ŚP	Ś total	Total ŚP	P total	ŚP hymns	P total	Total ŚP	P total	Total ŚP
– – ⏑ – –	84	67	113	85			72	64	90	79		
– – ⏑ – ⏑	29	18			208	150	18	15			157	138
⏑ – ⏑ – –	72	49	95	65			52	45	67	59		
⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑	23	16					15	14				
– – – – –	63	48	89	68			61	46	87	66		
– – – – ⏑	26	20			158	124	26	20			155	119
⏑ – – – –	55	42	69	56			52	39	68	53		
⏑ – – – ⏑	14	14					16	14				
– ⏑ – – –	23	18	29	21			24	18	27	20		
– ⏑ – – ⏑	6	3			56	41	3	2			49	40
⏑ ⏑ – – –	18	12	27	20			14	12	22	20		
⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑	9	8					8	8				
– – – ⏑ –	9	9	13	11			10	8	14	10		
– – – ⏑ ⏑	4	2			28	21	4	2			24	20
⏑ – – ⏑ –	12	10	15	10			10	10	10	10		
⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑	3	—					—	—				
– ⏑ ⏑ – –	9	5	12	7			6	5	8	7		
– ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑	3	2			15	10	2	2			11	9
⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – –	2	2	3	3			2	2	3	2		
⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑	1	1					1	—				
– – ⏑ ⏑ –	6	4	8	4			5	4	5	4		
– – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑	2	—			13	8	—	—			9	8
⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ –	5	4	5	4			4	4	4	4		
⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑	—	—					—	—				
– ⏑ – ⏑ –	5	4	7	4			3	3	3	3		
– ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑	2	—			12	7	—	—			6	6
⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ –	5	3	5	3			3	3	3	3		
⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑	—	—					—	—				
– ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –	1	1	1	1			1	1	1	1		
– ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑	—	—			1	1	—	—			1	1
⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –	—	—	0	0			—	—	0	0		
⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑	—	—					—	—				

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- - - - ⏑ has advanced in popularity compared with ⏑ - ⏑ - ⏑ just as ⏑ - - - over ⏑ - ⏑ - before the 4th caesura, perhaps because of its influence.

Let us now look at the pre-4th caesura figures:

	Š total	ŠP hymns	Š only				P total	ŠP hymns	P only			
- - - -	117	94	23	183	141	42	114	91	23	169	136	33
- - - ⏑	66	47	19				55	45	10			
- - ⏑ -	70	48	22	132	92	40	66	52	14	111	90	21
⏑ - ⏑ -	62	44	18				45	38	7			
- ⏑ - -	49	40	9	63	59	14	44	36	8	59	51	8
⏑ ⏑ - -	24	19	5				15	15	—			
- - - ⏑	12	10	2	24	17	7	15	12	3	27	20	7
⏑ - - ⏑	12	7	5				12	8	4			
- ⏑ - ⏑	11	9	2	16	11	5	7	6	1	9	8	1
⏑ ⏑ - ⏑	5	2	3				2	2	—			
- ⏑ ⏑ -	10	3	7	11	3	8	6	4	2	6	4	2
⏑ ⏑ ⏑ -	1	0	1				—	—	—			
- - ⏑ ⏑	8	7	1	10	7	3	10	7	3	10	7	3
⏑ - ⏑ ⏑	2	—	2				—	—	—			
- ⏑ ⏑ ⏑	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	—	1	1	—
⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑	—	—	—				—	—	—			

The order of the first four pairs and the last is as for RV. pairs 5-7 go in all permutations. ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ and ⏑ ⏑ - ⏑ have advanced in relative popularity. I would however, have liked a much bigger sample than our 800-900 lines. The popularity of ⏑ - - - over ⏑ - ⏑ - continues in the Epic in non-R lines, i.e. when not followed by - ⏑ ⏑; ⏑ ⏑ - ⏑ disappears in the Epic. The ratio of final ⏑ to - at caesura in RV was 1 : 7·195; in Š total, 1 : 7·67, ŠP hymns 1 : 7·34. That is, final ⏑ is slightly, but not significantly rarer in AV. Before 5th syllable caesura, ⏑ is nearer being significantly rarer in AV; thus 1 : 2·614 in RV, in Š total 1 : 3·024, in ŠP hymns 1 : 3·31: in P total 1 : 3·43, ŠP hymns 1 : 3·428. The ratio of 4th to 5th caesura is virtually the same; 1:0·989 RV, 1·088 Š total, 1·09 ŠP hymns; P total 1·05, ŠP hymns 1·09. AV does not show any great attempt to regularize the scansion; the 20 least popular openings of 5th caesura provide 0·127 of the verses of 5th caesura in RV, 0·129 in ŠP hymns of both Š and P (0·14 total Š, 0·123 total P). There seems to be no progress in the stereotyping of the regular *Upajati*; the ratio of ⏑ - ⏑ - - ⏑ ⏑ - ⏑ - (⏑) to 5th caesura lines and total lines is

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in RV 1 : 3 · 004 and 1 : 6 · 03 respectively;
in AV Š total 1 : 3 · 748 & 1 : 7 · 190, ŠP hymns 3 · 85 & 7 · 37;
in AV P total 1 : 4 · 16 & 1 : 8 · 12, ŠP hymns 3 · 92 & 7 · 56.

That is, AV is metrically more vulgar than RV.

I have not unfortunately had time to deal with the *Brahmanas*, partly because I would want verses not elsewhere, and partly that owing to the long chronological period of these works, there could be small satisfactory results. However by the 5th century BC the *triṣṭubh* tradition seems to have split into religious and secular, the former being more conservative (also owing to the reuse of older verses), but following the secular with a time lag.

The *Upniṣads* used are *Kaṭha* 1-3 & 4-6, *Muṇḍaka* 1-2 & 3, *Švetāšvatara* 1-2 (Minus 1 · 1-3), 3, 4, 1 · 1-3 & 5-6, which last is practically as Epic. Also BAU 3-4 and *Prašna*. (For *Švet.* & *Muṇḍaka*, I take the text as in my articles in JOIB XXIV 1975 and VVRI XIV 1976).

The first thing that is obvious is the growth of regular R lines, including R6 (6th caesura), which was practically unknown in AV. The ratio of our AV R-lines (all R4 & R5, 4th & 5th caesuras, overwhelmingly 5th) to total lines is 1 : 6 · 777; in our *Upaniṣads*, 1 : 3 · 46. Moreover R5 is no longer preponderant; In AV Š (ŠP hymns) we found 4 R4: 94 R5, and in AV P (ŠP hymns) 6 : 87. In our *Upaniṣads* we find 45 R4, 94 R5, 25 R6, & 4 R6+.

Final ⏑ pre-caesura is rarer:

RV 1 : 6 · 869 4th, 1 : 3 · 628 5th
(Ratio to total 4th & 5th caesuras respectively).
AV 1 : 9 · 19 4th, 1 : 4 · 31 5th
(Ratio to total 4th & 5th caesuras respectively).
AV 1 : 9 · 17 4th, 1 : 4 · 43 5th
(Ratio to total 4th & 5th caesuras respectively).
(ŠP hymns only, first Š figures, then P).
Beginnings also get stereotyped, and bad ones disappear. Thus in RV
Up 1 : 10 · 5 4th, 1 : 5 · 13 5th
(Ratio to total 4th & 5th caesuras respectively).

Beginnings also get stereotyped, and bad ones disappear. Thus in RV these were less respectable: – ⏑ ⏑ –, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – 82 & 65, – – ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ 69 & 65, – ⏑ – ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ 43 & 33, – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ 17 & 4 The ratio of these to total 4th caesura in RV is 1 : 8 · 196, in AV (ŠP hymns) 1 : 15 · 04 Š, 1 : 15 · 85 P; in Up 1 : 21. × – – ⏑ seem to be preserved by the prevalence of × – – –; so – ⏑ – ⏑ & – – ⏑ ⏑ survive in a way through – ⏑ – – & – – ⏑ –. The same sort of thing happens with 5th caesura; in RV, 6 combinations could be said to be favoured, namely × – ⏑ – ×, × – – – –, and in intermediate place, × – – – ⏑. In RV the ratio of all others to these favourites is 1 : 7 · 818; in AV. ŠP hymns, 7 · 702 Š, 7 · 75 P. In the Up. our ratio is 1 : 11 excluding all R verses (as we did also for the 4th caesura); the

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total ratio would be 1:46·214. We now give the figures for the *Upaniṣads* (omitting R verses):

	BAU 3-4	K 1-3	4-6	M 1-2	3	Š 1-2	3	4	5-6	Praš	Total
– – – – –	2	4	2	6	3	2	4	1	5	—	29
– – – – ⏑	—	4	1	4	1	—	—	1	—	1	12
⏑ – – – –	1	6	1	5	2	2	—	2	—	—	19
⏑ – – – ⏑	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	3
– – ⏑ – –	2	5	1	1	10	1	2	2	3	1	28
– – ⏑ – ⏑	—	1	—	4	2	—	—	—	1	—	8
⏑ – ⏑ – –	—	2	2	7	4	—	3	—	2	3	23
⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
– – – ⏑ –	—	—	1	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	3
– – – ⏑ ⏑	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
⏑ – – ⏑ –	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	2
⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
– ⏑ – – –	1	2	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	2	9
– ⏑ – – ⏑	1	1	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	4
⏑ ⏑ – – –	—	—	—	1	—	1	1	—	—	—	3
⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
– ⏑ – ⏑ –	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
– ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ –	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
– – ⏑ ⏑ –	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
– – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ –	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
– ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
– ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
– ⏑ ⏑ – –	—	—	—	2	—	—	1	—	—	—	3
– ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – –	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
R5	8	23	7	6	1	3	6	5	42	1	102

We may now add the table for 4th ceaesura:

	BAU 3-4	K 1-3	4-6	M 1-2	3	Š 1-2	3	4	5-6	Praš	Total
– – – –	2	28	9	14	7	12	3	4	14	1	94
– – – – ⏑	2	1	—	4	2	—	—	—	—	1	10
– ⏑ – –	5	10	1	2	2	—	—	1	1	6	28

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- ◡ - ◡	2	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	1	—	5
- - ◡ -	1	13	5	12	4	4	1	3	6	2	51
- - ◡ ◡	—	2	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	4
◡ - - -	2	15	1	13	9	2	1	7	3	1	54
◡ - - ◡	—	4	—	—	—	—	1	1	1	—	7
◡ - ◡ -	6	17	2	5	7	3	—	1	—	2	43
◡ - ◡ ◡	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
◡ ◡ ◡ -	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
◡ ◡ ◡ ◡	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
- ◡ ◡ -	1	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1
- ◡ ◡ ◡	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
◡ ◡ - -	—	3	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	5
◡ ◡ - ◡	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
R4	1	7	3	5	3	1	2	7	22	1	52

R4 is only half as common as R5.

	BAU 3-4	K 1-3	4-6	M 1-2	3	Š 1-2	3	4	5-6	Praš	Total
R6	1	5	—	2	5	—	—	1	9	2	25
R6+	1	1	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	1	5

R4 and R6 equal R5 in the Epic.

⏑ - - - has supplanted ⏑ - ◡ - as the favourite 4-opening, and similarly - - ◡ - is preferred to ◡ - ◡ -; both of these continuing the trend of AV. The ratio of R to non-R lines is interesting; if we except BAU, which must be of the 6th century BC, the ratio of R to non-R lines in the others could suggest an acceptable chronological order; thus R: non-R, M 1-2 1 : 6 · 92, 3, 1 : 6 · 44; *Švet.* 1-2 (— 1 · 1-3) 1 : 5 · 4; *Praš* 1 : 4 · 2; K 1-3 1 : 3 · 472, 4-6 1 : 2 · 9; *Švet.* 3 1 : 2 · 375, 4 1 : 1 · 71, 5-6 (+ 1 · 1-3) 1 : 0 · 534 (BAU 1 : 2 · 33). K 1-3 might here appear later than it is because of literary pretension, but I do not know a compelling reason why it must precede *Muṇḍ.*; *Švet.* 5-6 is clearly late. This order may be supported by the ratio of 5/7 lines: M 1-2 1 : 2 · 288, M 3 1 : 3 · 35; Š 1-2 1 : 5 · 33, 3 1 : 4 · 5 (1 less here, or 1 more in 1-2 would invert the ratios); *Praš* 1 : 4 · 33; Š 4 1 : 6 · 33, K 4-6 1 : 8 · 8, K 1-3 1 : 10 · 73, Š 5-6 1 : 14. K and *Švet.* 3-4 have become inverted in the 5/7 list; the apparent lateness of K 1-3 can again be explained by literary ambition.

Crasis at caesura might be expected to indicate chronology; Here again we have M 1-2 1 : 51 lines, K 1-3 1 : 40, Š 5-6 1 : 10 · 18; the other passages have 1 each (*Praš* 2 for 1 : 3). Caesura at compound I have not counted, though it should show something in theory.

We may now turn to the secular Epic; the passages chosen are 5/170-93 (Amba), Dyutaparvana 2/51-63, 5/22-32 (Sañjayayāna), 3/111-4 (Ršyašṛṅga), 132-4 (Aṣṭāvakra), 278-82 (Sāvitrī), 1/65 (Šakuntala C author),

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plus BhG, 2531 lines in all. The verse has been regularized; bad openings, and even more copulae are eliminated, and the interchange of *triṣṭubh/jagatī* becomes prohibited. 5/7 lines are not uncommon, but decline, but I have hardly found 5 at 4/6. Some 5/7 can be accounted for by resolution -=⏑ ⏑, which occurs sporadically in the copula. We give the figures, non-R lines ony for openings: ⏑ ⏑ - ⏑ ×, × - ⏑ ⏑ ×, × ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ×, × ⏑ ⏑ - ×, × - - ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ - - ⏑ -, - ⏑ - ⏑, ⏑ - ⏑ ⏑, × ⏑ ⏑ × do not occur:

	Sañj	Aṣṭā	Dy 51-63	(— 60 . 22-47)	Ambā	Rśya	Sāv	Śak	C BhG 1-9	11	15	Total
- - - - -	8	5	5	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	19
- - - - ⏑	2	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5
⏑ - - - -	5	1	4	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	12
⏑ - - - ⏑	—	—	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5
- - ⏑ - -	28	8	16	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	53
- - ⏑ - ⏑	3	2	1	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	8
⏑ - ⏑ - -	21	8	9	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	40
⏑ - ⏑ - ⏑	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
- - - ⏑ -	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
⏑ - - ⏑ ⏑	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
- ⏑ - - -	2	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4
- ⏑ - - ⏑	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
⏑ ⏑ - - -	2	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
⏑ ⏑ - - ⏑	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
R5	100	24	48	47	11	49	35	3	10	30	13	370
R6	42	15	34	23	12	47	21	2	13	34	2	235
- - - -	256	78	97	—	28	12	5	3	10	17	—	506
- - - ⏑	16	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	19
- ⏑ - -	34	3	9	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	47
- - ⏑ -	128	26	42	2	4	17	2	2	2	7	1	233
- - ⏑ ⏑	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
⏑ - - -	141	34	66	1	24	12	3	1	2	8	1	293
⏑ - - ⏑	5	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8
⏑ - ⏑ -	117	23	45	1	14	18	1	2	3	9	—	233
⏑ ⏑ - -	14	1	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	17
⏑ ⏑ - ⏑	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
R4	114	41	48	22	6	60	31	1	5	32	3	363

Four totalling under 40 only occur in our first three columns; works which are then early or unambitious. The Vision of BhG is ambitious, and Dyuta 60 · 22-47, Rśyaśṛṅga and Sāvitrī look late. One may note the preference for × - - - in non-R verses is accentuated, but not × - - - -.

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It might be worth looking at the copulae; thus: ⏑ ⏑ seems to be universal in the Epic; – ⏑; – –, ⏑ – I have not met in my selections. In the *Upaniṣads*, ⏑ ⏑ is favoured (non-R) at 53 : 7. There are

– –	4 (Kath 1-3 2, M 3 1, Švet 3 1)	Pali 1 (J 542 1)
– ⏑	2 (M 1-2 1, Praš 1)	Pali 3 (J 542 1, J 522 1, Th 1)
⏑ –	1 (Švet 5-6)	Pali 4 (J 542 3, J 543 1)

Bad trisyllabic copulae are almost eliminated in the Epic (— — 1 [Aṣṭā] and ⏑ – ⏑ 1 [BhG 11]). They survive better in the *Upaniṣads*; thus:

⏑ ⏑ –	5 (K 1-3 3, M 1-2 1, Praš 1)	Pali —
⏑ – ⏑	3 (M 1-2 1, Praš 1, Švet 5-6 1)	Pali 2 (J 522, 543)
– – –	3 (M 1-2 1, M 3 1, Praš 1)	Pali —
– – ⏑	1 (Švet 1-2 1)	Pali 8 (Th 2, J 522 2, 542 3, 543 1)

Total 12; ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ 400.

	Saāj	Aṣṭā	Dyut	(— 60 · 22-47)	Ambā	Rśya	Śāv	Śak	C BhG 1-9	11	15	Total
⏑ ⏑ –	235	88	138	1	24	27	2	3	4	18	2	566
⏑ ⏑ ⏑	7	2	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	19
– ⏑ –	430	82	123	2	41	29	9	7	11	16	—	748
– ⏑ ⏑	110	20	38	1	10	6	2	—	3	6	—	196

It will be seen that ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ disappears after the early period. – ⏑ – becomes preferred to the earlier favourite, ⏑ ⏑ – (R-lines omitted in – ⏑ ⏑). The same general pattern holds for the *Upaniṣad*; thus:

	BAU 3-4	K 1-3	4-6	M 1-2	3	Ś 1-2	3	4	5-6	Praš	Total
⏑ ⏑ –	10	39	8	41	28	2	4	8	11	11	162
⏑ ⏑ ⏑	1	6	—	4	2	—	—	—	2	2	17
– ⏑ –	5	42	11	30	19	22	4	12	18	5	168
– ⏑ ⏑	3	12	6	19	4	1	4	1	5	—	55

We might add here the Pali:

	Th	J 522	J 542	J 543	Total
⏑ ⏑ –	7	11	8	13	39
⏑ ⏑ ⏑	2	5	1	3	11
– ⏑ –	6	11	6	19	42
– ⏑ ⏑	4	1	2	8	15

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With the bad copulae (including ⏑ ⏑ ⏑) and the high ratio of R-lines, the suggestion would be that the Pali verses were not on the whole written by professional poets (as one would expect of the *Theragāthā*). The Upaniṣads retain the effects of the sacred tradition, the Vedic verses being still valid examples at least of licence. No single criterion seems to give a chronological sequence; one would have to combine many ratios; e.g. R; non-R lines, to total lines; R6: lines, crasis and compound at caesura to lines, the ratio of bad to good openings and so too copulae.

I have also looked at Pali triṣṭubhs, *Theragāthā* & *Jātakas* 522, 532-3. While the anuṣṭubhs seemed to scan in a very archaic way, compared with the contemporary Epic Sanskrit, the *triṣṭubh/jagatī* keeps pace in the scansion, though they may mix a little more, and there are more bad openings and copulae, But the R: non-R ratios are not very different; e.g.

Th. 1 : 0 · 074	J 522 1 : 0 · 27
Dy 60 · 22-47 1 : 0 · 04	Ršya 1 : 0 · 37
J 542 1 : 0 · 301	J 543 1 : 0 · 255
BhG 11 1 : 0 · 398	Sāv 1 : 0 · 496

These are the late bits of the Epic; the main Dyuta ratio is 1 : 2 · 496. Our total, omitting repetitions was 891 lines. R-line openings are again omitted in the table:

	Th	J 522	J 542	J 543	Total
– – – – –	—	1	—	—	1
⏑ – – – –	—	—	—	1	1
– – ⏑ – –	2	1	9	4	16
– – ⏑ – ⏑	—	—	—	2	2
⏑ – ⏑ – –	1	1	—	2	4
⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑	—	—	—	1	1
⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑	1	—	—	—	1
– ⏑ – – –	1	—	—	—	1
⏑ – – – ⏑	—	—	1	—	1
R5	121	52	38	76	287
R6&+	111	21	28	59	219
– – – –	1	5	1	3	10
– – – ⏑	—	—	—	1	1
– ⏑ – –	—	1	1	—	2
– – ⏑ –	11	7	14	16	48
– – ⏑ ⏑	2	—	—	1	3
⏑ – – –	1	1	4	1	7
⏑ – ⏑ –	4	11	—	9	24
⏑ – ⏑ ⏑	1	—	—	3	4
– ⏑ ⏑ –	1	—	—	—	1
⏑ ⏑ – –	1	—	—	3	4
	—	—	—	1	1
R4	141	31	27	53	252

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From the ratio of R: non-R lines, I would suspect the *Theragāthā* is later than the Jataka verses; the figures are (in the order above) 1 : 13 · 8, 1 : 3 · 714, 1 : 3 · 1, 1 : 3 · 916. This lateness might also be suggested by the prevalence of R4 over R5 in Th., but R5 over R4 in the *Jatakas.*

I would have liked more time for the Pali figures; but the above should not be generally misleading. There are ambiguities, e.g. the status of anusvara; there are many traces of underlying Sanskrit quantity, as -aṁ from -ām is long, but from -am short. Some verses scan better as Sanskrit. The surprising figure is the weakness of - - - -, even in resolved forms too.

Summing up; for the Epic triṣṭubh the rule has come that the place of the caesura is irrelevant in an R line; for non-R lines, it must be at the 4th syllable; a crasis going over into the 5th syllable is counted as post-caesura. This applies to the Pali also. The non-R line has caesura at the 5th only if a 12-syllable *triṣṭubh* (13 *jagatī*). While 5/7 lines continue with decreasing frequency, 4/6 are almost quite eliminated. In late *adhyāyas* of the Epic non-R lines virtually disappear.

ABBREVIATIONS

AV	*AtharvaVeda*			
		P	Paippalāda recension	
		Ś	Śaunaka recension	
C	caesura			
H	hiatus	HC	hiatus at caesura	
R-line	regular	scans ⏑ - ⏑ - - ⏑ - ⏑ - ⏑		
		or ⏑ - ⏑ - - ⏑ - ⏑ - ⏑		
non-R line	all other scansions.			
MBh	*MahāBhārata*			
		BhG	*BhagavadGīta*	
		Aṣṭā	*Aṣṭāvakrīya*	*MBh* 3/132-4
		Ambā	*Ambopakhyāna*	*MBh* 5/170-93
		Dy/Dyuta	*Dyutaparvan*	*MBh* 2/51-63
		Rśya	*Rśyaśṛṅga*	*MBh* 3/111-4
		Sañj	*Sañjayayāna*	*MBh* 3/22-32
		Śak	*Śakuntala*	*MBh* 1/65
		Sāv	*Sāvitrī*	*MBh* 3/278-82
Th	*Theragātha*			
J	*Jātaka*			
Up	*Upaniṣad*			
		K	*Kaṭha*	
		M/Muṇḍ	*Muṇḍaka*	
		Praś	*Praśna*	
		Ś/Śvet	*Śvetāśvatara*	
		BAU	*BrhadAranyaka*	
JOIB	Journal of the Oriental Institute of Baroda			
VVRI	Journal of the Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute			

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UPENDRA THAKUR

INDIAN MONKS IN VIETNAM AND VIETNAMESE MONKS IN INDIA

I

Vietnam is a long and narrow country with its shape like the letter « S ». It is bounded on the west by Cambodia and Laos, and on the north, east and south by the Chinese colossus, Pacific Ocean, the Gulf of Thailand, Burma and the easternmost reaches of India. It has a coastline wandering along a distance of nearly 2,500 kilometres from the Mong-Cay (Gulf of North Vietnam) to the Cambodian border (Gulf of Thailand). It formerly comprised the regions known to early history as Funan and Campā, which lay on the Indochinese Peninsula between India and China, the two great thickly populated and highly civilised countries in Asia which have strongly influenced its politics and culture. The Vietnamese people often contrast the form of their country with that of the « two baskets of rice attached to the two ends of bamboo-pole used by the Vietnamese peasant to carry his load »[1]. This comparison is quite apt because the geographical character of Vietnam is dominated by the two fertile rice producing deltas — The Red River Delta in the north and the Mekong Delta in the South — which are joined by the Truong Son range[2].

The Vietnamese is generally a religious people and « religion dominates him since his birth, guides him to the tomb, and even after his death, keeps him under its influence »[3]. In Vietnam we have a variety of religions, and almost all the principal religions of the world are

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1. Joseph Buttingor, *The Smaller Dragon, A Political History of Vietnam*, London, 1958, p. 40.
2. The Vietnam Council of Foreign Relations, *An Introduction to Vietnam*, 4th edn. Saigon, 1970, p. 1.
3. Leopold Cadiere, *Croyances et Pratiques Religiouses des Vietnamiene*, Tome III, Paris, 1957, p. 69.

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found here such as Buddhism, Taoism, Confucianism, Christianity etc. Besides these, the cults of ancestors originating from the filial piety and that of the gods or deities are also followed by him [4].

II

It appears, Buddhism was introduced into what was in those times known as Giao-Chi (new North Vietnam) by the monks who came from India and China by land and sea-routes. We are told that towards the end of the second century A.D., during the reign-period of Si-Nhiep or Shiti Hsieh (187-226 A.D.), Giao-Chi was an important Buddhist cultural centre which had grown up parallely with the affluence of the Indian merchants trading in that area. The influence of Buddhism on the development of Indian navigation in ancient time can well be judged from the fact that the mighty junks of maritime tradesmen always travelled under the protection of the Dīpaṅkara Buddha or « Calmer of the Water » [5] and often brought along with them in their long voyages the monks who served at the same time as priests, physicians as well as sorciers. Moreover, Giao-Chi (modern North Vietnam) served as an important meeting place for the Indian, Chinese and other foreign travellers and missions during third-seventh centuries A.D. [6]. It also served as the rest station for these merchants and Buddhist missionaries of the time, who travelled by sea between India and China, and China and India. Thus, from second century A.D. onward Giao-Chi (Giao-Chau or North Vietnam) came to be a very important centre of contact for the pilgrims and foreign monks coming from India, China and Indo-Scythian empire who studied and propagated Buddhism there. It was in the wake of these hectic missionary activities that several monasteries came to be constructed for the first time during the reign-period of Si-Nhiep to meet their religious requirements. Of these the earliest monasteries were those of Phap Van (or Dau) situated at Khuong Tu village in the Luy Lāu citadel (present-day Hā Bāc province in North Vietnam), of Phuc Nguven at Mān Xā village (modern Hā Bāc province) and Phap Vu (vulgarly called monastery of Dau) in the present-day Thuong Tin prefecture, province of Ha Dong (North Vietnam) [7].

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4. For details see *ibid.*, Tome II, Saigon, 1955 & Tome III, Paris, 1957. Also see *Vietnamese Realities*, publ. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Saigon, 1969, Chap. XII, pp. 157-78.

5. Sylvain Levi, in « Bulletin de l'Association Française de Amie de l'Orient », Oct. 1929, pp. 19-39.

6. Paul Pelliot, *Le Fou Nan*, in BEFEO, Tome III, Hanoi, 1903, pp. 248-303. Also see Sylvain Levi, *Deux Peuples Meconnus*, in « Melanges Charles de Harlez », Paris, 1896, pp. 176-86.

7. Cl. Madrolle, *Le Tonkin Ancien; Les Pagodes Voisines de lei Leou (Luy Lau)*, in BEFEO, Tome XXXVII, Hanoi, 1937, Fascicule 2, pp. 292-93.

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We learn on the authority of a Vietnamese source (written in Chinese in the 14th century A.D.) [8] that towards the end of the reign-period of the Chinese Emperor Linh De or Ling-Ti (168-188 A.D.) of the Eastern Han (25-220 A.D.) two Indian Buddhist monks named Ma Ha Ky Vuc (Skt. Mahājīvaka) and Khāu Dā La (Skt. Kṣudra or Kaudra) — a Brāhmaṇa, arrived at the same time in Luy Lau, the capital of Giao-Chi, which was then ruled by the Chinese Commandery-Chief of Si-Nhiep [9]. It was here that the two monks met a lay disciple (Skt. *Upāsaka*) from Khmer kingdom, named Tu Dinh who requested them to live in this country. But Venerable Mahājīvaka turned down his request whereas Venerable Kṣudra accepted it and came to stay at his residence where he is said to have practised asceticism and observed fasting for days together to purify his body and soul [10].

From the Chinese source, however, we learn that Mahājīvaka went to Giao-Chau towards the year 924 A.D. and returned to India in about 306 A.D. [11]. Yet another Chinese author, Hui Hao (died 554 A.D.) informs us that this Indian monk came from India to Funan and from there went along the coast and arrived in Giao-Chau and Quāng Chāu or Kuāng Chou (present-day Kuangtung province in South-East China) [12]. Towards the close of the reign-period of Chinese Emperor Hui Ti (290-306 A.D.) of Western Tsin Dynasty (265-317 A.D.) he is said to have arrived at Lac Duong (in modern Honan province of East Central China). Later he returned to India, and since then nothing is known about him [13].

The first Chinese Buddhist preacher to reach Giao-Chi, after the two Indian monks, was Māu Bāc (also known as Māu Tu or Mou Po), a Toist by faith. Towards the end of the reign-period of the Chinese emperor Linh Dē or Ling Ti (168-189 A.D.) there broke out rebellion in China resulting in serious political chaos and crises which compelled Māu Bāc with his mother and many other Chinese scholars and Taoist monks to leave China in 189 A.D. and settle in Giao-Chi, then considered as a safe and peaceful country under king Si-Nhiep. It was here that Māu Bāc studied Buddhist doctrines from the Indian monk, Kṣudra who, after his mother's death, professed Buddhism (194-195 A.D.) along

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8. Cf. *The Histories of Buddha and the Patriarchs: From Phap Van to Co Chau.*
9. Cl. Medrolle, *op. cit.*, p. 292.
10. Trān Vān Giap, in «Cahiers de l'Ecole Française d'Extreme d'Orient, Hanoi», No. 22, 1940, pp. 59-60. Also see BSEI, Nouvelle Serio, Tome XIII, No. 1, Saigon, 1938.
11. Trān Vān Giap, *Phat Giao Viet Nam: Tu Khoi Nguyen Den Thi Ky XIII (Buddhism in Vietnam: From the Origins to the 13th Century A.D.)*, translated from French, *Le Bouddhisme en Annam: Des Origines au XIIIe Siecle*, by Tue Sy, Saigon, 1968, p. 56. Also see *Tu Tuong (The Thoughts)*, Saigon, No. 3, May 1973, p. 146.
12. Hui Hao, *Cao Tang Truven* (Ch. *Kao Seng Ch'uan*) or *Biographies of Eminent Monks* (compiled in 519 A.D.) also see S. Dutt, *Buddhism in East Asia*, New Delhi, 1966, p. 104.
13. Nion Cha'ng, *Phat To Lich Dai Thong Tai* (Ch. *Fo Tsu Li Tai T'ung Tsai*) or *A History of Buddha and the Patriarchs Through the Ages* (compiled). This Chinese writer (Nion Chang) flourished during the Yuan Dynasty (1280-1368 A.D.).

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with many other Chinese. Thus, the two Indian monks — Mahājīvaka and Kṣudra together with the Chinese Buddhist Mou Po (or Māu Bāc) were the first promoters of Buddhism [14] in Vietnam towards the close of the second century A.D.

Mou Po (Māu Bāc) was followed by two other monks namely Khang Tang Hoi (Chinese: K'ang Seng Hui) and Cuong Luong Lau Chi (Skt. Kalyāṇarūci: Chinese Chiang Liang Lou Chih) who propagated Buddhism in Giao-Chi (North Vietnam) during third century A.D. Khang Tang Hoi was born in India in c. 185-200 A.D. and came to Giao-Chi [15] with his father who carried on business in that part of Vietnam. But, when he was only ten, his parents died and he entered monastery and devoted himself to the study and practice of Buddhism. In the course of time he not only mastered the Buddhist doctrines but also specialised in other secular subjects such as literature, administration, divination and astronomy, and subseqeuntly came to be revered as a great Buddhist preacher. He is also credited with having translated several Sanskrit Buddhist works into Chinese, but only the *Satpārmita-Saṁgraha-Sūtra* translated by him is now available.

In 247 A.D. he went to China and propagated Buddhism among the people and converted them to this faith. He was thus the first India-born Vietnamese Buddhist monk who spread Buddhism in China. He died in 280 A.D. [16].

The other monk Cuong Luong Lau Chi or Kalyāṇarūci was of Indo-Scythian origin who had spent several years in Giao-Chau [17]. He is said to have worked there on the first translation into Chinese of the Sanskrit Buddhist text *Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka-Samādhi-Sūtra* in 255-56 A.D. [18].

As noted above, the first Buddhist centre in ancient Vietnam was established at Luy Lau, the then capital (modern Hā Bāc province in North Vietnam) with its famous monastery of Phap Van. Buddhism during this period (2nd-3rd century A.D.) witnessed the predominance of the *Giao Ton* (Skt. *Āgama*, Ch. *Chiao Tsung*) or « the School of Doctrine », also known as *Thien Thai Tong* or « The Lotus School » whose founders were the above mentioned monks — Mou Po (Mau Bac) and Khang Tang Hoi [19].

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14. Trān Vān Giap, *Les Chapitres Bibliographiques de la Qui Den et de Phau Huy Chu*, in BSEI, Nouvelle Series, Tome III, No. 1, Saigon, 1938, pp. 68-70.
15. According to Chou Hsiang Kuang he was born in Giao-Chi (*A History of Chinese Buddhism*, Allahabad, 1955, pp. 28-9).
16. Cf. Truong Xuan Binh, *The History of Vietnamese Culture* (MS), p. 94; E. Chavannes, *Seng Houei...*, in « T'oung Pao », Leiden, vol. IX (1909), pp. 199-212; Chou Hsiang Kuang, *A History of Chinese Buddhism*, Allahabad, 1955, pp. 28-9; S. Dutt, *op. cit.*, p. 104.
17. P. Pelliot, in « T'oung Pao », Leiden, vol. XXIII, 1923, pp. 100, 124; Trān Vān Giap, *op. cit.*, p. 59.
18. P. Pelliot, *op. cit.*, pp. 100, 124; Trān Vān Giap, *op. cit.*, p. 59.
19. Trān Vān Giap, *op. cit.*, p. 59; Truong Xuan Binh, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

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The Early Ly Dynasty (544-602 A.D.) witnessed great Buddhistic activities in North Vietnam with the arrival of the first Indian meditation master — Venerable Ti Ni Da Luu Chi (Skt. Vinītarūci: Ch. Wei Ni To Liu Chih) [20], the most illustrious name in the history of Vietnamese Buddhism. A Brāhmaṇa from South India (according to some, a native of Ujjain in North India) [21], Vinītarūci is said to have travelled widely in Western India to study Buddhism. He then went to Truong An or Chang An (in North Central China) in 574 A.D. but as Buddhism was being persecuted by the Chinese Emperor Vo De or Wu-Ti (561-577 A.D.) of the Bac Chu (Pei Chou) or Northern Chou dynasty (557-581 A.D.) at that time [22], he was forced to proceed southward to the territory of Yeh or Nghiep (in modern Honan province of East Central China) where he met venerable Tang Xan or Seng-Tsan, the third patriarch of Chau (meditation) School of Chinese Buddhism who accepted him as his disciple [23]. After receiving *Dharma* from his patriarch he went to Southern China on the advice of his teacher to avoid persecution. He resided at the Che Chi monastery (in modern Kwang-tung province) where he translated many Sanskrit books relating to Buddhism into Chinese. In 580 A.D. (six years later) he went to north Vietnam (Giao-Chau) where he stayed in Phap Van monastery, noted earlier, and translated the original work *Mahāyāna Vaipulyadharaṇi Sūtra* into Chinese, known as *Tai Fang Kuang Tsung Chip Ching*. After having transmitted his doctrine (*Dharma*) which he had received from his Chinese patriarch to his disciple Venerable Phap Hien, he died in 504 A.D. [24]. Thus, Vinītarūci is traditionally regarded as the founder of the First Zen (Meditation) Sect of Vietnamese Buddhism [25] which was known as *Meditation School of Vinītarūci*. It was transmitted to nineteen generations including thirty-one Zen masters [26], the most eminent among them being Ven. Phap Thuan, Van Hanh, Huo Sinh and Vien Thong [27], all of whom flourished during 7th-12th centuries A.D.

Another great Zen Master belonging to the fourteenth generation of Vinītarūci-Meditation School was Khanh Hy (1066-1142 A.D.) [28] who

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20. Trān Vān Giap, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-3; Chou Hsiang Kuang, *op. cit.*, p. 111; Howard J. Sosis, *Introductory Notes...*, in « Zen Notes », Vol. XIV, Nos. 7-8, July-Aug. 1967, New York, p. 3.

21. Chou Hsiang Kuang, *op. cit.*, p. 111; Truong Xuan Binh, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

22. According to Chou Hsiang Kuang, Vinītarūci came to India in 582 A.D. during the reign-period of the Sui (Tuy) dynasty (581-618 A.D.).

23. For details about this Chinese patriarch see D. T. Suzuki, in « Essays on Zen Buddhism » (First Series), London, 2nd Impression, 1958, pp. 195-201.

24. For details about the Zen Master Phap Hien, see Trān Vān Giap, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

25. *Ibid.*, pp. 45, 102; Truong Xuan Binh, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

26. Trān Vān Giap, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-13, 118.

27. *Ibid.*, also cf. S. Dutt, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

28. For details see Trān Vān Giap, *Les Chapitres Bibliographiques de la Qui Den et de Phau Huy Chu*, in BSEI, Nouvelle Serie, Tome XIII, No. 1, Saigon, 1938, pp. 109 & 117 (Note 26).

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is said to have been the son of a Brāhmaṇa (Sn.-Vn. *Ba La Mon*). He belonged to Co-Giao village (modern Co-Dieu village) in the Thanh Tri sub-prefecture in the Ho-Dong province of North Vietnam. A vegetarian since childhood he was highly respected and greatly admired for his deep knowledge of scriptures both by the king and the commoners. He is credited with having composed the *Collected Poems and Songs on the Awakening of the Truth* (Vn. *Ngo Dao Thi Ca Tap* - volume I) which is popularly known in Vietnam. Unfortunately, only one poem of this popular work is now available in Vietnam[29]. Ha died at the age of 72 in 1142 A.D. The lineage of this Zen Master is quite interesting as it indirectly suggests how deep-rooted the institution of caste-structure had become in Vietnam which was introduced there by the Indian settlers whose historicity in South-East Asia goes as far back as second century A.D., if not earlier.

III

The history of the spread and growth of Buddhism in Vietnam, like many other countries of Asia, has two distinct phases. In the first it was the Indian Buddhist monks who, braving the hazards of long and strenuous journey by land and sea, reached Vietnam and succeeded tremendously in implanting this great religion in that country — a thrilling story of untold adventure, indomitable zeal and courage and unrivalled religious devotion and determination which we have attempted to narrate in brief in the preceding pages. The second phase unfolds the story of the same zeal and devotion on the part of the Vietnamese Buddhist monks who travelled through thick forests, hostile lands and violent seas to reach India to pay homage to the great founder of their religion.

As we have noted earlier, Giao-Chau or Annam (North Vietnam) served as a meeting place of the various Buddhist missions and pilgrims going to and coming from China and India[30]. I-Tsing (Nghia Tinh: 634 A.D.-713 A.D.) informs us that during the reign-period of the Tang, six Vietnamese pilgrims of Annam travelled along with Indian and Chinese pilgrims through South Seas and reached Ceylon and India[31].

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29. Trān Vān Giap, *op. cit.*, p. 60, No. 34.

30. For details see I-Tsing, *Ta Tang Hsi Yu Chiu Fa Kao Seng Chuan* (« Biographies of Eminent Monks of the Tang Dynasty who went in search of Dharma in the Western Country »), in *Taisho Shinshū Daizokyō* (« The Canon of Buddhist writings published in the Taisho Era »), in 100 volumes published in Tokyo, 1924-34 (*Taisho*, Vol. 51, p. 30). Also see Howard J. Sosis, *Introductory Notes on...*, in « Zen Notes », Vol. XIV, Nos. 6, 7-8, July-Aug. 1967, New York, pp. 11-2 (fn. 1, 6 & 20).

31. I-Tsing, *Memoire Compose a l'epoque des Tang sur les religieux eminents qui allerent chercher la loi dans les payas d'occident* (translated from Chinese by Chavannes), Paris, 1894; P. V. Bapat, *Chinese Travellers*, in «2500 Years of Buddhism», 2nd Reprint, 1964, Delhi, pp. 241-43; Chou Hsiang Kuang, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-17.

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A native of Giao-Chau, Ven. Van Ky possessed good knowledge of Sanskrit and travelled widely along with Chinese Meditation Master Dam Khuen. He took higher ordination (*Upasampadā*) with Ven. Tri Hien (Sk. *Jñānabhadra*) at Java (Island of Southern Sumatra in Indonesia). In Giao-Chau he preached Buddhism to the monks as well as the laymen. Later he returned to secular life and resided in That Li Phat Tho or Śrīvijaya (modern Palembang seaport in south-eastern Sumatra of Indonesia). I-Tsing says that Ven. Van Ky was still alive when he visited India and, according to Ven. Thich Mat The, he died at the age of thirty [32]. Beyond this we have no other information about his activities in India.

Zen Master Ven. Dam Nhuan (Ch. Tan Jun), a native of La Yang (modern Honan province of East Central China), had deep knowledge of the Buddhist rules (*Vinaya*) and is said to have spent several months in Giao-Chi. Later he also embarked southwards with the sole intention of coming to India but on reaching Java he fell ill suddenly and died at the age of 30 [33].

Ven. Giai Thoat Thien or Mokṣadeva was a native of Giao-Chau who had travelled extensively by boat in Southern Seas and visited several countries. He then went to India and visited Bodhgaya (Bihar State) and many other holy Buddhist places there. He died at a very early age of 25 [34].

Ven. Khuy Hung, popularly known as Citradeva (Vn. Chat Dat La De Ba) [35], was an inhabitant of Giao-Chau and was the disciple of Chinese Meditation-Master Minh Vien (Ch. Ming Yuan) [36]. This Chinese Zen Master whose Sanskrit name was Cintadeva (Sn. Ven. Chan Da De Ba) had studied and practised Buddhism since his childhood and had deep knowledge of all the Buddhist sacred canons. But, as Buddhism was then scorned and forbidden in China, he felt sad and went to Giao-Chau. From there he travelled to Java, Ceylon, and India where he visited the Mahābodhi temple at Bodhgaya. And, while thus travelling he died but the actual date of his death is not known [37].

Ven. Khuy Hung is said to have been endowed with great intelligence and he possessed thorough knowledge of all the Buddhist texts. He travelled widely with his great teacher (Ven. Minh Vien) by boat in the Southern Seas, then landed at Ceylon and from there came to western and central India where he visited Bodhgaya and worshipped the Bodhi-tree (*Pīpala* tree). Then he proceeded to Rājagṛha (Vuong Xa Thanh) (modern Rajgir in Patna district) where he suddenly fell ill and

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32. TRẦN VĂN GIAP, *op. cit.*, p. 80.
33. TRẦN VĂN GIAP, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-8; « Revue Indochinoise », Hanoi, No. 36, pp. 77-8.
34. « Revue Indochinoise », No. 27, p. 65. Also cf. TRẦN VĂN GIAP, *op. cit.*, p. 81.
35. « Revue Indochinoise », No. 28, pp. 65-6; TRẦN VĂN GIAP, *op. cit.*, p. 81.
36. *Ibid.*, No. 29, p. 66.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 66.

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died at the famous Venuvana (Vn.-Truc Lam) or « Bamboo-grove » at the age of 30 only [38].

Ven. Hue Diem, a native of Giao-Chau was the disciple of the Chinese Meditation-Master Vo-Hanh (Ch. Wu-Hsing). He is also said to have travelled to Ceylon and India with his teacher Vo-Hanh but we do not know any thing about the year of his death. I-Tsing also does not enlighten us on this point [39]. We have, however, some information about Ven. Vo-Hanh whose Sanskrit name was Prajñādeva (Vn. Bat Nha De Ba). He came from the province of Kinh-Chau or Ching Chou (modern Ho Bac province of north-eastern China). After having extensively travelled in China, he is reported to have retired to a deep cave to devote himself to reciting the *Saddharma Puṇḍarīka Sūtra* or « *The Lotus Scripture* ». Then he went to Giao-Chau and after having stayed there for a year went to the kingdom of Śrīvijaya (now Palembang in Indonesia). Later he went to India and met I-Tsing at the great university of Nālandā and from there both of them proceeded to the East. At that time he was about 50 years old and died at the age of 56 [40].

The fifth Vietnamese monk who is said to have visited India was Ven. Tri Hanh, who also bore the Sanskrit name of Prajñādeva, like the Chinese Meditation-Master Vo-Hanh. He was an inhabitant of Chau Ai (modern Thanh Hoa province of north-central Vietnam). He reached Central India after crossing the sea and visited many holy Buddhist places. After that he is said to have come to stay at a monastery named Tin Gia in the north of the Gaṅgā where he passed away at the age of 50. Unfortunately however we are not in a position to identify the actual location of this monastery nor can we determine the Indian variant of its Vietnamese name in the present state of our knowledge.

The last Vietnamese monk to have visited India was the Meditation-Master Dai Thang Dang whose Sanskrit name was *Mahāyāna-Pradīpa* (Vn. *Ma Ha Gia Na Bat Diape Ba*) [41]. He was originally an inhabitant of Chau Ai, and became a Buddhist monk at Dvāravatī (Dvārakā in Gujrat, India) [42]. He came to the Chinese capital Truong An or Chang An (in present-day north-central China) in the company of Diem Tu, a Chinese envoy, where he received higher ordination (*Upasampatti*) from the great Master Hiuen Tsang or Yuang Chwang at the Tu An monastery. He had studied almost all the Buddhist texts during his stay at China [43].

After some time he returned to Giao-Chau, and then crossed the Southern Sea and reached Ceylon. From this place he proceeded to

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38. *Ibid.*, p. 66.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 66.
40. *Ibid.*, No. 52, pp. 138-57; Trān Vān Giap, *op. cit.*, p. 77.
41. « Revue Indochinoise », No. 32, pp. 68-73; Trān Vān Giap, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-4.
42. For the identification of Dvāravatī, see N. L. Dey, *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India*, 3rd Edn. 1971, Delhi, p. 58.
43. For details, see Chou Hsiang Kuang, *op. cit.*, p. 116; P. V. Bapat, in « 2500 Years of Buddhism », pp. 231-41.

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Southern and Eastern India and stayed at Tāmralipti (modern Tamluk in Midnapore district, West Bengal) for twelve years where he studied Sanskrit and mastered it fully. Moreover it was here that he translated several Sanskrit Buddhist works including the *Nidāna Śāstra* (Ch. *Yuan-Shang Lun*; Vn. *Duyen Sinh Luan*) or *The Treaties of Primary Cause* into Chinese. He met I-Tsing later and accompanied him to Central India. They first visited the Nālandā monastery at Nālandā (Patna district), the *Vajrāsana* (or the Mahābodhi monastery) at Bodhgaya (Gaya district), and proceeded to Pho Xa Li or Vaiśālī (now a district in Bihar), the most ancient seat of republic in India, graced on many occasions by Lord Buddha. He then went to Cau Thi Na Quec or Kuśīnagara (modern Kāsiā in Gorakhpur district of Uttara Pradesh) and visited almost all the holy Buddhist places in India along with the Chinese Meditation-Master Vo Nanh or Wu-Hsing. It was at the monastery of Parinirvāṇa (Vn. Bat Niet Ban) in Kuśīnagara that he passed away at the age of 60 [44].

From the above survey it would appear that during this period there were many eminent Buddhist Vietnamese monks who are known to us through the poems which were addressed to them by the brilliant poets of the Tang [45]. These monks mostly travelled to India to visit the Buddhist holy places and greatly contributed not only to the development of Buddhism in Annam (i.e. North Vietnam) but also to the propagation of the doctrine abroad. Some of them were so reputed as to be invited by the Chinese Emperors to come to China to expound Buddhist scriptures in the T'ang Imperial palace.

IV

The impact of Buddhism in Vietnam was so great that it influenced almost all the walks of Vietnamese life. Even the Vietnamese music was not inmune from this all pervading influence. We have an interesting account in Vietnamese annals as to how an Indian Buddhist monk along with a hundred Cham royal dancers and musicians was brought to Vietnam as war-prisoners by emperor Le Dei Hanh after the defeat of Champā. Cham music during this period was very much influenced by Indian music, and for this the Indian Buddhist monks who had come to Champā to spread their religion were solely responsible [46]. This was the period (10th cent. A.D.) when the Vietnamese music and dance are said to have taken a concrete shape.

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44. Also cf. G. Coedes, *The Indianised States of South-East Asia* (Trans. Susan Brown Couring), Honululu, 1968, p. 29.

45. Truong Xuan Binh, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

46. Albert Lavignac, *Encyclopedia de la musique*, p. 3112; Claude Marcel Dubois, *Le Instruments de Musique de l'Inde Ancienne* (The Musical Instruments of Ancient India), Paris, 1941, pp. 89, 205.

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It is interesting to note that of the eight musical instruments used by the Vietnamese musicians in the official and religious ceremonies, atleast six are of Indian origin: for instance, the *Ovoid*, Lute or Ty Ba (Sino-Vn) or *P'ip'a* (Chinese) or *Biwa* (Japanese) — a four-string pear-shaped lute (*Vīṇā*) used in the Bombay region in the 7th century A.D.[47]; the Ho Cam, the three-stringed lute[48]; the Ong Sao, the traverse flute[49]; the Ong Tieu or Siao, the straight flute[50]; the Prāch (Vn) or the P'o (Chinese), the wooden costanets, resembling the one which we come across between the hands of an Indian musician on a painting in a cave at Bagh[51] in Madhya Pradesh; and the *Sand-Class Shaped Drum* resembling the Indian *ḍamarū*.

Most of these instruments were carried first to China or Java and then to Vietnam by the visiting Indian monks and laymen and they are popular even now in those countries. Of the many factors leading to the intercourse between these two countries the most effective was music which easily won the hearts of the people and established close rapport between the two distant cultures.

Moreover, the two countries which contributed most to the propagation and spread of Buddhism in Vietnam were China and India. A close study of Buddhism in Vietnam would unmistakably point to its two distinct forms — (i) The Religion of the North and (ii) the Religion of the South[52]. The Chinese provenance can be explained by the fact that the two countries had close political and cultural contacts for a thousand years through migrations of Chinese Buddhists into North Vietnam in early christian centuries and also the easy access from China to the Red River Valley which constituted the original Vietnamese Colony[53]. But, India being far off, there were few contacts between the two countries. It has been rightly pointed out that « Early Vietnamese contacts with India were in part commercial and in part religious because of Buddhist pilgrims' journeys in both directions. Sea-borne missions from India stopped in Vietnam enroute to China proper, and Vietnamese pilgrims subsequently obtained copies of the sacred Buddhist texts from cultural centres in South Sumatra. But, for various reasons Chinese culture took precedence over Indian in Vietnam »[54].

Under the Ly kings, Hanoi, besides becoming the capital of Vietnam, rose to be an important Buddhist centre, and near it was a seaport for voyages from India and back which was used by the Buddhist

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47. Truong Xuan Binh, *op. cit.*, p. 169.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 170.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 170.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 170.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 171.
52. *Ibid.*, p. 171.
53. S. Dutt, *op. cit.*, p. 110.
54. John F. Cady, *South-East Asia: Its Historical Development*, New York, 1964, p. 17.

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monks from India on the sea-way to China during T'ang-Sung dynasties of China. At some places in Vietnam there were probably small Indian settlements of mercantile origin [55]. It is true, in the history of Vietnamese Buddhism no Indian names stand out except Mahājīvaka, Kalyāṇaśrī (Kolyāṇarūci) and Vinītarūci [56], but it is also equally true that Indian influence is traceable in the art, culture and religion of its people. And, « thanks to Chinese monks, and especially to Indian monks, Buddhism has gradually spread over the country—yet, with no organisation ». Though eighty percent of the people in Vietnam are Buddhist, the *Saṁgha* (monk fraternity) is not as organised as in other parts of South-East Asia.

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ABBREVIATIONS

BEFEO Bulletin de L'Ecole Française d'Extréme-Orient.
BSEI Bulletin de La Société des Études Indochinoises.

55. S. Dutt, *op. cit.*, p. 110.
56. *Ibid.*, p. 110.

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J. TILAKASIRI

THE IMAGES OF WIT AND HUMOUR IN KĀLIDĀSA'S AND ŚŪDRAKA'S DRAMAS

The imagery of the epics, lyrics and verse portions of the dramas of Kālidāsa generally draws upon the traditional poetical symbolism of Sanskrit *kāvya* but structured and transmuted into a form endowed with characteristics which could be justifiably called « classical ». In contrast the images of dramatic prose, which is mainly the medium of expression of the Vidūṣaka and of characters of inferior rank speaking Prakrit, reflect not only differences in social strata but convey also a distinction in the actual tone and substance based on the distinction in speech. We may refer to this form of imagery as « popular » to distinguish it from the sophisticated form of poetic imagery referred to above and also to identify it from the point of view of its source. This imagery is full of wit and humour and what marks it off from the serious is its spontaneous expressiveness with no deliberate attempt at artistic effect. The present Paper will examine the nature and characteristic features of the « popular » imagery of Kālidāsa's dramas and also take up for discussion the relevant aspects of imagery in Śūdraka's drama, *Mṛcchakaṭika*, for purposes of comparison.

The Vīdūṣaka who enlivens the drama with his piquant humour and quickens its movement to the denoument is the mainspring of the imagery we propose to analyse now. The metaphors and similes he uses are accordingly tinged with irony and sarcasm. Spread all over the drama are many of the Vidūṣaka's food images, typically reflecting his greediness and gluttony. His fondness for sugar makes him compare the moon to a lump of sugar, chopped off.

> *Hī hī bho khaṇḍamodaasassirio udido rāā duādinam* (*Vikromarviśīya*, Act III).

A wider connotation of meaning accompanies the expression describing Mālavikā as she appears to the king's view, the statement effectively uttered in such a way that it is not meant to be heard fully by the

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king, who is madly in love with her. The simile is based on the customary practice of eating granulated sugar as an antidote against intoxication.

Hī hī iaṃ khu sīhupāṇuvvejidassa macchaṇḍiā uvaṇadā (*Mālavikāgnimitra*, III).

Or the Vidūṣaka describes his restlessness and unbearable pangs of hunger in terms of an oven (*Mlv.* II). Kālidāsa takes the opportunity of the Vidūṣaka's garrulousness to ridicule, bitingly, the gormandising brahmin with a seemingly innocent simile.

Hī hī bho nimantaṇīo paramannena via rāarahassena phuṭṭamāno na sakkuṇomi ainne attano jīham rakkhiduṃ (*Vik.* II).

His humour is as sparkling as his acquaintantance with varied tastes of foods. He derisively draws a parallel between the king's preference of Śakuntalā to the harem ladies and the desire for tamarind when one is satiated with dates (*Śak.* II).

As the companion of the king in his romantic adventures he provokes the audience to bursts of lughter harping on the king's maddening passion much to his patron's embarassment. In several situations he imagines himself as a physician ministering to the king in his disease.

Bho ahallakāmuassa mahindassa vejjo uvvasīpajjucchassa bhavado ahaṃvi duve ettha ummattaā (*Vik.* II).

Elsewhere the Vidūṣaka who has been at his wit's end arranging the presentation of Mālavikā to the king, notices distressingly that he has to perform the unenviable task of a go-between bringing together the king and his lady love in the manner of a physician coming to a patient with medicine, himself (*Mlv.* II).

Images expressive of the acts of plundering, theiving and grabbing are very well chosen to portray the behaviour of the king caught making love to his mistress. The Vidūṣaka comes out with an illustration from the robber's vocabulary to describe the king caught red-handed professing his love to Mālavikā.

Padijāahi dāṇiṃ kiṃpi. Kammagahidena kumbhīlaena samdhicchede sikkhiommitti vattavvaṃ hodi (*Mlv.* III).

The love-letter from Urvaśī drops from the Vidūṣaka's hand and as ill-luck would have it, it reaches the queen who presents it to the doting king. The Vidūṣaka cannot explain the awkward corner they are in except by presenting the king as a robber seized with the booty (*Vik.* II). The king, timid and hesitant, though deeply enamoured of Mālavikā is likened to a bird hovering round a slaughter house, yet afraid to grab the meat.

... Bhavaṃ vi sūṇoparicaro vihaṅgamo via āmisaloluo bhīruo a (*Mlv.* II).

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Mālavikā appears with the dancing tutor for the performance before all including the queen. As the king ogles at her the Vidūṣaka whispers into his ear and cautions him to collect the honey unnoticed by the guardian bee (the queen).

Bho uvvaṭṭidam naaṇamadhu saṃṇihidamakkhiaṃ a (*Mlv.* II).

Act VI of the *Śakuntalā* begins with the racy and pithy exchange of words between the fisherman and the king's officers leading to the discovery of the ring. On being exculpated by the king's decree, the fisherman is full of wit and repartee in his pungent counter-attacks on the officers. The dialogue is an example of sustained irony and sarcasm conducive to imagery at the popular level. A characteristic feature of such imagery is its decidedly gnomic touch. Thus when the alleged thief (the fisherman) is found innocent the policeman ironically refers to the fellow's escape from death.

Eśe jamaśadanam paviśia paḍiṇivutte (*Śak.* VI).

The fisherman does not fail to retort squarely.

Eśe ṇāma anuggahe je śūlādo avadālia hatthikkhandhe paḍiṭṭhābide (*Ibid.* VI).

These expressions in their terseness remind us of the maxims and epigrammatic statements occuring in the verse portions of the *Pañcatantra* as well as in the verses of the *niti* genre. Presumably the above common characteristics shared by these literary forms denote the source from which the language, idiom and folk nature springs — the common folk.

The brevity of the statements is marked. The well-known adage that trouble comes not single is transformed in the Vidusaka's jargon into

Tado gaṇḍassa uvari piṇḍiā saṃvuttā (*Śak.* II).

When the nun is asked to adjudicate in the musical contest between the tutors she expresses her inability tauntingly, in a rustic idiom,

Paṭṭane vidyamāne'pi grāme ratnaparīkṣā (*Mlv.* I).

By the Vidūṣaka's ruse Mālavikā escapes captivity but only to walk into another trap, a situation which reminds the Vidūṣaka of the proverb,

Aho aṇatthe saṃpaḍide. Bandhabhaṭṭo gihakavodo cillāe muhe paḍide
(Oh the calamity that has befallen! The house-pigeon escaped from the prison has fallen into the mouth of a kite) (*Mlv.* IV).

A similar bird image describes Mālavikā's victimisation by the queen-a rejoinder to the king who inquires after her welfare.

(Rājā-*Ko vṛttāntas tatrabhavatyās śakhyāḥ*)
Vidūṣaka-*Jo bidālagahīdāe parahudiāe* (*Mlv.* IV).
(The same as that of a cuekoo caught by a cat)

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The queen is constrained to allow the love-affair between the king and Urvasi to proceed. The Vidūṣaka draws the moral from the event in his characteristic lighter vain, thus

Chinnahattho macche phalāide ṇivviṇṇo dhīvaro bhaṇādi dhammo me havissaditti (*Vik.* III).

As it is almost always the behaviour of the king in his relationship with the heroine that is the subject of comment by his companion, the Vidūṣaka, who in turn reveals his rustic and jovial character with his coarse wit, a short dialogue between the two of them may be reproduced to indicate their many-sided relationship.

Sore of limb and exhausted after following the king at the chase, the Vidūṣaka remains supporting himself on the staff when the king asks him why he is in a sttae of collapse. In this despondent mood he cannot help but illustrate his helplessness and servility with two explanatory maxims.

Rājā-*Kut'yam gātropaghatah.*
Vidūṣaka-*Kudo kila saaṃ acchiam aulīkaria assukāraṇaṃ pucchasi.*
Rājā-*Na khalv avagacchāmi.*
Vidūṣaka-*Bho vaassa jaṃ vedaso khujjalīlam viḍambedi taṃ kiṃ attano pahāveṇa. naṃ ṇaīveassa* (*Śāk.* II).
(Well, my friend, when the reed imitates the character of the kubja plant, is it by its own act or by the force of the stream?)

The Vidūṣaka, appearing in the *Mṛcchakaṭika* does not possess all the characteristics with which he is commonly invested in Sanskrit drama. Śūdraka has elevated him into the position of a true companion of the hero, Cārudatta, and he therefore differs from Kālidāsa's type as he is more disciplined, restrained and devoid of greediness and idiotic ways. But Śūdraka's Vidūṣaka is not second to Kālidāsa's sometimes especially when he rattles off similes in a mood of disgust. Commenting acidly on Vasantasenā's indifference towards him in the matter of offering food, he quotes maxims or rather a chain of similes-

Akandasamutthitā paumiṇī avañcao vāṇio acoro suvaṇṇaāro akalaho gāmasmāgamo aluddhā gaṇiā tti dukkaram ede sambhāvianti (*Mṛcch.* V).
(A lotus-plant that grows without a root, a tradesman that does not cheat, a goldsmith that does not steal, a village-meeting that is without a quarrel and a courtesan that is not avaricious-these are hard to be found.

Here, too, the gnomic touch is evident.

His sagely advice to Carudatta in humorous vein —
Gaṇiā ṇāma pāduantarappaviṭṭā via letṭṭuā dukkhena uṇa ṇirākarīadi (*Ibid.* V).
(A courtesan is just like a pebble got inside a shoe that is got rid of afterwards with great difficulty)

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and his ridiculing of the courtesan as a nuisance to society (*Ibid.* V) carry the same overtones recalling the didactic trends of *nīti* versification.

The Śakāra, the villain of the drama, his friend, the Viṭa, and his servant, the Cheṭa, are portrayed as ignoble characters and their low ways of behaviour are brought out in their witticisms and figurative expressions. They always use metaphors and similes to illustrate a point and particularly to express their love or hate of Vasantasenā. The imagery is sometimes more colourful and varied than Kālidāsa's in such instances where Śūdraka adopts various devices, putting into the mouths of the different characters differing modes of figurative language. The the Vidūṣaka into the background and take on the role of a fool and villain combined. His talk and behaviour provides the main element of humour in the play. He provokes laughter with his idiosyncrasies, his style of speaking (which earns for him the sobriquet *śa-kāra*), his peculiar similes and metaphors and distorted mythological allusions. In the scene where he appears for the first time, pursuing Vasantasenā with the Viṭa and the Cheṭa, he is in his true element trying various methods of enticing her, using all manner of verbal approximations and figurative epithets. Śūdraka purposely employs such figures of speech to reveal the absurdly comical nature of the man who accosts Vasantaseṇa thus.

Eṣā ṇāṇākamūṣikāmakaśikā macchāśikā lāśikā
Ṇiṇṇāsā kulaṇāśikā avaśikā kāmasya mañjūśikā
Eśā veśavahū śuveśanilaā veśaṅganā veśiā

Eśe śe dasa ṇāmake mai kale ajjāvi maṃ ṇecchadi (I, v. 23).

The Viṭa, himself, a character of despicable habits, ridicules the Śakāra and while commenting on the latter's misunderstanding of Vasantasenā's attitude towards his friend, expresses in homilies — characteristic of the author's style — cyinical observations on the class concept thus giving hopes to the Śakāra of winning her (v. 32).

Śūdraka's examples of the imagery of wit and humour which he introduces into both the Prakrit and the Sanskrit dialogues of the characters attempts to combine as if it were the classical and the popular modes of figurative description which Kālidāsa appears to have kept apart to invest his characters with their own individuality and separate identity. In Kālidāsa as well as in Śūdraka, the Vidūṣaka, Śakāra and the minor characters share the same outlook on life and to a great extent suggest the strong secular connexions of the Sanskrit drama. Śūdraka however seems to have succeeded in drawing upon a large variety of characters in whom he reflects their sense of humour leavened with a degree of cynism rarely found in Sanskrit literature.

Śūdraka's imagery has a marked didactic ring in the lofty and heart-searching sentiments of Cārudatta speaking in Sanskrit as well as in the cynical and comic utterances of the Viṭa using Prakrit to flatter

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and sometimes ridicule the Śakāra. In the lines below the Viṭa makes a bitter, cynical comment on the darkness and its associations of evil, drawing out a moral from it quite elegantly

Limpativa tamo'ṅgāni varṣatīvāñjanaṃ nabhaḥ
Asatpuruṣaseveva dṛṣṭir viphalatāṃ gatā (I, v. 34).

Another trait of Śūdraka's method of evoking humour comes from the blundering and distortion of mythology attributed to the minor characters who are apparently not versed in the ancient lore or cite from it wrongly to further their own ends (Act I, v. 25, v. 29). Sometimes the interlocutors in a dialogue challenge each other wittily referring to the powers of the gods in certain myths (as in the scene where the gamblers quarrel with each other in Act II).

Śūdraka's ability to write in a witty manner and let the humour flow from it is evident from the beginning of the drama where the Śūtradhāra with his introductory remarks laments his lot having been forced to practice at the musical concert without refreshment in much the same way as Kālidāsa's Vidūṣaka expresses his irritation with the king who was spending long hours with Śakuntalā. Some of the characteristic features of Śūdraka's imagery are shown in the above passage among which are the skilful blending of the imagery with the mode of expression and the use of comparisons of an unusual nature.

Cirasaṃgītopāsanena grīṣmasamaye pracaṇḍadinakarakiraṇocchuṣka-puṣkarabīja miva pracalitatārake kṣudhā mamāksiṇī khaṭakhaṭāyate.

In the above lines the Sūtradhāra compares his eyes under severe strain and affected by the pangs of hunger to shrivelled lotus seeds, exposed to the fierce heat of the sun. He continues to describe his predicament further using the same image in yet another way referring to his drooping limbs as resembling « parched stalks of lotuses » (*Cirasamgitopāsanena suṣkapuṣkaranālāṇīva bubhukṣayā mlānanyaṅgāni*).

In this monologue of the *Mṛcchakaṭika* he proceeds to describe the hullabaloo in the house, capturing the confusion and disorder prevailing with unconventional similes, refreshingly humorous. The scars and streaks caused by pots and pans being dragged on the floor bring to the author's mind the features of a charming woman with a multi-coloured *tilaka* mark on her forehead. When the Sūtradhāra later calls the Naṭī (his mistress) and continues to converse the humour of the situation is elegantly maintained.

Even if one concedes that humour is an element badly neglected in Sanskrit drama yet the above instances of elegant and meaningful humour reflected in the imagery of the plays of Kālidāsa and Śūdraka show that humour (the *hāsya rasa* of the theorists) occupies its rightful place in the drama and that two of the leading dramatists in Sanskrit literature have successfully used it to depict differences in character and social

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values as well. In this respect it is also significant that the ability to handle not only the Sanskrit language but the Prakrit dialects and use the idioms and nuances of expression for dramtic purposes appears to be a great asset in the hands of these two dramatists. The inter-mixing of idioms and images in the classical and popular languages also underlines the fact that despite the attempts of grammarians who strove to keep Sanskrit pure and grammatically rigid both the classical language and its literature came to be enriched by contact with the living idiom of popular speech. The images of wit and humour amply illustrate this feature.

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P. M. UPADHYE

URVAŚĪ'S CHARACTER — A NEW APPROACH OF STUDY

The name of a celestial damsel viz. Urvaśī is very famous as the symbol of feminine beauty in the Sanskrit literature beginning from the age of the *Ṛgveda* to the days of Kālidāsa. Her name is associated with the *Ṛgveda*, *Brāhmaṇa*, classical Sanskrit and even *Purāṇa* Literature[1]. It appears that perhaps no other female name except that of Urvaśī has occurred in such a long period of about three thousand years in the history of Sanskrit literature. From the Vedic literature to the classical Sanskrit literature, Urvaśī is represented by all without exception as a beauty-par-excellence, a symbol of beauty that attracts a king and a sage alike and as such her name is derived as that one who pervades a male in sex-enjoyment[2] etc. She is also described as a proud woman, conscious of her beauty, self willed and even hard hearted.

Her character is varied in nature and there seems to be the three different aspects and interpretations of her character viz. Vedic, Classical and modern interpretations from sociologistic view to mystical view of Aurobindo. An attempt is made here in brief to study such views in order to understand the character of Urvaśī from different angles. In a way this is a new approach of study to read her character.

Let us begin with the Vedic age. There is a well known hymn in the *Ṛgveda*[3] in which we come across a dialogue between Purūravas and Urvaśī. The contents of the dialogue reveal Urvaśī's character. She was a beauty-paragon to whom Purūravas had solicited her love again and again, she laid down certain conditions for accepting his

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1. *Ṛgveda saṁhitā*, IV, 2, 18; V, 41, 19; VII, 33, 11; X, 95; *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XI, 5, 1, Kālidāsa's *Vikramorvaśīyam*, *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, IX, 14, etc.
2. *Nirukta*, *Naigama Kāṇḍa*, 47 with Durga's Commentary, Venkateshvara press, Śake, 1847, pp. 395-804, 816.
3. *Ṛgveda*, X, 95, 1, 18.

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love but she also said that there was no friendship with women folk, their hearts were the hearts of wolves[4]. Here she is represented as a selfwilled but a very cruel lady.

This dialogue-hymn seems to contain all the later legends on Urvaśī and Purūravas. Dr. A. B. Keith, Prof. Max-Muller and Dr. Geldner have given their own interpretations on this hymn[5] regarding the purpose of the story, etc. We may not go into the details of their views but we will adhere ourselves to the interpretation of the word Urvaśī. Prof. Max-Muller finds the sun-dawn myth in the story to which Dr. A. B. Keith does not agree. According to Prof. Max-Muller, Urvaśī loves Purūravas — means the sun-rise, she sees him naked — means the dawn disappears, Urvaśī finding out her lover again means the sun-set. To Prof. Geldner the whole story was just one more of many *Itihāsa-purāṇas*. According to Dr. D. D. Kosambi, the primary reason for the survival of the hymn is its liturgical function[6]. He further says that the dialogue of Urvaśī and Purūravas is likewise meant to be a part of a ritual act performed by the two characters representing the principals and is thus a substitute for an earlier actual sacrifice of the male[7]. The story of Urvaśī also occurs in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[8], and it is a running commentary on the Ṛgvedic hymn referred to above. This story tells us that Purūravas performed fire sacrifice with the upper āraṇi and lower āraṇi of Aśvattha and he became one of the Gandharvas. In the story Purūravas addresses Urvaśī as «ghore» meaning terrible one or hard hearted. This aspect of her character in the Vedic age is to be borne in mind.

As said earlier there is a sun-myth in the legend. Urvaśī herself says that she has passed over like the first of the dawns[9]. This indicates that Urvaśī attained the status of Uṣas. Shri. B. G. Tilak says that Saramā, crossing the waters to find out the cows stolen by Paṇis is similarly the dawn bringing with her the rays of the morning and when Urvaśī says that she is gone away and Purūravas calls himself Vaśiṣṭha or the brightest, it is the same dawn flying away from the embrace of the rising-sun[10]. We also come across the Urvaśīs in the plural form in the *Ṛgveda*[11], after the mention of Uṣas with the seven seers. According to Dr. Kosambi, in this reference the Urvaśīs must be the multiple Uṣas[12]. This refers to the nymphs or water-born — fairy women or *apsaras*. In this context Dr. Kosambi sees fainter traces of a different

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4. *Ṛgveda*, X, 95, 15.
5. Vide (a) A. B. Keith, *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upaniṣads*, Harvard Oriental Series, vol. 31-32, p. 183. (b) Max Müller, *Chips from a German workshop*, vol. II, pp. 117-30. (c) K. F. Geldner, *Vedische-Studien*, vol. I, pp. 243-95.
6. D. D. Kosambi, *Myth & Reality*, Popular Prakasan, 1962, p. 53.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 55.
8. *Ś. Brā*, XI, 5, 1.
9. *Ṛgveda*, X, 95, 2.
10. B. G. Tilak, *Arctic Home in the Vedas*, 1956, pp. 223-24.
11. *Ṛgveda*, IV, 2, 18.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 65.

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type of hetaerism which seems related to survival of group marriage [13] and in conclusion as a sociologist, he says that the Urvaśīs faded away but they are responsible nevertheless for the Goddesses of the later pantheon that are married peacefully to the major gods, their living representatives developed what became — with the rise of a trading society and a cash economy before the Mauryan period — commercialised prostitution [14].

This brief survey of Urvaśīś character in the Vedic age reveals the following aspects, (*a*) a cruel hard hearted lady (*b*) the Uṣas type character (*c*) a very bold, proud beautiful nymph willing to sacrifice her lover (*d*) a type of a refined gifted prostitute.

Let us go to the etymology of the word of Urvaśī as a nymph before we examine her character in classical literature. The following are the various explanations of the word Urvaśī. The *Nirukta* [15] says as follow: « Urvaśī is the name of the waternymph, etymologically it means — that one who pervades excessively, largely, widely, or that one who pervades a great fame or that one who pervades a male in sex-act or one whose *kāma* is great, is very powerful, one who has subdued passions ». The *Bṛahaddevatā* takes the speech goddess Vāc as equated to Durgā, Saramā, Urvaśī and Yamī in the middle sphere [16], and to Uṣas [17] and Urvaśī is derived as 'Uruvāsinī [18]. The *Śabdakalpadruma* simply says that Urvaśī is the famous named divine prostitute [19]. It is also said therein that she is born of the thigh of Nārāyaṇa and so she is named Urvaśī. Moreover she is « apsaras » because she is the mistress of the middle region who carries off waters from the clouds and flashes herself [20]. She is also a water-nymph because she always moves in waters, being born of waters, waters are dearer to her and so a water-nymph, she is endowed with beauty, she has a special form and beauty among all women [21]. A great scholar Rāhula Sāṅkrityāyana gives a very interesting etymology. According to him Urvaśī means one who sits in the heart or who has occupied the heart (of course of a lover) and « apsaras » means one who swims in waters [22]. It is needless to point out that this derivation is akin to earlier ones explained above.

These etymological meanings clearly bring out Urvaśī's character viz. (1) She is the beauty symbol (2) She has the attractive capacity and she can seduce any male (3) She is born of waters (4) She is looked upon as a divine prostitute. All these explainatioins about her

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13. *Ibid.*, p. 66.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 81.
15. *Nirukta, Naigama Kāṇḍa*, 47.
16. *Bṛhaddevatā*, II, 77.
17. *Bṛhaddevatā*, II, 79-80.
18. *Ibid.*, II, 5-9.
19. « *Svanāma-khyāta-svargaveśyā* ».
20. See *Nirukta* with Durga's Commentary, Venkateśvara Press, Sake 1847, p. 805.
21. *Ibid.*, pp. 395-97.
22. R. SĀNKRITYĀYANA, *Volga te Gangā* (Marathi edition), 1977, p. 142.

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character are definitely based on her character as found in the Vedic as well as classical literature.

Let us take into account Urvaśī's character in classical literature. Urvaśī has been immortalised by Kālidāsa in his famous drama *Vikramorvaśīya*. She is represented therein as a divine lady born of the lap of the sage Nārāyana, the very tender weapon of lord Indra always jealous of uncommon austerities, a lady who has thrown into background Lakṣmī proud of her beauty and who is the ornament of heaven [23]. According to King Purūravas her physical form is the ornament of ornaments, the excellent decoration of all decorations and a pattern even for the standard of comparison [24]. She is the centrifugal force of the drama. Purūravas belongs to somavaṁśa — moon's race, the moon-planet is the planet of mind and it is no wonder that King's mind hankers after beauty of Urvaśī and this is the natural effect of mind. Her character in the drama is viewed differently by different scholars. According to Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Urvaśīs's character is some what removed from normal life, she has the power to watch her lover unseen and overheard his conversations, she is lacking maternal affection for she abandons her child rather than lose her husband, her love is selfish and her transformation is the direct outcome of a fit of insane jealousy [25]. According to Prof. H. D. Velankar [26], throughout the drama she remains an unmarried consort of the king, which is quite in keeping with her position at the court of Indra, throughout the drama Urvaṣī behaves like a sincere woman deeply in love with her lover, leaving aside her superiority complex which is so obvious in the Vedic Version of the story. Details of the story in the drama are not given here for the simple reason that they are quite well known and popular. Whatever may be the criticism, Kālidāsa has faithfully portrayed her picture in his Kālidāsian touch, he has changed the entire character of Urvaśī of the Vedic age with the introduction of the curse of Bharata, in order to represent her as a true beloved with her frank and charming womanliness. In Kālidāsa no reference is made about her conditions to stay with Purūravas or her request to her lover to become a Gandharva, she is glorified, she is a sincere beloved like a mortal woman on the earth but at the same time very proud of her beauty and jealous. This seems to be not the only intention of Kālidāsa to paint her. His intention may be imagined to portray sensuous but imaginative Purūravas who is in love with divine beauty. This is not found in character of Purūravas and Urvaṣī in the Vedic literature. In a way this is an improvement in their characterisation.

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23. Kālidāsa, *Vikramorvaśīya*, Act-I.
24. *Id.*, Act-II-3.
25. Prof. H. D. Velankar, *Sāhitya Akādemi's Vikramorvaśīya of Kāldāsa*, 1961, Dh. Radhakrishnan's General Introduction, p. XXV.
26. *Ibid.*, Editor's Introduction, pp. XXXXIV-XXXXV.

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Apart from this drama of Kālidāsa, it can be said that other references to Urvaśī in *Purāṇas* and other literature are quite negligible and they require no serious study, since the nature of hers remains practically the same. However we may refer to some important points in that connection.

The *Matsya* and *Padma Purāṇas* speak of the curse and her sincere love for the hero [27], other *Purāṇas* like *Devī-Bhāgavata, Bhāgavata, Agnipurāṇa* etc. give a different version of her story with a favourite motif of a curse in the part of the story. But the main aspects of Urvaśī's character viz. her beauty, pride etc. remain more or less the same. The story of Urvaśī is also found in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* [28] of Somadeva.

In the Mahabharata we find that Bhīṣma says of Urvaśī as one of the purest nymphs [29], and he prays for protection. Urvaśītīrtha as a sacred place is also mentioned [30]. She is also mentioned in the Mahābhārata [31] in the context of Arjuna to whom she approaches under the influence of passion but when her love is rejected she curses Arjuna to become impotent. In the Jain Rāmāyaṇa of Vimalasūri, it is mentioned that Urvaśī was one of the nymphs and she was one of the wives of Rāvaṇa [32]. Raviṣeṇa's Padmacarita also speaks of her as one of the beloveds of Rāvaṇa [33].

Curious as it is, the Bhāgavata Purāṇa says that one who desires a woman should perform worship in honour of Urvaśī, in other words one desirous of a wife should take « vow of Urvasi » [34].

It is a well know story that Urvaśī is born of the thigh of Nārāyaṇa [35]. Nārayaṇa is normally identified with Viṣṇu who is originally a sun-deity to whom the firmament of the sky becomes his region. It is said in Kālidāsa [36] that Urvaśī is flying into the Sky — the middle region of her father as representing through the second stride of Vāmana as well through the progress of the sky, her father thus becomes identified with Viṣṇu whose middle region is represented through the second step of his incarnation-form Vāmana. This also can explain her association with Viṣṇu who is originally a sun-deity.

Now let us take into account the views of Aurobindo in the context of Urvaśī's character [37]. According to Rabindronath Tagore, Urvaśī of the myth is the spirit of imaginative beauty in the Universe, the un

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27. *Padma Purāṇa, Sṛṣṭikhāṇḍa*, 12, 62-86. *Matsya Purāṇa*, 24, 10, 32. *Agni Purāṇa*, 275, 12-14; *Bhāgavata*, IX, 14, 47, etc.
28. *Kathāsaritsāgara*, III, 4, 30.
29. *Mahābhārata*, Anuśāsanaparva, 165, 15.
30. *Mahābhārata*, Vanaparva, 84, 57.
31. *Mahābhārata*, Vanaparva, 45, 46.
32. VIMALASŪRI'S, *Paumacariya*, 74, 8.
33. *Padmacarita*, 77, 12.
34. *Bhāgavata*, 2, III, 6.
35. *Vikra.*, Act I, 3, and *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, 11, 4.
36. *Vikra*, I, 18.
37. ŚRĪ AUROBINDO, *Kālidāsa*, 2nd series, 1954, pp. 43-85.

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attainable ideal for which the soul of man is eternally panting, the goddess adored of the nympholept in all lands and in all ages. There is but one who can attain her, the man whose mind has become one mass of poetry and idealism and has made life itself identical with poetry, whose glorious and starlike career has itself been a conscious epic and whose soul holds friendship and close converse with the gods. This is Purūravas, the noise of whom has gone far and wide, whose mother was Ilā divine aspiration, the strange daughter of human mind — (Manu) who was once a male and is female and his father Budha, inspired and mystic vision. Hermes of the moonlike mind and his near ancestors therefore are the sun and the moon. It is therefore one of the most profound and splendid of the many profound and splendid allegories in the great repertory of Hindu myth that Kālidāsa has here rendered into so sweet, natural and passionate a story of human love and desire. The religious interpretation of the myth which is probably older than the poetical is slightly but not materially different [38]. As Shri. Aurobindo opines that Kālidāsa's presentation of hers is simply that of a beautiful and radiant woman, deeply in love, the essential idea of her is natural, frank and charming womanliness, swift, innocent and frank passion, warm affections as mother, sister and friend, speech always straight from her heart the precise elements in fact that give their greatest charm to ideal girlhood and womanhood are the main tones that compose the picture [39]. He rightly observes that Kālidāsa took special pains to prevent even the most hide bound commentator from reading into her character any touch of heavenly courtesan; the obstentatious splendours the conscious allurements of the courtesans are not there but rather a divine simplicity and white candour of soul, it is from innate purity and openess that the frankness and impulsiveness of her love proceed [40]. Aurobindo's observation of the creation of Urvaśī is worthnoting. He says that Nārāyana called this daughter of his creation Urvaśī — (she who lies in the thigh of the supreme, the thigh being the seat of sensuousness) and gave her to Indra to be his most potent defence against the austerities of spiritual longing, it is Urvaśī who sprang from the thigh of the withered hermit cold and not any of those original daughters of the innocent waves who is the loveliest and most dangerous of the Apsaras, the relations of Urvaśī and Purūravas are true to this psychological principle, she herself is mere beauty and charm sufficient to itself and commanding delight and worship because she is herself, not because of any graces of expression, imagination, intellectual profundity but the mind of Purūravas receiving her pure and perfect image steeps her in its own fire and colour, surrounding her with a halo of pomp and glory which reveals himself while seeking to interpret her [41].

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38. Quoted in Aurobindo's, *Kālidāsa*, 2nd series, 1954, pp. 54-5.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 66.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 67.
41. *Ibid.*, pp. 97-100.

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Thus we have taken in brief, the survey of Urvaśīs's character from the Vedic age to modern age. It appears that there are four aspects involved in her character as interpreted by old and modern scholars such as

(*a*) religious rite — ritualistic side of her character viz. actual sacrifice of the male, or sun myth in the Vedic age;

(*b*) her seductive character in the *Mahābhārata-Purāṇa* literature and accordingly the etymologies of the word Urvaśī are derived in *Nirukta*, Pāṇiṇi and later lexicons of Sanskrit;

(*c*) her poetic and dramatic character with fine human touch in Kālidāsa's famous drama *Vikramorvaśíya;*

(*d*) sociologist's view like that of Dr. D. D. Kosambi — viz. Urvaśī — connected with group marriage, thereby, suggesting her traits of prostitute character, later on commercialised, views of Rabindranath Tagore and Aurobindo who find mystical view in her character viz. soul running after beauty, no touch of prostitution in her character as already noted in the foregone pages.

If we take into account all such aspects of Urvaśí's character in their entirety as found in Sanskrit literature already referred to, we find that there is a gradual development of her character. The Ṛgvedic age is the poetic age in the real sense of the term in which prayer and simple sacrifice are highly valued as such Urvaśī is depicted as a divine damsel, a water nymph, compared with Uṣas who is again a beauty symbol. In the age of the *Brāhamaṇas*, her name was connected with sacrificial act, though her charms and beauty were retained in her character. Sacrifices of various types in the Vedic age were quite symbolic in nature and character. A story of Urvaśī and Purūravas can be viewed as symbolic in character, though actual practice may not be refuted. By the time of the *Mahābhārata* and *Purāṇas* her poetic — beauteous character was fully developed and she was given a due place therein. As seen earlier, she has been considered as worthy of prayer by Bhīṣma for the sake of protection and she has been assigned a place in the list of sacred places along with other sacred places of rivers etc. In a way she seems to be deified in this age, when we come to Kālidāsa, we find that Kālidāsa was an artist first and he had all the earlier information of Urvaśī and he moulded her character beautifully with his golden touch as pointed out by Aurobindo. Kālidāsa painted Purūravas a hero born in the soma-race, soma of poetic mind, running after divine beauteous soul of Urvaśī and thus he exhalted her character. Urvaśī too a beauteous soul hankered after love of Purūravas who was a hero in name and quality; such a man alone was fit to aspire and win the incarnate beauty of the universe. This indeed is the true character of Urvaśī as viewed by Kālidāsa.

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Last but not the least is the mystical view of Aurobindo and Rabindranath Tagore. Both of them as seen earlier rightly point out that there is no point in finding out any traits of a prostitute in such a lovely character of Urvaśī. It will be a gross injustice to Urvaśī to stamp her as prostitute or to attach any social — religious motif to her character.

She represents the symbol of beauty which is sought by a human soul like that of Purūravas for bliss. Indian poetry is the creation of an Aryan mind on this firm mystical background because it is composed by « seers and hearers of the Truth »; this literature also symbolises religious-ethical aesthetic and spiritual side of the race.

Such a new approach of study of Urvaśī's character is necessary, without such study, it is impossible to read her character in true Indian colours. This new approach of study reveals that Urvaśī's character is to be appreciated as the symbol of beauty and divine grace, instead of studying it from various angles as shown earlier.

It is needless to point out that no practical purpose or motif be attached to any piece of good literature or art. The purpose of poetry is to produce bliss or divine bliss — *bahamānanda* in the minds of readers, as said by Mammaṭa and other rhetoricians [42]. If we analyse the characters like those of Urvaśī and Purūravas from social or religious or such other angles, the very beauty and charm of these characters will be lost. To conclude it may be said that Urvaśīs' character is worthy of appreciation and study as a mere piece of poetic creation in the real sense of the term. A human soul is always in search of divine beauty for bliss alone and we may find that divine beauty in Urvaśís character for the attainement of bliss. Here lies the mystery and secret of Urvaśī's character.

42. Mammaṭa's *Kāvyaprakāś*, I. Viśvanātha's *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, I.

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ERNST WALDSCHMIDT

THE BUDDHA NOT A MAGICIAN
FRAGMENT FROM THE PĀṬALAKASŪTRA OF THE MADHYAMĀGAMA

According to the legend of the Buddha's life, the master performed many miracles during his long lasting career, just like Jesus Christ, the saviour of the Christians, in his relatively short earthly existence. One of the most famous miracles of the Buddha was done in a contest with heretics in the capital of the kingdom of Kosala Śrāvastī (Pāli Sāvatthi), on account of which it is called the great wonder of Śrāvastī. There the Buddha, ascending into the air, emitted water from his feet and fire from his shoulders. We have also reports that he multiplied his figure many times on this occasion. All in all, there is no doubt that the Buddha was reported by his contemporaries to have surpassed any rival in miraculous powers.

Did the master boast of such faculties? This question is raised in a section of the Gāmaṇisaṃyutta of the Saṃyuttanikāya (SN)[1], in a Sutta under the heading « Pāṭali », where the *gāmaṇi* (Skt. *grāmaṇī*, village headman) Pāṭaliya appears as interlocutor of the Buddha. We are told that this gentleman at a certain time when Lord Buddha was staying among the Koḷiyas, neighbours of the Śākyas of Kapilavastu, in the market town Uttara came to see the master as he had heard the rumour that the « Samaṇa Gotama » boasts of knowing magic (*māyā*). Pāṭaliya has some scruples whether the reports are true or popular distortions. The Buddha confirms the rumour to be true and in accordance with his teaching. People reporting that the Buddha knows magic, should not be censured. Disappointed, the village headman charges the Buddha with the reproach of being a magician. This conclusion is opposed by the Lord who entangles Pāṭaliya in a game of questions and answers. He begins with asking Pāṭaliya whether he knows that the Koḷiyas (Koḷiya-authorities) employ hirelings (policemen, peons) wearing hanging down crests (as a sort of uniform)[2]. When the headman answered in the affir-

1. Ed. M. L. Feer, *Saṃyuttanikāya*, part IV, London, 1894, pp. 340ff.
2. Pāli, l.c., p. 341.16-12: *jānāsi tvaṃ gāmaṇi koḷiyānaṃ lambakacūḷake bhaṭe ti.*

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mative, the next question is about the purpose for the employment of this special force. Answer: They serve for the checking of robbers and the conveying of messages [3]. Question: Are they honest fellows or of bad character? Answer: They belong to the most wicked men in the world.

At this point I like to discontinue the summary of the Pāli Sutta for the benefit of inserting and explaining a pretty small Sanskrit fragment from Central Asia which I recognized of late as transmitting a few words of a Sanskrit version of the Pāli text discussed. It is written on paper in Brāhmī script of about the 8th century A.D. and belongs to the discoveries of German expeditions led by Albert Grünwedel and Albert von Le Coq to places along the Northern « silk route » of Chinese Turkistan (Sin-kiang) in the beginning of this century. The Sanskrit version deviates in details from the Pāli, and the pretty small rest of words (see below) is so much mutilated that the Sanskrit remnants are only understandable with the help of the Chinese translation of a Sūtra which corresponds to the Sanskrit on the whole better than the Pāli. It is the Pāṭalakasūtra, contained as No. 20 in the Madhyamāgama (Chung-a-han-ching) [4]. In the Chin. Saṃyuktāgama (Tsa-a-han-ching) the Sūtra is missing.

The fragment listed as Cat.-No. 1402 reads as follows [5]:

Ob

1 /// + ca saṃ(gra)haṇārtha[ṃ] ki(ṃ) man[y](a)se grāmaṇi jānīṣe ///
2 /// .. duḥśīlā krauḍyeṣū laṃba(cūḍak)ā bhaṭās=teṣā[m]= . ///
3 /// [ṭa]lako [6] grāmaṇīr=duḥśīlo [bh](a)[vi]ṣyati pāpadha(rmaḥ) ///
4 /// + + [kṣ]āntayaḥ anyarucaya + + + .i [p].ā[y]. + ///
5 /// + + + [m]āyāṃ [7] c=āhaṃ g[r](āma) + + + + + + + ///

---

3. Pāli, l.c., p. 341.16-18: *ye ca bhante koḷiyānaṃ corā te ca paṭisedhetuṃ yāni ca koḷiyānam duteyyāni tāni vahātuṃ etadatthiyā bhante koḷiyānaṃ lambacūḷakā bhaṭāti.*

4. Taishō Issaikyō (TI), Jap. Ed. of the Tripiṭaka in Chinese translation, vol. I, pp. 445a25-448c7. The Chinese title of the Sūtra is Po-lo-lao-ching (phonetically transcribed). In the book of THICH MINH CHAU, *The Chinese Madhyama Āgama and the Majjhima Nikāya, A Comparative Study*, published by the Saigon Institute of Higher Buddhist Studies, 1964/65, the Po-lo-lao-ching is mentioned once on p. 331 with its title only. There is no indication of the contents or reference to the parallel in the Saṃyuttanikāya which could have been found in CHIZEN AKANUMA's, *Comparative Catalogue of Chinese Āgamas and Pāli Nikāyas*, Tokyo, 1958, p. 8. — The Chinese text immediately referring to our fragment starts TI, vol. I, p. 445c1.

5. The exterior of the fragment (measurements etc.) will be described in a fifth part of the catalogue « *Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden* », edited by LORE SANDER and ERNST WALDSCHMIDT in the near future (1982?). Supplemented akṣaras in the transcript are enclosed in round brackets; square brackets enclose damaged or hardly recognizable akṣaras.

6. Restore: *pāṭalako.*

7. Cp. Pāli, l.c., p. 342.5: *māyañ cāhaṃ gāmaṇi pajānāmi.* Continuation: *māyāya ca vipākaṃ | yathāpaṭipanno ca māyāvī kāyassa bhedā param maraṇā apāyaṃ duggatiṃ vinipātaṃ nirayam upapajjati tañca pajānāmi.*

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R

1 /// + + + (ā)syavasi[8] sa + + + + + + + + + ///
2 /// + [n]. ca pudgalaṃ mṛṣāvāda .. + + + kam* + ///
3 /// [pr](a)hāya[9] tāṃ dṛṣṭiṃ tāṃ ruciṃ .. saṃkalpān=apra[9] + ///
4 /// ṇir[10]=bhītas=trastaḥ saṃvigna(ḥ h)[r̥]ṣṭaromakūpo + ///
5 /// + yo .i[11]= nām=āhaṃ bhava[nta]ṃ [gau]tamaṃ amāyāvi + ///

The discussion between the Buddha and the grāmaṇī Pāṭalaka is in full swing. The Buddha has asked in the course of his counter-questioning for what purpose the hirelings are employed by the authorities of the Koḷiyas (Skt. Koḍya, Kroḍya, Krauḍya)[12]. The first two words in our fragment (*ca saṃgrahaṇārthaṃ* « and for the checking » [of robbers]) is the end of the answer. (Chinese:) « The hirelings are employed as messengers and for the purpose of killing robbers (rebels) »[13]. In the Chinese parallel Gautama continues: What do you think, headman (cp. Ob 1: *kiṃ manyase grāmaṇi*)? Do you know (Ob 1: *jānīṣe*) the hirelings with hanging down crests as honest or dishonest people[14]? The answer is that they are of bad character and that nobody in the world exceeds the hirelings regarding their bad character and wickedness (cp. Ob 2: *duḥśīlā krauḍyeṣu laṃbacūḍakā bhaṭās* =)[15]. The Buddha furthermore asks whether a person would speak the truth who concludes from his, Pāṭalaka's, knowing the hirelings as wicked fellows that he, Pāṭalaka, himself is likely to be of bad character and subjected to wickedness (cp. Ob 3: *pāṭalako grāmaṇīr duḥśīlo bhaviṣyati pāpadharmaḥ*). Pāṭalaka answers in the negative and calls the hirelings men of different views, different longings and different wishes (cp. Ob 4: *anyakṣāntayaḥ anyarucayaḥ*)[16]. He calls himself in contrast to them a man who strictly keeps the precepts and is not subjected to wickedness. The Buddha states that he in the same manner knows magic (cp. Ob 5) but is not a magician. « How is that? I know magic, I know the person performing magic, I know the result (fruit) of magic, I know how to give up magic »[17]. Using the same phraseology he adds that he knows the killing

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8. Reading and interpretation doubtful.
9. Restore: *aprahāya* and *tāṃ* (= *tān*) *saṃkalpān=aprahāya* respectively.
10. Restore: *grāmaṇir=*.
11. Restore: *yo hi*.
12. Cp. F. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*, 1953, s.v. Koḍya.
13. TI, vol. I, p. 445c4. For the Pāli wording cp. note 3.
14. TI, vol. I, p. 445c5. Pāli, l.c., p. 341.19-20: *jānāsi tvaṃ koḷiyānaṃ lambacūḷake bhaṭe sīlavanto vā te dussīlā vā ti*.
15. Pāli, l.c., p. 341.21-23: *jānāmaham bhante koḷiyānaṃ lambacūḷake bhaṭe dussīle pāpadhamme | ye ca loke dussīlā pāpadhammā koḷiyānaṃ lambacūḷakā tesam aññatarāti*.
16. Cp. R 3. — The wording in Pāli deviates; see l.c., p. 341.28-30: *aññe bhante koḷiyānaṃ lambacūḷakā bhaṭā añño hamasmi aññathādhammā koḷiyānaṃ lambacūḷakā bhaṭā aññathādhammo hamasmīti*.
17. The somewhat deviating Pāli text is quoted in note 7.

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of living beings, the taking of things not given and the telling of lies. The last case reads: « I know the telling of lies, know the person telling lies (cp. R 2: *ca pudgalaṃ mṛṣāvāda...*), the result (fruit) of lies, how to give up the telling of lies » [18]. Then the Buddha turns to threatening sentences: If somebody would say « the Śramaṇa Gautama knows magic, therefore he is a magician », and if he would not give up such words, such thinking, such longing, such wishes, such ideas, such considerations, such views (cp. R 3: *aprahāya tāṃ dṛṣṭiṃ tāṃ ruciṃ tāṃ saṃkalpān aprahāya...*) [19], he would at the end of his life, as quickly as a man bends and stretches out his arm, be reborn in the hell.

When the *grāmaṇī* hears these words, he is afraid and has the hair of his body standing erect out of fear (cp. R 4: *grāmaṇir bhītas trastaḥ saṃvigna(ḥ) hṛṣṭaromakūpo*) [19]. Getting up from his seat he bows his head down to the feet of the Buddha and confesses how foolish, dazzled, rash and bad he was, and that it was a lie when he called the Śramaṇa Gautama, who is not a magician, a magician (cp. R 5: *yo hi nāmāhaṃ bhavantaṃ gautamaṃ amāyāvinaṃ...*). The Buddha, he wishes, might accept his repentance [19].

Here the first section of the Pāṭalaka-Sūtra as well as the text of our fragment comes to an end, and I may be allowed to conclude my article at this point likewise as it is not my aim to present a full comparative analysis of the Pāli Pāṭaliya-Sutta and the Pāṭalaka-Sūtra in the Chinese Madhyamāgama, but to expound, though of insignificant size, our Sanskrit fragment from Central Asia. The incoherent words are seen to have almost all gained sense by the identification with sections in parallel texts. The discussions of the Buddha with the headman on similar topics in the two texts compared go on, and the deviations of the Pāli text from the Chinese translation increase. The Pāli Sutta is much longer, but in both cases the headman finally asks the Buddha to be admitted to the Buddhist order as a lay disciple (*upāsaka*).

Let us ask in conclusion: How far do the arguments of the Buddha convince a modern reader in regard to the fact that the Buddha has obviously used supernatural powers at occasions and has even in public demonstrated his power to surpass competitors in this respect? The answer is that the term *māyā* in the Pāṭalaka-Sūtra and Pāṭaliya-Sutta certainly means « fraud », « deceit », otherwise the Buddha could not have placed the knower or possessor of *māyā* (*māyāvin*) on one level with a killer, thief, and a liar. The somewhat adequate indication for the psychic power exercised by the Buddha at the time of his miracles might be that it is a high class *ṛddhi* (Pāli *iddhi*). The meaning of *iddhi* in Pāli is very complex as a look into the Critical Pali Dictionary [20]

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18. Cp. Pāli, l.c., p. 342.22-25: *musāvādañ cāham gāmaṇi pajānāmi | musāvādassa ca vipākaṃ | yathāpaṭipanno ca musāvādī kāyassa bhedā* etc. as in note 7.

19. The phrase is without a correspondence in the Pāli-Sutta. Cp., however, Dīghanikāya, vol. I, p. 50.1 and II, p. 240.8: *bhīto saṃviggo lomahaṭṭhajāto.*

20. Vol. II, pp. 291-92.

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shows. The term *ṛddhi* is explained by Edgerton in his BHSD s.v. simply as « supernatural or magic power », but the magic power of the Buddha is incomparable with the magic power of a magician or trickster according to our text.

Göttingen.

ABBREVIATIONS

Ed.	=	edition
Edgerton BHSD	=	F. EDGERTON, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*, New Haven, 1953.
l.c.	=	loco citato
Ob	=	obverse
PTS	=	Pali Text Society
R	=	reverse
SN	=	Saṃyuttanikāya
s.v.	=	sub voce
TI	=	Taisho Edition; fuller title in note 4.

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